





# IOHANNIS WYCLIF

## TRACTATUS DE BLASPHEMIA.

NOW FIRST EDITED FROM THE VIENNA MS. 4514.

WITH CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

BY

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## CONTENTS.

I. The Manuscripts . . . . .	P. III
II. Authenticity and date of the work . . . . .	V
III. Contents of De Blasphemia . . . . .	VII

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## INTRODUCTION.

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### I. The Manuscripts.

*De Blasphemia* is extant in no less than seven MSS., four belonging to the Vienna Hofbibliothek, one to Trinity College, Dublin, and the two others to public libraries in Prague. The Vienna and Dublin MSS. have been lettered as follows: Cod. Vind. 4514 (A); Trinity College, Dublin, C. 1, 24 (B); Cod. Vind. 1343 (C); Cod. Vind. 3933 (D), and Cod. Vind. 3935 (E). As for the two Prague MSS., the Executive Committee of the Wyclif Society has not thought it necessary to collate them, on account of the very great delay and expense already incurred in the collation of the others, as the Reports of the Society have fully explained. The same reasons have obliged me to dispense with the help of MSS. D and E after the first two chapters, their readings (as will appear to any one who examines them with care) not seeming sufficiently important to warrant any further collation. B and C are evidently the best manuscripts; A, from which the copy was made, unfortunately proved to be the worst of all, and moreover the copy came into my hands in such a state as to necessitate a complete revision of the text. I shall only say that in collating the Trinity MS. I often had to recur to that manuscript in order to make out my text, and that the observations of Dr. Poole on the copying of the MS. (A) of his *De Dominio Divino* (Introduction, pp. XIV, XV) apply with such striking truth to parts of the transcript of *De Blasphemia*, that I should not wonder if the copyist was the same in both cases. Other parts, however, particularly towards the end, were very fairly written.

A few remarks about each of the MSS. will suffice.

A (Cod. Vind. 4514) is described at length in Mr. Pollard's *De Officio Regis*, Int. p. XXIX. Its untrustworthiness has obliged me very often indeed to adopt the readings of B and C. I need hardly say that the spelling, even when not pointed out in the foot-notes, is often at variance with the other MSS., but spelling is so well known to have been thought little of by scribes of the period that I have considered it superfluous to correct it.

B (Trinity College, Dublin, C. 1, 24), described as F in *De Apostasia*, Int. p. V., is a very good MS.; and I at first thought it better than C. Towards the end of the work, however, I came to think that C was at least as good.

C (Cod. Vind. 1343) is described in the Introduction to *De Apostasia*, p. IV.

A full description of D (Cod. Vind. 3933) will be found in Dr. Buddensieg's *Wyclif's Polemical works*, Int. pp. XXXI, XXXII, and in *De Officio Regis* (Int. XXIX, XXX).

E (Cod. Vind. 3935) is described as B in *De Apostasia*, Int. IV, and more fully in Mr. Poole's *De Dominio Divino*, Int. XII, XIII.

The two Prague MSS. are also briefly described in *De Apostasia* as C (C. 73) and D (III, F. 11); the former belonging to the Dom-capitelbibliothek, and the latter to the University Library. So far as I can see, the Committee was under the circumstances quite justified in deciding not to collate them, although C. 73 might possibly have turned out to be an independent source.

The MSS. C, D, E were partially collated, and A revised, by Dr. Goldmann with extreme care and conscientiousness; it was indeed owing to this very care that the Committee were enabled to judge that D and E might safely be set aside. My thanks are due to him, and also to Drs. Beer and Herzberg-Fränckel, who, throughout my stay in Vienna, rendered me every assistance in their power, with the greatest courtesy and friendliness. I collated B myself in the British Museum; and perhaps it will not be wholly superfluous to note here that I hardly ever took any notice of mere differences of spelling, of places of words when they did not alter the sense, nor even of such variants as *igitur* for *ergo*, *et* for *atque*, &c. I drew the line only at the smallest difference of sense.

Throughout my work I have been favoured with the active help of Mr. Matthew, whose assistance, on this occasion as with *De Apostasia*, has been invaluable to me, and I feel that I cannot thank him too heartily, nor indeed as heartily as he deserves. The encouragement and advice of Dr. Furnivall, who prevailed on me to go to Vienna, has also been of much use. I must not forget to thank Dr. Birk, the Head Librarian of the Vienna Hofbibliothek, for having kindly placed the MSS. at my disposal.

## II. Authenticity and date of the work.

Nothing need be said of the authenticity of *De Blasphemia*; both external and internal evidence on this point are too strong to leave us the shadow of a doubt. As to the date, I was at first of opinion that it must belong to the latter part of the year 1383 or the beginning of 1384. It was certainly written after *De Apostasia*, which it several times quotes (see pp. 48, 202, 220, 224). Now, in my Introduction to *De Apostasia*, p. VI. I had come to the conclusion that the Crusade in Flanders was alluded to in one instance, which sufficed to fix its date as simultaneous with that of the expedition; and in *De Blasphemia*, pp. 156, 191, we find expressions that may be construed as referring to the Crusade. I was indeed astonished at the amount of work that Wyclif, according to this supposition, had found means to crowd into one year; but on the other hand, the words *Cruciatum languidum infinitum* seemed to me quite meaningless where they stood, unless I took *cruciatum* to be a mistake for *cruciatam*.

But this hypothesis encounters a difficulty that seems quite insuperable. It is well known that the Peasants' Rebellion, under Wat Tyler, and the violent death of Archbishop Sudbury, took place in June, 1381. Now, in *De Blasphemia*, Wyclif alludes to this popular disturbance as having occurred quite recently; and this allusion is contained, not in one single ambiguous line, but in a long digression, pleading for the rebels and excusing them as far as possible (p. 190—200). Besides, towards the end of the work (p. 267) he again returns to the same subject, using the very significant words, *hoc anno*. "If *this year*", he says, "the rich clergy had offered to pay taxes to the king for the poor, there would then have been no need to revolt."

It is barely possible and extremely improbable that this is merely an episode inserted into *De Blasphemia*, which may have been written at a later date. Not to mention the fact that it fits into the rest of the text quite as well as any of Wyclif's numerous digressions, there is another argument in favour of *De Blasphemia* being written in 1381. We have an allusion (pp. 89, 247) to a recent condemnation of Wyclif's theory of the Eucharist in Oxford. This condemnation is usually ascribed to the year 1382, May—November.<sup>1</sup> Now, Mr. Matthew<sup>2</sup> has proved — conclusively, in my opinion — that the date 1381, summer, usually given to the first appearance of Wyclif's doctrine on Transubstantiation, is in reality the date of his condemnation at Oxford. We have thus two separate indications, each pointing to the latter half of 1381 as the date of *De Blasphemia*.

But if we admit this date, *De Apostasia*, which was certainly written before it, must also be shifted backwards; and how then can I explain the words *cruciatum languidum infinitum*, and the allusions to the Crusade in *De Blasphemia*? I must reluctantly say that I was too hasty in taking three words as a sufficiently precise indication on which to found the date of *De Apostasia*. Whatever its date may be, it stands between *De Simonia* and *De Blasphemia*, as it quotes the former and is quoted in the latter work; it was also written probably before *De Eucharistia*, because, though its doctrines are substantially the same, and it deals with the Eucharistic question in fifteen of its seventeen chapters, no mention is made of that work. And in *De Apostasia* Wyclif still holds to the term of Transubstantiation, which he definitively rejects in *De Eucharistia* (*De Ap.* 210; *De Euch. Int.* IV). As to explaining the words *cruciatum* &c., I give it up. So far as I can see, they have no meaning. If Wyclif intends to say that the devil leads his adherents to the torments of Hell, they would in one sense be 'infinite'; but 'languid' is an epithet that seems most inappropriate to such pains. All I can do here is to suppose the text corrupt through some copyist's mistake or the interpolation into the text of a remark originally intended as a foot-note.

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Pollard's list of dates, *Dialogus*, *Int.* XIII, XIV.  
Historical Review, April, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> English



We have more difficulty in getting rid of the allusions to the Crusade in *De Blasphemia*.<sup>1</sup> It is indeed nowhere mentioned by name; but the allusions to it are quite transparent, if we consider that here was at the time no other movement — at once military and clerical — to which Wyclif's language could with any probability refer. These allusions seem therefore to have been made, if before the Crusade, only a short time before it; not two whole years, as the date of the work stands by the preceding considerations. We may suppose that Wyclif himself, after having finished his work, added a few remarks here and there in a later and (so to speak) revised edition; and possibly the *sicut ducit eos ad cruciatum* &c. of *De Apostasia*, may also be explained in the same way.

### III. Contents of *De Blasphemia*.

One thing forcibly strikes the reader of *De Blasphemia*: the comparative violence of the language, when read after *De Apostasia*. Wyclif was evidently deeply wounded, and the reasons of this feeling are not difficult to discover; indeed his repeated allusions to the Oxford condemnation show clearly enough what they were. Yet he never, even when indignantly protesting against the injustice of the man who would burn him without hearing his defence (pp. 73—75), descends so far towards personalities as to name the man to whom he refers. And there is no advance in doctrine from *De Apostasia* and others of his later works. In fact, the concluding sentences of the book, — in which he declares himself ready, if need be, to retract his doctrine of the Eucharist (p. 287; see also p. 75), and merely says (p. 288) that as to confession, he thinks it necessary, but believes that Innocent III's decree was ill-considered, — seem to have been written with studied moderation, in view of a future citation at some tribunal or other.

The work, written immediately, or almost immediately after *De Apostasia*, has a much more defined plan than the former; though here, as everywhere else, Wyclif's digressive habits stick to him, and

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 156, 191, especially. We have even the word *crucient* on p. 156. Wyclif cannot allude to the suppression of the rebels by Spencer, Bishop of Norfolk; for in both these passages he distinctly points to a foreign land (*alienam ecclesiam . . . exteros*).

we may observe of him what was said of Montaigne, that 'he knows perfectly well what he says, but does not know what he is going to say'. Subjects that we consider as separate are connected in his mind: from the authority of the Pope to the existence of the Friars, and from each to Transubstantiation and endowments, the transition is easy and frequently made; and we often find that what is nominally a head of discussion, and marked as such in his plan, becomes, so to speak, a mere peg to hang a digression upon.

Wyclif, after a short definition of blasphemy, immediately attacks its *root* (i. e. the Roman Curia) and then its *branches*, comprising the whole under the collective title of the 'twelve daughters of the diabolical Leech', or twelve 'tormentors of the Church' (p. 54): the *Pope* (ch. I to V), the *Cardinals* (ch. V), the *Bishops* (ch. VI), the *Archdeacons* (ch. VII), the *officials*, to which is added a synopsis of Wyclif's views about confession (chs. VIII to XII); the rural *Deans*, *Rectors*, and *inferior Priests* (ch. XII); the *monks* (ch. XIII), the Friars (ch. XIV to XVII), the *door-keepers* or *clerks* (ch. XVII) and the *questors* (ch. XVIII).

Before proceeding to give an account of the contents of the work, I may say that I thought it would be interesting to confront Wyclif's doctrines with the acknowledged beliefs of the Church of Rome. Readers are frequently puzzled, when lighting upon some bold and startling theory, to decide whether the writer was bringing forward some new idea of his own, or merely laying stress upon some recognized doctrine of the Church. And for all such scholars as know the enormous influence exercised then as now by St. Thomas Aquinas, there is no need of my apologizing for having set face to face the 'Doctor Evangelicus' and the 'Angel of the School'.

Ch. I. Wyclif begins as usual with a short definition and division of blasphemy. It is committed, 1<sup>st</sup>, when we ascribe to God attributes that are not His; 2<sup>nd</sup>, when we deny His real attributes, and 3<sup>rd</sup>, when we ascribe His attributes to creatures. St. Thomas (*Summa Theologiae*, 2<sup>a</sup>, 2<sup>ae</sup>, qu. XIII, art. 1, *Ad 2<sup>m</sup>*) gives this division almost in the same words, but does not name the authors from whom he takes it<sup>1</sup>, and points out that the division is not a

<sup>1</sup> A quibusdam dicitur.

good one. — The relation between simony, apostasy, and blasphemy is then shown; as every mortal sin implies simony and apostasy, so it also implies blasphemy. As a corollary, Wyclif at once concludes that the root of blasphemy is in the Roman Curia, because a man most unlike Christ is said to be Christ's Vicar: discord between words and deeds is blasphemy, according to Augustine. A powerful invective follows against the worldliness, pride, secular pomp and effeminate luxury of the Roman Pontiff, whose life is in all points a contrast to the life of Christ. The ceremony of kissing the Pope's feet is inveighed against. Christ, even in the glory of His resurrection, did not *allow* Magdalen to kiss His feet; and the Pope *orders* his cardinals to kiss his! The counsel of humility, 'to take the lowest place', is utterly set at naught; but at the Day of Judgment he that acts thus will surely take the lowest place, Hell. Thus the Pope has no right to such homage as Vicar of Christ (p. 7—9); human traditions have nothing to do with holiness; it is not necessary to salvation to obey the Pope; and England, after the death of Urban VI, would do well to throw off his obedience, follow any one who would show himself by his works to be Christ's Vicar, and return to the purity of primitive Christianity. True, difficulties stand in the way; the opposite party is strong, endowments are a great temptation, and all these abuses are of very long standing: but it is flat heresy to oppose truth for such motives; the longer any abuse has existed, the greater the evil becomes.

Wyclif then brings forward three heads of an accusation of blasphemy against the Pope, calling the first *Hidden Power*. The Pope has no more right to give dispensations, absolve, and grant indulgences, than any other equally good priest. Dispensations in the matter of vows, if the vows were wisely made, are null and void; if otherwise, they are superfluous: a foolish vow ought not to be kept. Here we may say that St. Thomas (S. Th. 2<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>ae</sup>, qu. LXXXVIII, art. 12) has a very remarkable summary of the doctrine of his Church on this subject, which is not so far from Wyclif's opinion as might be thought. St. Thomas distinctly says (Ad 2<sup>m</sup>) that a man who accepts a dispensation for a vow, without having at the least a reasonable doubt whether his vow was wisely made, is guilty of sin: this considerably limits the dispensing

power.<sup>1</sup> Vows besides, adds Wyclif, speaking of perpetual vows, often have the effect of hindering us in our duty and tying us down to a beaten track.

Three objections are next refuted in detail. The facts that there were sects under the Old Dispensation proves nothing in favour of sects under the New; Anselm, praising monastic life, spoke of men who really observed the perfection of Christ's law; and vows have, according to St. Thomas, the effect of rendering venial sins mortal (S. Th. 2<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>ae</sup>, qu. CLXXXVI, art. 9, 10). — This quotation of St. Thomas should however, be read in the original; he by no means admits that this effect is caused by the vows, nor does he even grant that sins committed through mere frailty become more grievous; those alone that are perpetrated 'ex contemptu' become worse. — Vows that we cannot keep ought not to be kept; for God cannot command what is impossible. Wyclif also shows that liberty is destroyed to a great extent by the rules of the sects; a point to which he returns in the last chapter (pp. 280 and seq.). And as, notwithstanding his Determinism, he is a strong upholder of individual free-will, this is a very important thing with him. It would here be irrelevant to show how his system reconciles free-will and Determinism (*Omnia que eveniunt, de necessitate eveniunt*); it would also take far too much space; but the working out of his system appears clearly in his philosophical works, of which I have had the occasion to copy some, and to collate others.

1<sup>st</sup> Wyclif then, implicitly granting that the Pope has power over the Orders, points out how that power could best be exercised: by giving a general dispensation of vows to all monks and friars. Such a dispensation, necessary for Christian liberty, would assimilate the secular to the regular clergy, while it need not absolutely interfere with the claustral life of such as prefer living thus. Should the Pope hesitate to grant this liberty, God will grant it (pp. 14—15). Authorities are quoted in favour of this view: Bernard and Anselm use words that identify the profession of Christianity with that of

<sup>1</sup> See also art. 10 and the whole of qu. LXXXVIII, in regard to Wyclif's position that the vows of Baptism are the most solemn of all, and render all others superfluous (p. 11).

monachism, and Laufranc holds that we are quite justified in withdrawing from a monastery where our salvation is in danger. Such use of the Papal authority would be far better than commanding angels and regulating things of the next world, as Wyclif complains that 'Pope Clement' — perhaps Robert of Geneva — had done in a certain bull of his.

2<sup>nd</sup> The second head of accusation is *False Wisdom*, which is very briefly disposed of. If the Pope possesses the power of the keys, he must claim for himself supernatural wisdom in order to use them properly; but facts sufficiently disprove this assumption, and it must be made for all that.

3<sup>rd</sup> *Feigned benevolence*. Here the temporal power, constantly asserted by the Popes to be indispensable for the good government of the Church, and to be only claimed out of zeal and charity, is affirmed to proceed from quite contrary motives. If it were necessary, God would not allow it to be taken away; and the Pope's want of success shows that his temporal power, condemned by the life of Christ, is displeasing to God. We should rise up and refuse to obey him; but the perils of such a course render it more prudent to stand aside and await events. Wyclif darkly hints at a miraculous intervention of Divine Providence.

Ch. II. (pp. 18–41) deals for the most part with the Eucharistic question (pp. 31); it then returns to assail the authority of the Pope. After complaining of the exalting of traditions, the abasement of Christ's school, and the putting forward of evil doctrines under the appearance of good, Wyclif exemplifies the latter in the case of the Eucharist. It is idolatry to adore the visible Sacrament as God, for it certainly is not God. It is adored under pretext of devotion: idolaters may be very devout, but false devotion cannot please the God of truth. The more abject the sign worshipped, the greater the crime: now, the Host is, according to these men, nothing but a lot of empty appearances; it is therefore the most degrading of all idolatries. The people believe that the Host which they see is identical with Christ; and the Friars, wishing, as they say, to favour popular devotion, allow this error to prevail, though their own doctors<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> St. Thomas, for instance.

declare the contrary. Neither the sign of Christ's presence nor a mere accident can be identical with Him; and if the consecrated Hosts differ from each other in many things, how can they be all identical with Christ? It may be denied that the people is infected with such an error: but this is a question of fact, and easily answered. We cannot consider it as a sufficient reply to say that we believe what the Church believes, or that the dogma is not fundamental. Idolatry or faith? that is the question, and we may not say that it is of slight consequence. Others blaspheme, saying that the words of Scripture are obscure; but both the adversaries and the adherents of this system maintain that they are quite plain. Wyclif then, quoting from *De Eucharistia*, states his position: that the consecrated bread is Christ's Body figuratively, not naturally; sacramentally not substantially; metaphorically, not identically. — I have dwelt at length, in the Introduction to *De Apostasia*, upon the doctrinal meaning of Wyclif's Eucharistic theory: what he says about it in *De Blasphemia* brings us no new light, and there will therefore be no occasion to add here any remarks on the subject.

We should believe Scripture, he goes on to say, and care little for what either the Pope or the Sects may affirm on this matter. Pope Innocent's decrees<sup>1</sup> may be wrong; and, infallibility depending upon personal holiness, there is a strong case against that ambitious Pope. Yet we should, out of respect, explain the decree, understanding 'transubstantiation' to mean 'conversion.' The Friars, however, take it to mean annihilation of the substance of bread, so that nothing remains but the accidents; of what sort, they are unable to say. This is blindness. The accidents indeed remain in the act of our mind that contemplates them; but the activity of the subject is lost sight of, not destroyed.

The contrary hypothesis involves 1<sup>st</sup> *Much dissimulation*; for when Friars hear it said that we see Christ with the bodily eye, they find it convenient to remain silent; they cannot even refrain from subtilizing as concerns the essence of the sacrament of Baptism; lucre is the true motive of the dissembling of these teachers of lies, to whom no Christian ought to give aid. 2<sup>nd</sup>, *False miracles*; for in-

<sup>1</sup> *Firmiter* and *Cum Marthae*.



stance, the destruction of the bread, contrary to all the ancient Doctors of the Church,<sup>1</sup> and the presence of Christ's Body in the Host, with all its qualities, as in Heaven. 3<sup>rd</sup> *Great absurdities*. The Sacrament is neither bread nor Christ's Body; or it is at the same time Christ and the most abject of entities. In the Host, all the parts of our Lord's Body are mixed up together in ridiculous confusion; according to those Doctors, the very impossibility of a thing is a reason for our believing it. The theory of the multiplication of Christ's Body in different Hosts would place Christ above and below Himself, &c. with infinite other absurd conclusions. The presence of Christ in the Host by no means involves the multiplication of His Body, for He is present figuratively, and a figurative Body can be present without multiplication in many places. This view of Christ's presence is preferable to any other, as it cuts short the idolatry into which the people are too apt to fall.

Wyclif then (p. 31) proceeds to attack the Pope's authority. Here is idolatry again; he is worshipped as Christ's Vicar; this is worse than the adoration of a piece of wood. Peter, Paul and Barnabas allowed no one to prostrate himself before them; if the Pope exacts such honours to be paid to himself personally, he is guilty of idolatry: of which we must purify the Church.

The first step towards such purification is to relieve her of the riches with which she is burdened; the influence of the priesthood is diminished rather than strengthened by them: the inequality of wealth that we see in the world is merely a punishment for sin. The upper classes require riches and power, to keep up their temporal authority; merchants may possess a moderate competence, but must not charge too dear, and are, on the authority of Chrysostom, advised not to trade to foreign ports for articles that they would only re-sell at a higher price. As for the clergy, it is absolutely necessary that they should be free from all superfluous wealth, and receive as alms

<sup>1</sup> Particularly to St. Thomas Aquinas. He denies, not that God can, but that He does, annihilate anything (S. Th. 1<sup>a</sup>, qu. CIV. art. 4); and on this account he says that the bread, being changed into something better (Christ's Body), is not destroyed (3<sup>a</sup>, qu. LXXV, art. 3); though indeed, as he admits that the substance of bread is neither in the Host nor anywhere else, it is hard to understand whether this is or is not more than a mere question of words.

the tithes given freely by the rich, while the poor offer up their prayers as spiritual tithes. For tithes are a duty that we owe to God, not a source of merit; if we wish to have merit, according to Augustine's doctrine, we must put the other nine-tenths of our possessions (setting aside what is indispensable for food and raiment) into God's treasury under the form of alms, never forgetting that nothing rightly belongs to any Christian, except in so far as it helps him to serve God. This rule is too often simoniacally set aside by the clergy, especially as regards the collation of benefices; and it thus happens that prelates to whom the spiritual power is wanting (precisely because they are proud of that power which God, withholding from them, may give to an unknown priest) are set over the people.

After this digression, Wyclif goes on to examine the arguments in favour of Papal power, especially as regards the Pope's claim to grant dispensations. He has no more right to the promises made to Peter than he has to be called the light of the world; the power to loose and to bind depends exclusively upon personal holiness. To dispense validly, we must dispense according to God's will: but that would require infallibility, to which the Pope cannot pretend. (It may here be remarked that Catholic theologians, even now, though they claim a certain amount of Divine assistance and guidance for the Pope in matters of Church discipline, do not by any means ascribe infallibility to him in that respect. But neither do they admit that infallibility is necessary in matters of discipline.) — Wyclif states that this dispensing power implies that whatever the Pope does is right, and that he will be saved. Yet all his power consists solely in the agreement of his sentence with God's. As it now stands, it is very weak indeed, as we see by the light of present events; the Pope, having no earthly power, cannot open or shut the gates of Heaven, and, unable even to set up a friendly prince in a country to which he lays claim, cannot possibly grant remission of sins and indulgences. Such great power, if he had it, should be first applied to himself. The chapter concludes with a warning both to laymen and to monks and friars, not to confide in the Pope nor uphold him.

Ch. III (pp. 41—51) is a short one. Three false principles, from which the root of blasphemy springs — 1<sup>st</sup>, that every Bishop of Rome is Christ's Vicar; 2<sup>nd</sup>, that he is infallible in matters of faith

and 3<sup>rd</sup>, that his laws are above the Gospel — are attacked. Wyclif argues against the first only, because, that destroyed, the other two must go at once. As a fact, many Popes have been apostates. Election neither gives, nor forces God to give the virtue requisite for the elect to become Christ's Vicar: even Christ's election had no such power in the case of Iscariot. Election aims, not (as it ought to do) at choosing one of the elect, but at giving a purely secular position to the man chosen. It is thus a source of great danger, leading men astray for the most part, and giving them to believe that the Pope is the elect of God. To elect a Vicar of Christ is tantamount to declaring that a certain man is predestinate; which, unless in the case of special revelation, is blasphemy.

These three principles destroyed by overthrowing the first of them, Wyclif proceeds to substitute in their place and to prove three contrary principles. 1<sup>st</sup>, No man is more likely to be Antichrist than the Roman Pontiff. Where there are more facilities for a man to set himself up in Christ's place, there is more likelihood that he will do so. Such is the case with the Pope. 2<sup>nd</sup> The Pope is to be believed only when his words agree with Holy Writ. His duty is not to make articles of faith, but to expound Scripture in all humility. 3<sup>rd</sup> To follow any man rather than the Gospel, is rank blasphemy.

From these principles flows a corollary. The different religious Orders, having their being only by Papal statutes not grounded on Scripture, ought to be put down. That there are good points in the present system proves nothing whatever in its favour. God's law is said to be the standard according to which the Orders act, but in reality they care for nothing but their own traditions. This is a dangerous practical error, for it is the source of all divisions in the Church, each man seeking his own. But the root of all the evil was the perpetuity of the Pope's approbation of these sects.

It may be objected that the Church needs a Head. — True, but not a visible one. Christ is the Head of the Church; yet it was expedient that even *His* visible presence should be taken away from us. As we see now, visible Heads occasion schisms in the Church. And we, as brethren, should avoid all dissensions. St. Jerome, quoted here, says that custom can change nothing in matters of faith; that a Bishop (or priest) may rank higher or lower according to his wealth,

but that all are equal; and that one of the Apostles was set over the others, in order to avoid schism.

All that is now changed; pride is the source of greatness in the Church, blasphemies are multiplied, indulgences are abusively granted, new laws are continually made. This, even if done by ignorance, does not excuse the doers; the origin of this evil — temporal possessions — must be taken away from the Church, and the clergy should feed their flock with the bread of Holy Writ.

Ch. IV (pp. 52—65) begins with a beautiful theory on the ultimate aim of man's being. He was placed in this world only to serve God and to yearn towards Heaven; to help him thereto, God has given him the example of the natural sky, with its sublime influences over our earth, of the Sacrament, in which terrestrial matter is lost sight of, and of Christ's Humanity, which is merged in the Godhead; all in order to foster within us the virtue of unworldliness. All heresies proceed from too great attachment to things temporal, which is increased by the devil, whom Wyclif calls a leech. This diabolical leech has twelve daughters, ever crying Give, give: viz., Popes, cardinals, bishops, archdeacons, officials, deans, rectors, common priests, monks, friars, doorkeepers and questors; but our author notes expressly that he excepts from the number all such as lead a Christian life.

This division, coming rather late in the work, is nevertheless as good as any that Wyclif usually employs. We have already seen that most of what precedes, from the very beginning of the work, is aimed at the Pope, though of course with frequent digressions to one side and to another. The rest of this chapter may also be said to belong to the first of Wyclif's divisions; so that the first 'daughter of the leech' is dealt with, more or less directly, from p. 1. to p. 65.

How can we know that any man is a pseudo-pope? By his attachment to earthly things, which has increased ever since the disastrous endowment of the Church, accepted by Sylvester, against the spirit of the Fathers of the early Church: witness Augustine, who distinctly condemns the idea of a Bishop accepting money from a father to the disadvantage of his son. Now in almost every case of endowment, the giver has legal heirs, to whom the property ought to revert, and Augustine either condemned all endowments, or was inconsistent. These endowments besides weaken the secular power, so necessary

to the Church; they pervert the clergy, diminish charity amongst them, and cause dissensions and wars. All this is through the folly or the mistaken piety of some temporal lords who made these endowments. They are responsible for all those blasphemies about the 'patrimony of the Crucified', the authority to excommunicate, the assumption of holding all power from Christ, whereas the Pope, pretending to be 'like unto the most High', more nearly resembles Lucifer. Unworldliness in the Pope is absolutely indispensable; the King of Pride can otherwise never be conquered; the conflict is hard enough as it is. Christ's deeds are no less explicit than His words. He had not where to lay His head. Both reason and faith tell us that riches are good only in so far as they help us heavenward; which, if excessive, they cannot do. Let our luxurious prelates remember the Rechabites, and consider themselves as 'Anathema'; for, since they do not keep Christ's commandments, they do not love Him.

Sylvester's motive in accepting endowments was doubtless good; yet he sinned, for the results of his acts have been most disastrous to all Christendom. At present, if Christ were to appear unknown and to blame the life of Church dignitaries, he would be burned as a heretic or scoffed at as a madman: for Christ's followers are thus treated now for doing likewise. According to Christ, the last should be first, and the humblest the highest, not the proudest. And since Constantine's endowment has done so much harm, it is the duty of the secular prince to undo the harm done by a secular prince; he must refuse aid to bad priests, and humble the 'head of blasphemy'.

Ch. V (pp. 65—80) attacks the college of Cardinals as the second 'conjugatio' of the daughters of the leech. Their name, taken by syllables, is found to mean *CARior DIaboli NATus, LICium Seministrator*; taken by letters, it stands for *Custos Apostatarum Regni Diaboli, Iuvans Nequissimum Ad Legem Judicis Sopiendam*. A general condemnation is then passed upon them on account of their essential aim, which is to favour Papal pretensions. Their dignities are without Scripture warrant; Christ ordained none but priests and deacons; all other dignities encroach upon the honour due to secular powers, and spring from the love of vainglory. The college of Cardinals compares itself to the Apostles; if so, it is responsible for the present state of the Church, which is governed by the Cardinals.



Wyclif's doctrine, it is argued, would ruin all Church endowments. So it would. But there are in the world three kingdoms: that of Antichrist, that of secular princes, and Christ's Kingdom. The abolition of endowments would destroy the first, it is true, but would be favourable to the others (pp. 68—70). Again, it would do away with all hierarchical distinctions; but there would remain the inward distinctions of personal holiness. Excommunications would also cease, at least such as are pronounced for the sake of temporal gain, and are prefigured by the treachery of him that sold our Lord for money. Their frequency is in itself a good proof of the spirit in which they are pronounced, and their disproportion to the offence (for instance, those pronounced to avenge injuries inflicted on a Cardinal) is a crying scandal. The same may be said of many other practices that implicitly assert the Pope's universal dominion.

Here Wyclif deals with the question whether all prelates are heretics; a consequence that would seem to follow from his line of argument. Many are called heretics, who are not. Christ himself was called so. This is a point that God alone, not the Pope, can decide. But a certain prelate has imagined a new method of procedure as to heretical doctrines; the accused must answer simply *yes* or *no* to all questions without any explanations, and if *yes*, he is at once to be burnt as a heretic, and his bishop is to be deposed for tolerating him. — This sentiment clearly proceeds from some very fierce enemy of Wyclif, probably a Bishop who had formerly been a Friar. It is so flatly contrary to every notion of justice, that I suspect it to have been only one of those unguarded sentences that sometimes fall from the lips of orators, either in the pulpit or elsewhere. However this may be, it is inveighed against in a passage of great energy and eloquence. Judges may err; no law — except perhaps that of Mahomet — could ever tolerate such proceedings. The idea of deposing Bishops was no doubt first entertained by some apostate who wished to get their sees for himself. Then, addressing the unnamed author of the proposal, Wyclif exclaims: "O thou hypocrite! . . . in thine own diocese there are thousands of heretics; and how then canst thou dare to exhort a Bishop, under penalty of losing his see, to condemn a man for heresy in a



place<sup>1</sup> not under his jurisdiction and in a matter which thou, babbler as thou art! canst not even conceive? Most surely, I may retort, thou art an arch-heretic (*coronatus hereticus*) unless thou showest that he is a heretic whom thou thus blindly accusest." This, Wyclif goes on to explain, refers to his own views on the Eucharist, which he contends are far more orthodox than those of his opponent. Yet that man would burn him without suffering him to reply! And Bishops are to be deposed for suffering heretics; whereas Christ Himself suffered Judas, *and suffers this apostate too!*

Heretical prelates, he continues, ought indeed to be most severely punished, but not put to death by the Church; this would be contrary to Christ's spirit of love. Scripture commands us to avoid them; the sentence of excommunication would be the very fact of a life contrary to Christ's law; and no temporal succour should be given to perverse members of the clergy, except in cases of absolute want. Tithes ought not to be paid to bad priests, whatever the consequences of refusal may be: the case of dues to be paid to secular lords without enquiring into their lives, is by no means parallel. If secular lords compel the faithful to pay tithes, the clergy will come to consider them, not as alms, but as a right. The reason of all this backsliding is our forgetfulness of the example of Christ.

Ch. VI (pp. 80—94.) The Bishops form the third class of tormentors of the Church; they have much degenerated, and want to be again set in the right way by being discharged of the burden of riches. It is for the good of their souls; they cannot complain of being unjustly compelled to do what is right; according to Augustine, it is even a duty of charity to compel them. They cannot maintain that the intention of those who first made the endowments was to bring about the present state of things, or that the heirs have no longer any right over that which has been given away, since these very heirs still appoint to benefices in many a case; and therefore they still have a right to their possessions. Those that harm the clergy by endowments are severely punished by the evil effects result-

<sup>1</sup> *In a place*, etc. . . . in loco exempto. This bears special reference to the Bishop of Lincoln, and is a marked instance of Wyclif's strong University feeling. The Bishop was always claiming jurisdiction over the University, which the University disclaimed.

ing therefrom. Bishops now give curses instead of blessings, and thus beget sons of the devil; property becomes less, a general rebellion is impending, and all will be destroyed, unless God's providence intervenes to save us.

The fallacy of false piety, intending to honour Christ's disciples, is met by the fact that Christ upon earth refused all such honour. Friars excuse their high living by the good they do; such an excuse would be just as available for every possible excess. They justify their splendid churches by Solomon's temple; that argument would give every Bishop, like Solomon, a number of wives and concubines. To excuse such scandals is to be worse than Iscariot; he at least affected to think of the poor, when he reproached Magdalen: they do not. When that poverty to which Friars pretend, is said to be indispensable to the clergy, they cry, Heresy! and admitting that the same man may be a member of Christ and of Belial, they grant that Christ is the devil: an awful blasphemy. No 'foreknown' can possibly be a member of Christ, nor can one of the elect be a member of the devil, though either may be for a time in a state of grace or of sin. — There is a difficulty concerning this proposition (which is quite Catholic, if we understand the words 'member of Christ' in a peculiar way); for Wyclif, in one passage that I have not been able to identify, though I remember it quite distinctly, denies that a 'prescitus' can receive baptism; and as, according to the usual doctrine, baptism — either of water,<sup>1</sup> fire or blood — is an indispensable preliminary to being in a state of grace, I do not see how our author can consistently admit that 'prescitus potest esse in gratiam secundum presentem iusticiam.'

Apostates are compared to warm water that 'freezes more quickly than cold, because its pores are dilated', and Christian charity which alone can save the people, is likened to the ointment on Aaron's head (the clergy) which descended unto his beard (the temporal lords) and even to the hem of his garment (the common people). And let those who would hinder this union of charity lose all their property,

<sup>1</sup> In the *Triologus* (IV. c. 12) however, Wyclif admits that a 'praescitus' can receive the baptism '*fluminis*' but not '*flaminis*'. This may answer my difficulty, but it brings others to the front.

especially the Friars. Let no man give them any temporal aid; if they pretend to be in absolute want, let them work.

Some Friars condemn what they do not understand, like the seven doctors at Oxford, who have condemned my doctrine of the Eucharist. Though they clearly know nothing whatever about *what* it is, they have proceeded to determine *how* Christ is present therein. The Gospels all say that the bread is Christ's body.

Wyclif again returns to the punishment that he wishes to be meted out to these conspirators against Christ's law: alms should be withheld from them. Each of the Orders hate the others, yet all of them join to withstand him who would reform the Church. They are like the Pharisees in Christ's time, and answer well to the different significations of the Hebrew word.

The Bishops (for Wyclif happens to return to them at the end of the chapter) should give the people an example of poverty, of spiritual chastity, and of obedience to Christ; but since endowments have rendered it impossible for them to do so, they have gone wrong. They commit injustice, trouble the State, blind the people, and are disobedient stewards.

I have given a very full summary of the first six chapters, wishing the reader to notice how prone Wyclif is to repeat his conclusions, his arguments, and often his own words as regards his great topics: the Pope, Church endowments, the Friars, and the Holy Sacrament. And as he is always digressing into one or the other of these subjects, a much briefer synopsis will suffice henceforward, except as regards his theory of confession (chs. VIII—XII), and the rebellion of the peasants (almost the whole of ch. XIII).

Ch. VII (p. 94—110) attacks the Archdeacons, their pride and luxury, the slight fines that they inflicted for sins in order to get more money, and especially the abuse of excommunication and absolution. Excommunication, whether active or passive, may be right or wrong according as both the sentence and the motive agree or do not agree with God's law; but excommunication with bell, book and candle is to be utterly condemned. There follows a rather fine-drawn parallel between this practice and the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The people ought to excommunicate wicked priests by holding aloof from them; yet, as we never can be quite sure that

a man is a castaway, it is lawful to communicate even with the worst of men for their good. At present the greatest abuses prevail: all excommunications may be raised or absolutions obtained for money: the latter are given to robbers through fear. It is a proof that neither is worth anything. Excommunication ought, (1<sup>st</sup>) always to arise from a feeling of charity toward the person excommunicated, (2<sup>nd</sup>) never to be pronounced chiefly on account of a temporal motive; (3<sup>rd</sup>) God's law should never be forsaken because of human excommunications: they are then harmless thunderbolts. The duty of the faithful is to remain steadfast, notwithstanding the intimidation practised on both clergy and laity. If our persecutors say that obedience is due to them, we affirm that it is due to Christ alone, and to such as follow Christ. We resist their excommunications, in spite of the unjust laws that favour them; and we shall appeal to the king, as we have the right to do. This right they themselves implicitly acknowledge by calling for the aid of the secular arm.

Ch. VIII nominally deals with the 'fifth tormentor', the official whose business it was to obtain money by means of penance; but in reality it says nothing about him, and is completely filled up with Wyclif's opinions on the sacrament of Penance. In order to understand fully in how far he agrees and in how far he is in contradiction with the Church of Rome, I must premise a few statements on the Roman Catholic doctrine concerning this subject.

The sacrament of *Penance* is necessary to salvation, but not absolutely, only hypothetically (S. Th. 3<sup>a</sup>, qu. LXXXIV, art. 5). No mortal sin can be remitted without, and all are forgiven with Penance (qu. LXXXVI. art. 1, 2). Penance removes the eternal, but not necessarily the temporal punishment of sin (art. 4, 5). Sins once forgiven do not return, if the sinner falls again (qu. LXXXVIII, art. 1). Penance consists of *contrition*, *confession*, and *satisfaction* (qu. XC, art. 2). *Contrition* must extend to all sins (suppl. 3<sup>ae</sup> Partis, qu. II, art. 3), is the greatest of all sorrows, and cannot be excessive in itself, only in its effects (qu. III, art. 1, 2); it may, if sufficiently intense, remove even all the temporal punishment due to sin (qu. V. art. 2). *Confession* is necessary to salvation 'vel actu . . . vel saltem voto, quando articulus necessitatis, non contemptus, sacramentum excludit'. — Thus, when it is possible to confess, confession must be made.

We shall see that Wyclif admits this; but then his theory of the necessary personal holiness of all priests whose absolutions are valid, interferes with the practical working of his theory; it is useless, even hurtful to confess to one who cannot give absolution. — All are obliged to confess once a year, even such as have only venial sins; not indeed ‘jure divino’, but jure ‘positivo’, according to Pope Innocent’s decree *Omnis utriusque sexus* (qu. VI, art. 3). But towards the end of the article (ad tertium dicendum) it is remarked that, according to some, the Decree is believed to have no bearing upon such as have committed no mortal sin during the whole year. — This, as we shall see, has direct relation to one of Wyclif’s many objections to the statute of Pope Innocent. — The Pope himself cannot grant a dispensation from the law of confession. He can only release from the obligation of the Canon, not from the Divine commandment; for it is ‘de jure divino’ (art. 6). Confession must be made to a priest (qu. VIII. art. 1), though in certain cases it may be made to a layman with advantage (art. 2). — Wyclif and St. Thomas both agree on this point, though for different reasons. The former seems (p. 148) to think that an ‘elect,’ though a layman, has the power to grant absolution; St. Thomas says that in such cases the confession is only ‘sacramentalis quodammodo,’ the priestly power failing. — Only the priest who has received jurisdiction from his superiors has the right to hear confessions (art. IV). And here we may add, by the way, that St. Thomas appears to be much stricter on this point than the present custom of the Roman Catholic Church would warrant. He even says (ad secundum) that it is not lawful to receive communion at the hands of any other but the appointed priest. Certainly a Catholic living in London might confess there in the evening, and communicate in Liverpool the next morning, without being blamed in any way. — Many considerations, and not only the grievousness of the sin, are to be taken into account in imposing penances (art. 7). Confession with contrition (or contrition with the desire and intention to confess) delivers from the death of sin, and partly from the penalties due to sin (qu. IX, art. 1, 2). The seal of confession may *on no account whatever* be broken (qu. XI, art. 1). The confessor may even swear that he knows nothing of the confession (ad tertium); for it has been made to him as standing in God’s place. This rule

holds, not only for the confessor, but also for all that may in any way happen to hear the confession; and *the Pope himself may not grant a dispensation to allow a priest to reveal a sin told in confession.* The penitent alone can allow this (art. 4). Priests have power, but not arbitrary power, to enjoin penances (qu. XVIII, art. 4). *Bad priests have the 'power of the keys',* so long as their jurisdiction remains; but *not even Saints have that power, unless they are priests* (qu. XIX. art. 4, 5.)

We may now return to the synopsis of Wyclif's doctrine.

Ch. VIII (p. 110—128) examines and attacks the law *Omnis utriusque sexus*; Chs. IX (p. 128—143) and X (143—156) determine to what extent oral confession is necessary, whilst Ch. XI solves several other problems, connected with the Sacrament of penance.

Starting from the definition of penance as *a sacrament by which sins are effaced from the heart and expiated*, contradicted by the assumption that, according to the decree of Innocent III. "all the faithful must, when arrived at the age of discretion, confess privately at least once a year to the appointed priest set over them, and endeavour to do the penance he enjoins them" (which implies that penance includes confession and absolution), Wyclif attacks this law. First of all, according to the Fathers, (Ambrose and Gregory, for instance) this confession is not penance; for their definition of penance does not include confession. Nor is it included, if we define Penance as "a virtue by which we deplore sin"; it is therefore a rite superadded to what is essential in the sacrament.

It is not reasonable to force the faithful to confess once a year 'proprio sacerdoti', for a *proper* priest is too often not to be found; the obligation is either too loose or too strict, since it obliges to confession even those that have not sinned<sup>1</sup>, and does not oblige even the greatest sinners to confess oftener; the law, besides, takes no account of exceptional cases, of deaf persons, wanderers, &c. There are also logical difficulties; for every instant a new year begins. And it is impossible to remember all the sins of a whole year; but, if they are not confessed in detail, how can a proper penance be assigned? Priests are now completely blinded, and unfit to be the confessors of a true Christian; they do not follow the law themselves. Besides

<sup>1</sup> See p. XXV, l. 9, 10.



their not being able to decide what penance ought to be given, it is certain that no amount of penance is sufficient in the sight of God. God's mercy either does or does not make up for insufficient penance; if it does, discernment in the priest is unnecessary; if it does not, we must find injustice everywhere, different priests enjoining different penances for the very same sin. It is useless here to fall back upon the notion of expiation in Purgatory, for an insufficient penance may result in sending the penitent to Hell; and even if not, the sufferings of Purgatory are the most severe of penalties. The very difficult science of enjoining proper penances is at present abandoned, and arbitrary penances are given; because, if the ancient canons were followed, no one would confess. Yet what was once possible is possible even now. The real motive of this conduct is worldly gain; these priests prefer to impose fines on their penitents, and, like bad doctors, ought to be hung. The law requiring the penitent to be *alone*, heretically implies that God can possibly not be present, that no confession is valid, if overheard; and it gives occasion to sins of lust. *Solus* besides can not apply to a woman.

Passing rapidly by the question of the seal of confession, to which he objects more at length in another part of the work, Wyclif points out the rigour of the law obliging every one to confess to the priest hierarchically appointed. Why should we have to ask leave to go to another, when we have good reasons for acting thus? And if the 'proper priest' alone can, according to the decree, grant the required permission, it follows that his Bishop has no right to do so, and therefore no jurisdiction. God gives the right to hear confessions at the same time as He gives the priesthood.

No formula of absolution is to be found in Scripture; all Christians can grant absolution. The priest, not knowing whether his penitent is contrite, is ignorant whether the absolution really takes place, or no: yet he utters the sacramental words — perhaps a falsehood. If the absolution is given provisionally, then the pardon is uncertain, and any other man could give it just as well. Augustine himself says that the absolution of a priest separated from the communion of the Church is not valid; this may possibly be true of the whole present hierarchy. According to Canon Law, if a Bishop has once ordained

a wicked priest, he no longer has the right<sup>1</sup> to ordain. And if the Bishop cannot ordain, then the priests he has consecrated are mere laymen.

Wyclif, summing up at the close of this chapter the principal motives for his opposition to the law — its injustice, its uselessness, and the spirit of greed that prompted it, — says in conclusion that it might perhaps be explained in agreement with his own views, but that he prefers to reject it simply and follow the law of Christ.

Ch. IX examines the necessity of confession to a priest. After refuting several false notions about the time of its institution, which, as a Church law, Wyclif identifies with the date of Innocent's decree, he rejects it as such on the ground of superfluity. On the other hand, he freely admits the necessity of confession in itself, as a law of our fallen human nature. Oral confession is a necessary means to be delivered from sin; every natural want supposes the means of satisfying it; and deliverance from sin is the greatest need of man. As one man ought to help another in his bodily wants, so he ought also to do for the wants of his soul. Thus confession is to be read of both in the times of the Old Law and of the New, though we nowhere hear of auricular confession. In the days of the early Church, however, confession, whether public or private, was *always free and unconstrained*. It is this point especially that rouses Wyclif's aversion to the law *Omnis utriusque sexus*. He indeed brings forward many objections that would seem to imply opposition to the practice of confession in itself; but in the light of subsequent and most unequivocal utterances, especially the declaration with which the whole work closes (p. 288), we cannot admit that there was any such opposition. He was certainly in favour of public, and also of auricular confession; but voluntary, not forced.

There are therefore three sorts of confession; one made to God with true repentance; this kind is absolutely necessary to salvation. Another is made to man; it is a law of nature, confirmed by Christ. The third sort is a mere human institution, rendered compulsory and exalted into an absolutely necessary instrument of salvation. Yet even

<sup>1</sup> The *right*, but not the *power*. Wyclif supposes that the power is taken away. It is unanimously admitted amongst Roman Catholic theologians, that even schismatical Bishops have the power to ordain.

this confession may be pleasing to God on the part of the priest, or of the penitent, or of both; and unless a parish priest is reasonably suspected of sin, his parishioners should confess to him as often as they need it.

Wyclif then, after a short digression about Innocent III., the Friars, and the Eucharist, answers three objections. 1<sup>st</sup>. It is lawful to compel men to do good. — Yes; but such compulsion falls only upon exterior acts, and the use of force is the duty of temporal, not spiritual masters. 2<sup>nd</sup>. Hugo of St. Victor, Bede, Augustine and Grosseteste all agree that confession is necessary to salvation. — Yet it is certainly not *absolutely* necessary, as many examples and Chrysostom's authority prove; that only belongs to contrition; human ordinances cannot be compared with Christ's law. We must avoid both extremes: no confession at all, and forced confession. What the above mentioned doctors say refers to the former error.

3<sup>rd</sup>. There is (Ch. X, p. 143) no strict definition of penance, as understood in the first or the second sense; all is vague. — This is denied, for the definition has been given already. What makes the difference between voluntary and obligatory confession is, that the latter is exacted in order to get money. Most priests only ask the penitent whether he has paid his tithes. Rather confess to the devil than to such idolatrous, leprous, simoniacal heretics! Never should alms be in any case given to the confessor, even should excommunication ensue (p. 145). Let us abhor this tendency to submit to every command, whether right or wrong.

A long quotation from Grosseteste follows, in which he gives the characteristics of Penance: he speaks of confession, as Wyclif remarks, only if and when it is possible. If we are truly contrite, God will always absolve us; if we are not, even the Pope could not. Absolution should never be unconditional; it is blasphemy for a priest to take upon himself the sins of another man, especially for money. Augustine says that every aggravating circumstance — *who* has committed *what* sin, *where*, *how often*, *with how many* and *what* persons, *why*, *how*, and *when* — should all be examined, and such penance given as may serve to correct the fault; yet we must not suppose that any penance enjoined by the priest is a sufficient atonement for sins that have been committed.

As I remark in a foot-note on p. 152, Wyclif seems to confound two quite different aspects of the enjoined penance; and I think it is as well to point this out, as tending more clearly to show the Roman Catholic point of view, and by comparison, Wyclif's also. Contrition, confession and satisfaction are three essential parts of Penance, as a sacrament; and by 'satisfaction' the penance given by the priest in confession is meant here. Without the *intention* at the moment of absolution to fulfil that penance, the absolution itself is null and void; and to neglect, still more to omit wilfully that fulfilment, is a sin that must be told in the next confession. So much for the *forgiveness*. But it does not follow that there is no further penalty to pay, because a sin is forgiven. That might indeed be, if the contrition were sufficiently intense, but in most cases a temporal punishment remains to be undergone, even when the satisfaction. i. e. the *penance* has been accomplished. Now, so far as I have been able to understand the Roman Catholic creed, indulgences bear upon satisfaction only in the latter sense, not in the former. And if anyone were to say that the penance imposed by the priest does away completely with all liabilities incurred by sin, it would follow that indulgences would be quite useless, for the penance imposed by the priest is requisite to the validity of the sacrament, and can be dispensed with by no indulgence, but only in a subsequent confession. If therefore Wyclif understood it in this sense, he would be proving a thesis against which no one ever said anything. On the other hand the shortest prayer enjoined by the priest is considered sufficient to render the sacrament *valid*. I of course do not allude to sins of theft, for which the priest has no right to grant, nor the penitent to receive absolution, without a sincere promise of restitution. There are also other cases in which, if a penitent does not make certain promises to prove his good will, no absolution can be given.

Another digression follows, in which the Pope is severely blamed for his attachment to temporal power; Bishops who are greedy for money, punishing sinners by yearly fines, are branded as hirelings and wolves; and a beautiful passage from Ambrose is quoted, to the effect that, in order not to fear death, we must live unworldly lives. Temporal lords, who are indifferent to the real good of the Church, also share in Wyclif's general blame. Traditions are

here worthless; it is their duty to take all temporalities from the clergy.

Ch. XI (p. 157—171) debates 1<sup>st</sup>, Whether public penance is right. Many arguments are brought forward in its favour. It is grounded on better authority than private confession. If we confess the same sins to several priests privately (which is allowed) the sin becomes in a manner public; and several priests can absolve one sin at once, and therefore hear confession at the same time Wyclif evidently leans towards restoring the severity of ancient times. "But," says he, "no general rule can be laid down. We must consider what is most to the penitent's advantage." This decision may be contrary to ecclesiastical law, but not to the law of Christ. Many think that the Roman Pontiff should be obeyed in all things; whereas different churches may have different customs. Some men prefer to communicate on Easter Sunday; others, on Maundy Thursday. Augustine advises the faithful to communicate every week; Ambrose inveighs against Pharisaical observances in such matters. The Pope has no business to interfere, and should be disobeyed by way of protest, as he exceeds his power, even though he may command us to do what is not wrong. God leaves us (p. 162) our liberty in a great number of acts. Man has no right to encroach upon that liberty, or we return to the bondage of the Old Law. Many other absurdities and blasphemies also flow from this principle.

Wyclif now takes into consideration three objections. 1<sup>st</sup>. If this doctrine be true, no vows are right. — No, not when it is clear that God no longer approves of them. An action is forbidden by the vow, because forbidden by God for a time, not forever. An act, good in itself, cannot be made criminal by human law. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>. No Christian can make laws, and the Pope has no power to grant dispensations, on this hypothesis. — Not at all. Laws may be made, and also dispensations granted, provided they are in agreement with Scripture and do not diminish Christian liberty.

The second question (p. 164—168) is whether the secret of confession should always be kept. Here Wyclif replies by a very decided negative. We find mention of public confession alone in the Bible. All sins will be known at the Last Day; why not now? To reveal the secret would injure auricular confession: a good result. A confessor, knowing of an intended crime, ought to reveal it. In

many cases it happens, as a fact, that confessions are revealed with impunity; as for instance, in sleep, &c. Many inconveniences may happen to priests who obey the law of secrecy. It is a sacrament of the devil. Confessors should, by the bye, leave public sinners, and not remain their friends after a fourth relapse. Wyclif concludes by summing up his doctrine on private confession, in which he admits the 'power of the keys', but not as coming from Rome, through the Bishops; it comes direct from Christ, to those who teach the doctrine of Predestination.

The chapter closes with the solution of several other less important problems. 1<sup>st</sup>. Can penance be done in a state of mortal sin? No; for every deed done in that state is a mortal sin. Yet good deeds are of service; they lessen the punishment even of the castaway. 2<sup>nd</sup>. It is of no use to repeat the same sins again and again in confession. 3<sup>rd</sup>. Is the penitent obliged to accomplish the penance prescribed? Wyclif here accumulates a number of difficulties which he considers as insoluble from a Nominalist point of view. A penance is a universal, and therefore is *nothing*. 4<sup>th</sup>. There certainly is a spiritual affinity between the confessor and his penitent. St. Thomas denies this quite as decidedly as Wyclif affirms it. If it were so, he says the son of a parish priest would not be allowed to marry any of the parishioners (Suppl. 5. Th., qu. LVI, art. 2, *Ad Octavum*.) 5<sup>th</sup>. The question whether former sins return when a relapse into sin takes place is thus solved: As a 'fore-known' is punished for all his sins, they must necessarily return, but since the time and the act of falling into sin are different, they are not absolutely the same sins as before. Roman Catholic theology holds, on the contrary, that if at any time a man duly repents of his sins, they are forever blotted out. (S. Th. 3<sup>a</sup>, qu. LXXXVIII).

Ch. XII (172—188) attacks rural deans with much severity, and points out the duties of Rectors and inferior priests. They are, if perverse, the sixth, seventh, and eighth classes of 'tormentors.' The rural dean's special duty is to impose fines upon such of the people as have fallen into the sin of lust; themselves prone to such sins, they encourage harlots, in order that their revenue may not suffer, like incarnate fiends. Their weapons are citations and excommunications. But they can easily be resisted, especially if the guilty party resorts to his own priest. Their claim to inflict fines or to excommunicate, after absolution has been given, is preposterous; for the man



is innocent. If one of them can inflict a fine for a sin that exists no longer, why not a thousand others? Parish priests should take no notice of these wolves, except to defend their flocks. Especially should they refuse to publish excommunication against one who has already done penance. Such fines are neither alms nor atonement; they are unlawful, because arbitrary. They indeed, by taking the money, remove the occasion for lust, but they cause other evils. Why should the sinner pay fines to one worse than himself, and who deserves to be severely punished?

The duty of the spiritual pastor is then laid down. He ought especially to avoid sinning against his flock. If he leaves them, it must be as Christ left the angels in Heaven, caring for their welfare. He ought to appoint a good vicar in any case, and never exact anything superfluous. We may not demand anything as our due, unless we work for it. The bad clergy is, like the Pharisees, given to outward righteousness alone. No one (p. 182) should accept a benefice, except for purely spiritual motives. The curate would do well to go preaching about the country, or at least in his own parish. He should avoid absenting himself on pretence of study, and be quite free from public affairs. He has no right to anything but alms. Tithes were exacted as dues only by the wicked sons of Heli. They are due to the priest only by God's justice, not by legal right. The best way to deal with a bad priest is to cut off his income by having nothing to do with him. As for the inferior priests, though too often worldly and given to the lusts of the flesh, they seem less rooted in malice than the higher orders of the clergy.

Ch. XIII (p. 188—203) is nominally against the monks, but is in reality a plea for mercy, in favour of the rebels in the then recent insurrection, who, it is known, were headed by the priest John Straw,<sup>1</sup> whose exaggeration of Wyclif's doctrines are notorious. Wyclif of course blames the excesses of the people, and regrets the death of Archbishop Sudbury (*lamentabili conflictu*, p. 190); but he considers both the Archbishop and the other members of the clergy, who perished with him, as richly deserving their fate. In short, he takes

<sup>1</sup> Johannes Straw, qui fuit post Walterum Tylere maximus inter illos. Walsingham II, 9.



exactly the point of view of those who call the excesses of the French Revolution 'a sort of wild justice.' He points out the fact that the clergy possessed superfluous riches; but he does not admit that they ought to have been put to death on that account. Rather let them live, but be deprived of their temporalities. The clergy, who had prompted the late war, were responsible for the great numbers of soldiery in the country, whom they irritated rather than appeased (pp. 191, 192). What had the Archbishop to do with the Chancellorship, that most secular function of all? He was evidently a traitor<sup>1</sup> (p. 194). If the clergy does not reform, we shall yet see worse disasters (p. 195). It must, however, be admitted that the punishment inflicted was excessive: 1<sup>st</sup>. In *degree*, the people having no right to take away life. 2<sup>nd</sup>. In *quality*. There was no form of justice, only a mere outburst of popular indignation. 3<sup>rd</sup>. In *manner*; for they did not punish according to the fault; they rebelled against the secular powers, and they did not wait to take the advice of the whole kingdom (pp. 196, 197). On the other hand, we must not forget their grievances. Let neither the secular powers, nor Rome, nor the clergy, any longer rob the people.

Wyclif has not yet hinted at pardoning the rebels, but in the answers to the objections that follow (p. 198—203) he shows his purpose clearly. 1<sup>st</sup>. What Wyclif proposes would diminish the royal prerogative. — No, for on the contrary the patience of Christ (*paciencia maioris iniurie*) increased His prerogative. So will it be for our king too. 2<sup>nd</sup>. Clemency would stand in the way of just punishment. — No, for God will punish them as they deserve, if they are left to Him. Besides, let the possessions of the clergy make good the losses of the secular lords, and we shall have compensation enough. 3<sup>rd</sup>. All fear of consequences would be destroyed, should the guilty escape. — Better filial than servile fear, replies Wyclif. Their punishment will in any case, whether summary or judicial, be the cause of much hatred and disunion in the kingdom. The king and secular lords, and the clergy especially, have been much to blame in the matter (pp. 200, 201). We should follow Christ's example of mercy.

<sup>1</sup> See Walsingham's account of the rebellion and the death of the Archbishop, who was accused by the rebels almost in those very terms.

Chs. XIV to XVII (p. 201—272) contain a vehement attack upon the Friars, who are the tenth class of 'tormentors'. We may pass over these pages rapidly, as there is little new in them. Wyclif here, as in *De Apostasia* (p. 29—31), but at much greater length, complains of the 'Friar-makers', who went about recruiting members for their Orders. Their advice may well result in damnation. We may advise to do virtuous acts, but not acts that are indifferent; still less, dangerous acts, as in this case, unless by special revelation. If the state of a Friar is holy, all Friars are necessarily virtuous. It is quite the contrary, though the possibility of their salvation is not to be denied (p. 207). All that is said of the great graces given to Friars entering, living, and dying in the Order, is false; and the practice of putting on a Friar's habit at the hour of death, is a blasphemous superstition. They should, it is true, supply the want of good parish priests; but even were they as fervent as in the beginning, they are far too numerous, and burden the nation. They often take heirs under age from their legal guardians; an abuse that should be punished by law, or by seizing the person of a Friar as a hostage for the person kidnapped. They exhaust the resources of the kingdom, and are practically independent of the secular powers. Formerly poor and acceptable to God, they have degenerated; and now the results of the wrong they do are felt by every class in the State. They are probably traitors and spies in every country where they live. They obey no one. Their rule is blasphemous, and can be of no use to the Church but by being completely abolished.

It is said in their favour (ch. XV, p. 209) that they follow Christ closely, are of great use to the Church, and therefore deserve our respect. — It is true that they live poorly, but that is not sufficient to claim brotherhood with Christ. Robbers do the same. They will not touch money, but they love it. The three principal defects of their Orders are, 1<sup>st</sup>, that they live together without reason; 2<sup>nd</sup>, that their communities are extravagantly rich; and 3<sup>rd</sup>, that they are excessively burdened with traditions. Their Founders would not know them; they have nothing left of the Order but the habit. Christ and His Apostles, far from burdening the country, worked with their hands. — A digression follows (p. 224—226) concerning the Sacrament, containing nothing new except the form, in the assertion

that the 'Accident-theory' is a heresy that blasphemes the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Christ's words against false prophets, who come in sheep's clothing, &c. are quoted and applied. The endowed monks, of whom but little was said in the proper place, are here blamed for their luxurious lives (p. 228). On p. 229, Wyclif replies to a question that many of his followers must have put to him. Since every good deed may be hypocritically imitated, how can we know that any deed is really, i. e. morally, good? for it has often been denied that the good done by monks and friars is any proof in their favour. Wyclif in reply draws a distinction between a judgment that is only probable and one that is certain. Every good deed *certainly* proceeds from a cause physically good, and may with probability be judged to be morally good, if no evil accompanies it. We should consider the whole tendency of a sequence of acts, and not judge private persons as we judge a whole Sect, nor set consent in the same category as deed. And under these restrictions, we may affirm that the whole clergy, the Friars especially, are corrupt; the latter being especially condemnable, because they flatter the Roman Curia, and often become Popes or Cardinals themselves. But they can truly exalt the Roman Curia only by obeying its laws, as embodied in the Decretals.

A long extract from a sermon of Fitz-Ralph closes the chapter (p. 232—238). Eight heads of accusation were brought by this Bishop against the Friars. 1<sup>st</sup> Against their rule, they beg when they have work to do and can do it. 2<sup>nd</sup> They do not follow their rule literally, as St. Francis commands, but evade it by glosses. 3<sup>rd</sup> They preach against the will of the Bishop to whom the diocese belongs. 4<sup>th</sup> They ought not to touch money, but they have a man who goes with them and collects it. 5<sup>th</sup> They preach without being duly examined, and the Friar who gets most money is sent to preach the oftenest. 6<sup>th</sup> Against their rule, they enter monasteries and private houses. 7<sup>th</sup> They do not observe Holy Poverty, but accept any quantity of small sums from poor people. 8<sup>th</sup> They wear costly habits, interfere in secular affairs, and disobey Papal laws, particularly as concerns the burial of seculars in their grave-yards; whence it is likely that they lie under an interdict.

Ch. XVI (p. 239—255) continues to attack the Friars. The Pope ought to abolish their Orders, which he can very easily do, by

means of a general dispensation from their vows. Wyclif avails himself of the objection that the destruction of the Friars would put an end to scholastic degrees in the University, to inveigh against the *Fratres pilliati*, or graduates among the Friars, who, as it appears, enjoyed certain privileges very likely to excite the envy of such of their brethren as were less intelligent or (according to Wyclif, p. 244. ll. 31—37) less fortunate than they: such as, for instance, exemption from preaching, from the Choir, and from all acts of obedience (*omne quod sonat in obedienciam*). So that, while they praise obedience, they make it the greatest reward not to have to obey! This is unscriptural in every way, as is also the fashion after which their General domineers over them (p. 246). An abrupt transition brings us again to the Eucharistic controversy, and Wyclif's condemnation in Oxford, and the 'Catholic Doctor' who spoke in Wyclif's favour, whom (in *De Apostasia, Introduction*) I have supposed to be Wyclif himself, though I am not quite sure of that now. It seems, however, that this hypothesis cannot be reasonably doubted. He more than once speaks of himself in the third person<sup>1</sup>, and the arguments of the 'Catholic Doctor' melt into the text in such a manner that it is hard to see where they end and where Wyclif takes up the argument for his own part. There is no need to give the details of these arguments; the most striking of them have already been dealt with in *De Apostasia*. Wyclif concludes that the Oxford condemnation was a temptation of Satan, occasioned by ignorance of the interpretation of Scripture. (p. 250). The rest of the chapter contains nothing new.

Ch. XVII (p. 255—272) assails the door-keeper, and by door-keepers Wyclif means all those of the clergy who were not in Holy Orders. Two points especially are to be noted in this chapter: Wyclif's theory of Sacramentals (p. 257) and his protest against the employment of the clergy in secular affairs. — It is complained that the doorkeepers mix too much common water with the holy water that they distribute. Wyclif decidedly admits that a true Christian and a good priest have the power given by Christ to His disciples to cast out devils (as is done previously to the blessing of the water).

<sup>1</sup> Et sic dicit quidam debilis et claudus citatus ad hanc curiam . . . De Citationibus frivolis c. 4. Buddensieg. W's Pol. Works, p. 556.

But as 'foreknown' priests have not that power, we must suspect that the water is not holy, if they do not follow Christ's law. A priest who sometimes does wrong abuses his power; if he continually does wrong, he cannot abuse it, for he has none. We should treat holy water with all due reverence (p. 259) yet without excess, avoiding exaggeration on both sides. As for consecrated oil, its adulteration is a very serious matter, since the oil is consecrated by the Bishop, made of costly ingredients, and used in Confirmation and Baptism: its impurity would interfere with the integrity of those sacraments.

Wyclif proceeds to point out the abuses concerning clerks (p. 261—272). Some of them do not really, but only nominally, belong to the clergy. But for such as do, the practice of employing them in secular charges, is without excuse, condemned by Canon law, and a dishonour to the Church. It is said to favour the prosperity of the realm; but it is contrary to Christ's law; and if the Canons forbidding it have fallen into disuse, that cannot be said of the law of Christ. And a man willing to be a traitor to God, the King of kings, may as well be a traitor to man also. It is impossible to serve both Christ and the king properly. Christ's service has to be abandoned. At least let them give up their benefices. This is argued to be impossible, for the King can only afford to pay them by means of those benefices. Here again is an argument against the temporal possessions of the clergy; an argument which the present wretched condition of the poor tends to strengthen. It is incomprehensible how secular lords can rob the poor as they do, seeing that the lands of the clergy belong to them by right, and would yield ever so much more than what the poor can give; and they would thus regenerate the clergy, now so corrupt, so neglectful of the people, so hated, and so unable to resist. Parliament should pass a bill to that effect; tallages should also be abolished, and the poor no longer robbed. As matters stand, secular lords are forced by circumstances to plunder their tenants, and thus indirectly to ruin themselves; and their own enemies move them to persecute the faithful as heretics. The chapter closes with a petition in seven points to the King and Parliament, summing up pretty nearly the whole of Wyclif's doctrine.

Ch. XVIII. After a few pages (272—276) devoted to the exposure of the misdeeds of questors 'the twelfth sort of tormentors',

men who went about the kingdom, it appears, collecting money, and dispensing indulgences from Rome, whom our author accuses of drawing more than £100,000 annually out of the kingdom (p. 274) the epilogue begins on page 276. His opinions concerning the perfection of the religious state are, he says, attacked; but he defends them by quoting Grosseteste. All private religions, like civil government, savour of sin. It is hard to be saved in them. Why prefer the foolish remedies of men to those given us by Christ (p. 279)? In Christ's law no ceremonial observances are perpetual. It is that which constitutes the difference between it and the rules of Sects (p. 280), Church endowments, &c. We deny that any hard and fast lines ought to be laid down; they often have absurd results. Christian liberty should be maintained. It is impossible to bind oneself down perpetually to do acts that may at times be lawful and at times not.

Wyclif's doctrine of temporalities is, he says, denounced; yet it is necessarily true. His opponents have no right to bring the actions of Saints as precedents, until they do the works that those Saints did. The whole world feels the abuse of Church property, and the king should redress this abuse. The parable of the unjust steward should be explained in this sense, and the miracle of the loaves and fishes (when Christ gave the bread to the Apostles to distribute) does not contradict this explanation. It is a sin for any of the clergy to trouble himself about the future, for which God will provide; more especially is it a sin for those Orders that are strictly vowed to poverty.

Finally Wyclif says he is accused as a heretic, not really on account of his opinions in the Eucharistic controversy, but because of his adversaries' rage about the two other points. He is, however, ready to retract any error he may have made, if shown that is an error. The contradictions of the different Sects are then briefly touched upon, and Wyclif's opinion stated once more. The Eucharist is Christ's body, "non substantialiter, sed supernaturaliter". As for Confession, I have already noticed his declaration that it is necessary, but not absolutely so, and his protest against the compulsory nature of Pope Innocent's statute, which was not founded on the Gospel.

In conclusion, he says, referring to the three books *De Simonia*, *De Apostasia*, and *De Blasphemia*, that, should he have erred in



those works, he humbly asks God's forgiveness, and submits to the correction and teaching of any creature whom it may please Him to appoint for that purpose.

Such is the close of Wyclif's last great work. In it he appears, as in most of the other short tracts written during the latest period of his life, unflinchingly attached to the principles expounded by him before his condemnation at Oxford, and inspired, if possible, with still greater vehemence in his denunciations than before that date, and still more unsparing in his exposure of all that was, or that he considered to be, an abuse.

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## CAPITULUM PRIMUM.

29<sup>a</sup> | Restat succincte de blasfemia pertractandum. Est autem blasfemia *insipiens detraccio honoris domini*. Et dicitur a *blas* (quod est insipiens) et *femina*, que quasi rane *blaterant*, communiter nimis stulte.

Blasphemy may be defined as a 'foolish' detracton from God's honour',

Committitur autem blasfemia tribus modis. *Primo* modo, quando deo attribuitur quod sibi non convenit; ut ponendo quod deus nimis severe puniat, vel quod sit iniquitas apud deum. *Secundo* modo, cum removetur a deo quod sibi convenit; ut legitur de Rapsace 4<sup>to</sup> Reg. 18 et 19. Et *tercio* modo, quando pure creature attribuitur quod deo proprium est. Et ad istum sensum Judei sepe inposuerunt Cristo blasfemiam, ut patet Matth. 9, 16 et Joh. 10. Et isto modo Herodes, Act. 12 legitur blasfemasse; et principes populi sunt proni incidere in istam blasfemiam.

and is of three kinds:  
1. when we ascribe unjust attributes to God;  
2. when, like Rabshakeh, we deny his real attributes;  
3. when we ascribe God's peculiar properties to His creatures, as was done in Herod's case.

4. Reg. XVIII, 17—37  
XIX, 4—8  
Matth. IX, 3  
XXVI, 65  
Joan. X, 36  
Act. XII, 23

Et patet scrutanti intime quod, sicut simonia et apostasia consequuntur ad quodcunque mortale, sic et blasfemia, que convertibilis est cum illis. Nam, eo ipso quo quis peccat mortaliter, vult vitam istam esse bonam, et per consequens non reprobam, sed approbatam a deo: quod est manifesta blasfemia. Vult enim implicate attribuire deo auctorisationem peccati, quod propter

Rulers are much exposed to this sin.

Simony and apostasy imply blasphemy under each of the foregoing heads;  
1. inasmuch as the man who sins mortally wishes God to authorize his evil act;

1. Incipit liber de blasfemia duodecimus in ordine C. Explicit de officio pastoralis incipit eiusdem de blasfemia. Capitulum primum D. 2. succinte C. 4. femia AB. 5. rana latrat A; *ib.* blaterant E. 6. tribus modis blasf. CDE. 7. attribuitur D; *corr.* E. 9. apud D; *ib.* modo *deest* BCDE. 10. Rapsate C. 11. Rēgē (= *quarti regum*) A; quarti DE. 12. attribuitur D; *corr.* E; *ib.* ad *deest* A. 14. et *deest* ABDE; *ib.* Herodes *deest* A. 17. symonia CDE. 18. consequuntur C; *ib.* quodlibet C. 20. peccator blasfemat *in marg.* C; *ib.* vult CDE; *ib.* illam ACDE. 21—23. et per consequens non reprobationem, sed approbationem a deo, quod est manifesta blasfemia vult enim implicate deo attribuire auctorisationem peccati. 22. vult CDE. 23 deo attrib. CDE; *ib.* auctorizationem D.

3. I should have preferred the other reading, but the context renders that inadmissible. Wyclif's works contain other etymologies that betray ignorance of Greek. See *De Apostasia*, p. 1, l. 21. 17. See *De Apostasia*, p. 1, opening paragraph.

2. because, hoping for impunity, he derogates from God's justice, which must fall on every sinner;  
3. because his acts implicitly make his own will a supreme law.

We may argue thus for every mortal sin.

St. Augustine supports this view.

He says: Let our acts praise God as well as our voices;

it is of no use to praise God with the tongue if you blaspheme Him by an intemperate life. In this sense St. Paul calls himself a blasphemous.

Many think the root of this blasphemy to be in the Roman Curia, because Antichrist says he is Christ's vicar,

bonitatem non potest deo competere Wult eciam implicate a deo auferre iusticiam debite puniendi, que repugnat patri et filio. Et tercio, wult implicate dare homini voluntatem supremam, non subiectam, vel regulandam voluntati superiori: quod deo est proprium. Et idem 5 deducitur multipliciter in quocunque mortali peccato quod homo potest inordinate velle aliquod positivum, quo iustificato cum modo volendi, sequitur talis absurditas. Iste autem est modus loquendi famosus sanctorum; et tunc patet dicta sententia.

10

Et per hec intelligi potest Augustinus super illo psalmo 146 "*Laudate dominum, quoniam bonus est psalmus*". "Qui", inquit, "psallit, non sola mente psallit; sed, assumpto eciam quodam organo quod vocatur psalterium, accedentibus manibus voci concordat. Vis 15 ergo psallere? non solum vox tua sonet laudes dei, sed opera concordent cum voce tua. Cum igitur voce tua cantaveris, silebis aliquando. Vita sic canta, ut nunquam sileas; vita tua semper laudet. Negocium agis, et fraudem cogitas? De bono opere tuo laudas deum, et cum 20 blasphematur deus de malo opere tuo, opere tuo blasfemas deum." Et sequitur: "Si vero modum vescendi immoderatione voracitatis excedis, et vinolencia te ingurgites, quantaslibet laudes dei lingua sonet, vita blasfemat." Et isto modo loquitur Apostolus Thym. 1<sup>o</sup> vocans 25 B. se ipsum "*blasfemum*", quia erravit a lege domini. Et 1 Tim. 1, 13 utinam nostri prepositi non plus errent!

Videtur autem multis ex fide scripture et facto hominum, quod in Curia romana sit radix huius blasphemie, quia homo peccati anticristus insignis loquitur quod sit 30 summus Cristi vicarius, in vita et opere inter mortales sibi simillimus. Et cum, secundum Augustinum, omnis

1. competere CE; *ib.* wlt CD. 2. auferre a Deo DE. 3. wlt CD; *ib.* homini implicate dare C; implicate homini dare DE. 4. regulam C. 5. voluntate E; *ib.* deo deest C. 6. petito (*in marg. corr.*) A; petito C; peccato *corr. in marg.* petito D; peccato cui superscriptum est petito E. 7. quia pro quod E; *ib.* 2<sup>o</sup> pro aliquod E. 8. autem deest ABDE; *ib.* est et C. 9. potest intelligi C; *ib.* Augustinus in *marg.* A. 10. laudare in *marg.* C; *ib.* est deest A. 11. assumpto D. 12. opera tua CDE; *ib.* tua deest A. 13. alii pro aliquando A. 14. opere tuo in *marg.* B; deest A; opere tuo linea rubra delet. E. 15. blasphemare deum opere in *marg.* C. 16. lingua A; lingua tua CDE. 17. Thy A; i. Thimo. i. C; prima Thimotei primo DE. 18. in pro a B. 19. errant B. 20. radix blasphemie Roma in *marg.* C. 21. in signis linea divisum E. 22. similimus D.

12. St. Aug. *Enarratio in Ps. CXLVI* (Migne, t. XXXVII, p. 1899).

talis ex psalmi discordia blasfemat cum in vita, sequitur  
 quod et omnis talis sit radix blasfemie; imponit enim  
 deo expresse vitam sibi persimilem, quod a deo tolleret  
 omnem laudabilem dignitatem. Implicat eciam totum  
 5 evangelium esse falsum; ipsum enim affirmat Cristum  
 vixisse vitam pauperem, mundo odibilem, quia laboriosam  
 et humilem, cunctis suis fratribus ministrando, ut hic  
 supponitur. Hic autem vivit omnino contrarie, et ad  
 hoc promovet omnino suos discipulos; ita quod de  
 10 cristianismo, seducto per tales aspirantes ad seculare  
 dominium (quod Cristus in se renuit et interdixit suis  
 discipulis), intelligi potest illud Ysa. 3<sup>o</sup>: *Effeminati do-*  
 Math. minabuntur eis. Mos enim feminarum est, quo ad opera  
 III, 4 virilia ociari, in lautis esibilibus et stramentis mollibus  
 15 delectari, et post ista ac ornamenta splendida ex excel-  
 lencia sui nominis blaterare. Sic effeminantur anticristus  
 cum suis satrapis. Nam tamquam alter costree residet  
 20<sup>b</sup> in suo sumptuoso | pallacio, cuius sumptus non solum  
 male sunt tyrannice capti, sed pessime, quia blasfeme  
 20 de bonis pauperum summa yppocrisi spoliata. De lau-  
 ticiis vero, de pulvinaribus et eorum lectisterniis, clamat  
 mundus. Et non solum carte plumbate sed codices  
 testantur eius excellenciam blasfemam, post ornatum  
 stultissimum ac monstruosissimum; primo cameraliter  
 25 (more femine) cum suis complicitibus intimatam, et post  
 late per mundum publice proclamatam. Sic quod, ubi  
 Cristus non habens ubi caput suum reclinet, visitavit  
 pedestris humiliter civitates et patrias quas sanando in-  
 struxit, Anticristus trahit ad ociantes pedes sue superbie  
 totum mundum, quem non reficit, sed inficit; non sanat,  
 sed contaminat; non instruit in lege domini, sed seducit  
 in scola blasfemie anticristi.

and, as  
 Augustine says,  
 discord between  
 words and  
 deeds is  
 blasphemy.

Such a one robs  
 God of his true  
 honour, and by  
 implication  
 makes the whole  
 Gospel false.

It affirms Christ  
 to have lived in  
 poverty and  
 unworldliness;  
 but Antichrist  
 lives an entirely  
 different life.

So much is  
 Christianity  
 depraved by  
 those aspiring to  
 secular rule,  
 which Christ  
 Himself  
 refused and  
 forbade it to  
 His disciples,  
 that Isaiah's  
 words are now  
 fulfilled

concerning the  
 effeminacy of  
 our rulers:  
 Who, like  
 women, delight  
 in luxury and  
 pride;  
 the world  
 proclaims, and  
 we have written  
 evidence of  
 their luxurious  
 feasts and their  
 feminine love  
 of show both in  
 private and in  
 public.

All this is the  
 very antithesis  
 of Christ's  
 teaching.

2. et *deest* CDE; *ib.* inponit ACDE. 3. per similitudinem A.

4. implicat evangelium esse falsum *in marg.* C; implicat DE. 5. Cristum affirmit C.

8. anticristus *pro* autem A. 11. *qu* *pro* quod C.

12. Ysa. 3<sup>o</sup> A; Ys. 3 C. 12, 13. effeminati qui dicuntur dominari *in marg.* C.

13. *after* eis *in marg.* nota; morem feminarum B; mos feminarum in papa est factus *in marg.* C.

14. stramentis A. 15. hac A. 15, 16. extollencia C; *ib.* suis D; *ib.* blacterari A; laterare C; blaterare DE.

17. *Between* suis and satrapis, a blank space A; *ib.* aliter D; *ib.* cosdive B; cosdras E.

19. tyrannice DE; *ib.* blasfemie B. 21. pulvinariis DE.

22. Et *deest* DE. 23. eius blasfemium A. 24. cameraliter *in marg.* D.

26. *gnūd* *pro* mundum A. 27. Cristo contrarius antipapa *in marg.* C;

*ib.* ubi *deest* C. 28. pedes (= *per edes*) C; pedes ADE.

17. *Costree, cosdive, codras.* Probably Cosroes, known in Church History as a persecutor. See *De Christo et Antichristo*, Buddensieg, Polemical Works of Wyclif, p. 683, l. 20.

Every morning  
the cardinals  
must go to him  
with a  
numerous and  
splendid train  
of horsemen;

and strangers  
are ordered to  
beg for leave to  
kiss his feet;

which, called  
blessed, are not  
so, because of  
his worldliness.

Christ, after His  
resurrection,  
forbade Mary  
to kiss His feet;  
Antichrist  
exacts this.

Yet Christ's  
feet and His  
followers' are  
blessed and  
immortal; not  
so those of the  
members of the  
Devil.

Before His  
resurrection,  
Christ *allowed*  
Himself to be  
touched, that  
sins might be  
effaced or  
diseases cured.

But the pope  
has not this  
motive.

Christ's  
forbidding  
Magdalen to  
kiss His feet,  
whilst allowing

Unde cardinales, proximi complices huius hominis,  
docentur valde mane accedere ad suam presenciam,  
cum numerosa sumptuosa et monstruosa familia equitatus,  
non propter loci distanciam vel difficultatem itineris,  
sed ad ostendendum magnificenciam suam mundo et 5  
contrarietatem sui ad Cristum cum suis Apostolis. Exteris C.  
vero visitantibus hunc patrem iniungitur quod, ipso  
sedente in altum, in ornatu splendido, eciam usque ad  
pedes cum genuflexione petant humiliter pedum oscula  
beatorum. Quod si per "pedes" in scriptura significatur 10  
*affeccio* mundane glorie, ac non beata sed reprobata sit  
*affeccio* mundane glorie ac eius factorum, nichil falsius  
quam talem hominem esse beatum; et per consequens  
beatitudo sua non ebullit ad pedem vel ad talum. Cristus  
enim mandavit Magdalene volenti post resurrectionem 15  
osculari, ut assolet, pedes suos: *Noli, inquit, me tangere,*  
*nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum.* Et anticristus blas-  
feme exigit nedum pedum oscula, sed declamacionem blas-  
femam quod organa eius abiectissima sint beata. Cristus  
enim noluit feminam osculari pedes suos post resurrec- 20  
cionem, inmortales indubie et beatos, ut tollat presump-  
cionem blasphemam a ministris false fingentibus se esse  
Cristi vicarios. Pedes autem cum Cristo ascendencium  
ad gloriam sunt beati, et non esca vermium, membrum  
putridum et fetens sudor affectionum membri diaboli. 25

Perante autem Cristus pertulit sed non presumpsit  
pedes suos cum lacrimis osculari a femina, ut patet  
Luce 7<sup>o</sup>; quia devota contricio et parcium Cristī cor-  
poralis taccio delent crimina viatoris. Ideo ante mortem  
viando propter faciendam multiplicem sanitatem voluit 30  
tangi a feminis, ut patet Luc. septimo et octavo. Sed  
cum deflucit ista causa in papa, non subest ratio quare  
sic extollitur super Cristum. Sed Augustinus, super se-  
cundo capitulo Joh. omelia 121<sup>a</sup> notat quod Cristus post  
resurrectionem voluit tangi a feminis; cum Matth. 28 35

1. huius mundi hominis D.
2. attendere B.
3. cum *deest* A;
- ib.* numerosa A: nūmosa CD; *ib.* equitus C.
9. genu flexio A.
10. Anticristi condicio in pedibus beatis per contrarium *in marg. sup.* C.
11. mundane glorie A.
12. fictorum A; stercorum CDE.
14. ebullit
- corr.* E.
- 14, 15. Cristus prohibet pedes osculari magdalene *in marg.* A.
- 18, 19. blasphemiam *corr.* A.
22. miseris *pro* ministris ADE.
24. *in pro* ad C.
25. dyaboli DE.
29. crimina delent C; *delet corr.* ex delent E.
30. sanitatem multiplicem C.
32. deflucit CDE; *ib.* suberit B.
33. cum
- pro* sed A.
- 33, 34. 20<sup>o</sup> *pro secundo* B.
35. affeminis *pro* a feminis A.

- legitur quod, postquam Cristus apparuit mulieribus et  
 Matth. ait: *Ave, ipse accesserunt et tenuerunt pedes eius*; ideo, it to others, has  
 XXVIII, 9 secundo, Augustinus fideliter asserit quod in hiis verbis as Augustine  
 D. dictis Magdalene latet absconditum sacramentum. Et she representing  
 5 tercio, videtur dicere quod tam allegorice quam tro- the church of  
 pologice fuit sensus domini Magdalene singulariter the Gentiles  
 nunciatus, quod ipsa figurante ecclesiam gencium, fuit who were not  
 ipsa ecclesia post ascensionem plenarie convertenda. Et yet converted,  
 and being  
 quantum ad tropologiam ipsa Magdalena imperfecte con- besides too  
 sideravit Cristi humanitatem, non considerans quomodo much attached  
 10 fuit equalis patri divinitus. Ideo fuit exhinc prohibita to Christ as  
 ipsum tangere; quasi diceret, *quia nondum ascendi* in man.  
 in consideratione tua *ad equalitatem patris*, ideo, ut istam  
 imperfectionem cognoscas et corrigas, *noli me tangere*.  
 15 Sed Crisostomus videtur dicere quod apparuit Marie Chrysostom  
 in consimili corpore quale habuit ante mortem; et ideo says that His  
 disparente dote claritatis, credidit ipsum resurrexisse ad words dispelled  
 vitam communem ducendam cum discipulis, sicut ante. the false opinion  
 of Magdalen,  
 Unde et voluit dominum familiariter tangere, sicut et that He would  
 live on earth  
 20 prius. Sed hanc opinionem repellit, quasi signando as before, and  
 causam quare apparuit corpus suum non esse gloriosum, asserted that  
 He was there  
 per hoc quod ostendendo veritatem resurrectionis sue only to form  
 the Church.  
 per quadraginta dies fuit informaturus ecclesiam ante  
 suam ascensionem: unde monuit eam ire ad apostolos,  
 25 quos vocavit "fratres suos". Quod si isti sancti iam It those Saints  
 viverent, videntes blasphemam exactionem osculorum pedis lived now, they  
 would, giving  
 romani pontificis, considerantes quod mos est auctoris a third sense to  
 scripture gravidare ipsam multiformi sententia, these words, say  
 that *Touch Me*  
 sonanter dicerent quod hec mulier, effeminatos signans, not forbids us  
 to kiss the  
 30 prohibetur ad talia blasfema oscula anhelare. Pope's foot.  
 Cum enim duplex sit osculum: scilicet corporale Kisses being  
 either corporal  
 30<sup>a</sup> (licitum | sive illicitum) et spirituale, quod primo habe- or spiritual,  
 bitur in beatis, expedito in ipsa corporali osculo, remanet these are  
 spirituale osculum in patria expectandum. Sed osculum inexcusable in  
 either sense.  
 35 pedum pape caret omnimoda ratione, cum neutri parti 1. They are  
 harmful to him  
 proficit ad salutem; nam osculans ex culpanda avaricia that kisses,  
 whether his

2. ten'it pro tenuerunt C. 5, 6. tropoloice A. 7. nunciatus AC;  
 ib. ecclesia A. 9. tropoloyam A; ib. magdalene C; ib. perfecte (in  
 erasum) E. 9, 10. consideravit deest ACDE. 17. disperante A;  
 desperante C corr. in marg. D; ib. resurrexisse D. 19. faciliariter A;  
 ib. et deest CDE. 22. resurrectionis D. 23. informaturus CDE.  
 25-27. sancti — romani pontificis *alia manu in marg. add.* D.  
 26. blasphemiam A. 27. consyderantes D; ib. auctoris CE. 28. gravi-  
 dari A. 30. anhelari A; anhelare B. 31. osculum duplex in marg. C;  
 ib. scilicet deest C. 33. cum expedito C; *super lin. add.* DE; cum E;  
 ib. ipso pro ipsa BCD. 33, 34. remaneat spir. osc. *alia manu in marg.* D;  
 remaneat ABCD corr. E. 35. pedum deest DE.



motive be  
interest or  
mistaken  
devotion;

2. and very  
wrong in him  
that is kissed,  
who is not  
equal to Christ,  
nor above the  
Apostles.

We must either  
deny the Gospel  
or believe this.

Christ counsels  
us to take the  
lowest place at  
the wedding  
feast, when  
called:

Which is meant  
not of bodily  
but spiritual  
calling, place,  
and feast,  
as Grosseteste  
points out.

The wedding  
feast is the  
betrothal of  
Christ with his  
Church; the  
guests are  
called by the  
sacraments and  
by preaching;  
and to take the  
lowest place is  
to consider  
oneself the least  
among the elect.

vel ex devocione blasfema, omnino culpabitur. Quia  
autem tales cecati et palliantes factum, ac excitantes <sup>Job</sup>  
ad facinus, sunt cause huius yppocrisis, ideo Job 34 XXXIV,  
dicitur, *quod deus regnare facit yppocritam propter* <sup>30</sup>  
*peccata populi*. In osculato est omnino culpabile, quia 5  
non potest parificari Cristo, ut tantam dignitatem reci-  
piat. Quod si parificatur apostolis, non excedat honores  
huiusmodi ultra quam illi susceperant ad augmentum  
sui meriti ex confessione humili, et ad utilitatem populi  
honorantis. Ideo illi, instar Cristi, ceperunt benefacere 10  
dignificantes se per opera quoad deum, et mundanos  
honores respuerunt. Anticristus autem facit omnino  
contrarium. Ideo vel oportet negare evangelium, vel  
credere quod hec facit ad maximum sui obprobrium, <sup>Luc.</sup>  
nam Luce 14 mandavit Cristus: *Cum vocatus fueris ad* XIV, 8  
*nuptias, non discumbas in primo loco, ne forte honoracio-* <sup>et seq.</sup>  
*te sit invitatus ab illo, et veniens is qui te et illum invi-*  
*tarit, dicat tibi: da huic locum; et tunc incipies cum*  
*rubore novissimum locum tenere*. Constat autem ex fide  
et testimonio sanctorum quod Cristus loquitur de voca- 20  
cione, de locacione et de cenacione spirituali, non cor-  
porali; quia, ut deducit lincolniensis, aliter quilibet  
fidelis affectaret in nupciis carnalibus locum novissimum,  
et foret in eis intollerabilis contencio, inordinata invita-  
torum cumulacio, et omnino doctrine Cristi irrisio. Ideo 25 E.  
per nuptias intelligitur sponsacio Cristi et ecclesie, que  
perpetuitate complebitur in cena novissima. Ad has  
quidem nuptias multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi, ut <sup>Matth.</sup>  
loquitur Cristus Matth. 22<sup>o</sup>; quia quociens interno instinctu, XXII,  
sacramentis ecclesie vel predicacione evangelii ad Cristi 14  
amorem et ministerium sunt instructi, tociens a domino  
sunt vocati. Ille autem discumbit in loco novissimo,  
qui pie reputat se minimum electorum. Debet autem  
omnis Cristianus reputare se electum, cum debet habere  
spem, eciam si fuerit reprobatus. Et ista posicio potest 35

2. osculanti [et] osculato nocet quomodo *in marg.* C. 3. ad *deest* B;  
*ib.* causa DE; *ib.* yppocrisis DE. 5. vero est *pro est* C. 6. Cristo *alia*  
*manu in marg.* add. D. 8. huiusmodi *deest* A. 9. et *deest* DE; *ib.* po-  
puli *deest* DE. 10. Cristi *deest* C. 12. fecit C; *ib.* omni A. 13. *after*  
ideo, vel *in marg.* add. D. 14. hec *deest* B. 15. Cristus mandat C;  
mandat Cristus DE. 17. te *deest* D; *in marg.* add. E; *ib.* fuerit A;  
*ib.* *veīs* *veīs* *pro* veniens D; *veīs* E. 20. sanctorum testimonio C.  
22. lincolniensis DE 23. corporalibus CDE. 26. Residere in novissimo  
loco in nupciis *in marg.* A; vocacio ad nuptias spirituales *in marg.* C;  
*ib.* ecclesie D. 26. 27. que perpetuitate *in marg.* add. E. 28. electi C.  
31. vel *pro* et A; *ib.* instructi *deest* A. 32. discubuit A. 34. se repu-  
tare electum DE. 35. debet *pro* potest A.



in reputacione omni Cristiano competere, quia Paulus, qui vidit archana, reputavit se apostolorum minimum. Sed in die cum ewacuabitur imperfectum quod ex parte est, erit per summum iudicem invitante posita aliena  
 5 locacio, cum quilibet predestinatus correspondentem ad suam humilitatem et meritum erit in gloria exaltatus; unde superbus, presumens de dignitate adquisita humanitus, erit indubie, si non resipuerit, ad *locum novissimum* ad magnam sui confusionem in die iudicii condemnatus;  
 10 locus novissimus istius ordinis est locus inferni, de quo locatus non exeat *donec reddat quadrantem novissimum* ut dicit Cristus Matth. 5<sup>o</sup>. Illum quidem locum omnes tales superbi eligunt in effectum. Si ergo papa reputat se patrem sanctissimum, quomodo presumptive eligit  
 15 locum primum? nec dubium, nisi papa isti consenserit, posset faciliter destruere istum stilum.

Matth.  
V, 26

But in the Day of Judgment he who now takes the lowest place shall be exalted, and the proud man forced to take the lowest place — Hell.

How then can the Pope set himself in the first place, if he thinks himself holy?

Si dicatur quod secundum ius vicarium Cristi et Petri et tradiciones humanas in tali loco preficitur; quantum ad primum, patet ex dictis alibi quod blasphema pre-  
 20 sumptio est illud asserere; imo, si ita est, faciat fideliter et moderate similiter eorum officium; quia aliter, ut dicit Augustinus, ex discordia vite et usurpati nominis est blasphemus. Quantum ad secundum, patet quod titulus cesareus vel humana tradicio est impertinens beatitudini  
 25 aut repugnans. Quomodo igitur non patet populo quod papa, propter mundanam exaltationem et temporalium accumulacionem, tam studiose appetit illum statum? Et patet ex dictis quod tunc ex lepra symonie inficit gregem suum. Nam si propter necessitatem et pro-  
 30 fectum ecclesie sic affectat, quare non vivit vitam Petri, cum hoc foret facilius et ex fide meritorius undique?

*Objection:* The Pope has a right to this; 1. as vicar of Christ; 2. by virtue of tradition

But the first point is mere blasphemy, unless he lives like Christ;

and as for the second, human traditions have nothing to do with holiness, or are even opposed to it, engendering worldly pomp, and the leprosy of simony.

O si regnum nostrum post mortem Urbani Sexti non foret seductum per satrapas, sic quod liberet se a tali  
 35 capite et *generacione hac pessima* (ut dicitur Act. secundo)

If England, after the death of Urban VI, would throw off the belief that

Act.  
II, 40

1. repugnacione A; *ib.* cum *pro* omni A. 3. in die iudicii B; *ib.* ewacuabitur CDE. 5. locutio D; *ib.* correspondentem C 6. exaltatus A. 7. adquisita C; adquisita *corr.* ex quesita E. 8. in die C; *ib.* resipuerit CD; *corr.* E. 11. nec *pro* donec A. 13. tales *in marg.* add. D; *ib.* superbie D. 14. pater sanctissimus *in marg.* C; *ib.* non omnes MSS. 16. possit C. 19. blasfemia C. 20. ymmo CD. 22. discordia vite usurpatum nomen *in marg.* C. 24. impertinens CD. 25. ergo C. 26, 27. mundana exaltacio temporalium accumulacio quid arguunt etc. *in marg.* *infer.* C. 28. simonie A. 29. necessitatem B; meritum *pro* necessitatem ACDE. 31, 32. undequaquam C. 33. Sexti A. 35. actuum DE.

obedience to the pope is necessary, the reign of Antichrist would be ended.

It is enough to love Christ and keep His law, by whom alone we shall be saved.

And then the kingdom might obey any man recognized by his works to be Christ's Vicar: this would be the right obedience.

For every movement of the Christian people should proceed from God as a cause, and His Minister removing each obstacle.

Difficulties in the way; strength of the other party, 1. by the promotion of prelates, 2. the defence of endowments, etc.,

abiciatque istam blasphemiam quod est de necessitate salutis facere fidelium obedienciam et duci per talem capitaneum, patenter destructa foret anticristi blasfemia! Sufficit enim fidelibus quod ipsi pure diligant et teneant legem Cristi; quia (Act. 4) dicit fides apostolorum quod *non est aliud nomen sub celo, in quo oportet nos salvos fieri, nisi nomen domini Jesu Cristi*. O si fideles fratres cum aliis constanter publicarent istam sententiam, postposito omni amore privato, preciosa foret mors sic decedencium ex purgacione gloriosa ecclesie ab antiqua blasfemia, et ex amocione obstaculi tardantis ecclesiam ab ordinacione perfecta primeva! Tunc enim posset regnum nostrum obedire cuicunque docto esse vicario Cristi per opera, sicut debuit obedire sancto Petro, non in fraudulenta temporalium subtraccione, non in membrorum anticristi subdola perfeccione, nec in blasfeme instruccionis seminacione, sed in spiritualium legis Cristi predicacione. Ista enim foret vera obediencia Cristi vicario, a qua saltans et blasfemia priorem exigens indicat, ut sic, se esse vicarium anticristi. Tunc enim fructificaret fides in regnis ut antea, amoto obstaculo diaboli prohibente. Oportet enim motum populi, tamquam motum elementi vel mixti, non ex se fieri, sed a deo generante et ministro dei prohibens removeo.

Est autem pars anticristi fortis et multiplex, prohibens istum ignem ascendere: ad quod procurant prelaturum et clericorum promocio, dotacionum et tradicionum humanarum defensio, et consuetudinis huius abusus inveteracio. Sed rex celorum et dominus veritatis est

2. fidelium facere CDE. 3. potenter destructa B. 4. ad 4 in marg.: sufficeret fidei quid. 5. actum DE. 6. nomen aliud C. 7. domini nostri C; *ib.* Jesu deest B. 8. mors preciosa in marg. C. 9. 12, 13. regnum nostrum posset C. 10. cuilibet B. 11. sicut CDE; *ib.* debuit debuit A. 12. perfeccione DE. 13. institutionis B. 14. obediencia vera quando esset in marg. C. 15. saltans E; *ib.* priorem blasphemiam C; blasphemiam priorem DE. 16. regiminibus; *corr.* in marg. A; *ib.* ante ea ACE; *ib.* amoto A. 17. diaboli et A; diaboli DE. 18. mixtum D; *corr.* E. 19. prohibens istum in marg. *superiori add.* 20. accendere *corr.* ex ascendere E. 21. 26, 27. clericorum et prelaturum CDE. 22. consuetudinis E; *ib.* abuse in marg. CDE.

1, 2. *De necessitate salutis*. It is well to notice these words, for the torrent of Wyclif's invectives against the See of Rome might lead us to mistake his position. What he objects to is not so much the obedience given to the Roman Pontiff as the belief that it is indispensable for salvation. A few lines further, he speaks of England *obeying* any one who should be truly found to be the vicar of Christ. 19. *A qua saltans*. This seems to be a somewhat strained metaphor, amounting to the English 'breaking from'.

- forrior principe huius mundi; dicit nobis, inquam, in fide quod quicumque clericus vel episcopus plus appreciatur favorem vel lucrum mundanum quam publicacionem veritatis legis domini, ut sic, inhabilitat se ipsum ad <sup>5</sup> beneficium ecclesie, et ipsum occupans tamquam blasphemus et hereticus nocet plebi. Et idem est iudicium de religioso, qui propter defensionem sue dotacionis sive religionis hoc promovet, vel tacet vecorditer veritatem. Nam act. 5 de Anania et Zaphira legitur deum, <sup>Act. V, 5 et seq.</sup> propter zelum sue ecclesie, pro minori crimine ambos ad mortem subitam iudicasse. Et quantum ad tertium, patet quod vetustas in malo non arguit facti laudabilem bonitatem, cum lucifer et anticristus eius vicarius, ymmo vetustas peccati persone salvande, sunt continuata diucius <sup>15</sup> quam dicta iniquitas. Non respiciamus igitur longitudinem consuetudinis sed eius repugnanciam legi Cristi. Unde potens est deus illuminare et excitare mentes paucorum fidelium qui constanter detegant et moneant, si digni sumus ad destruccionem huius versucie anticristi. Sic <sup>20</sup> enim, incipiendo a femina, convertit per paucos apostolos totum mundum.
- G. Sed triplex blasfemia huius capitis contra trinitatem beatam est parumper amplius reseranda. Prima est de potestate abscondita; secunda de sapiencia simulata; et <sup>25</sup> tertia est de ficta benevolencia ad edificacionem ecclesie.
- Quoad primum: cum desunt miracula, lucifer non habet medium sibi consonancius quam in isto falsare subdole potestatem; unde cecatur ecclesia, credendo quod eius vicarius habet in dispensacione et absolucione <sup>30</sup> et indulgenciarum concessione tantam preeminenciam potestatis quod nichil valet in istis, nisi quod ipse concedit vel approbat. Unde correspondenter isti ficcioni statuuntur leges quas fingunt ut ewangelium observandas. Veritas quidem est quod vel nichil habet potestatis

and 3. the long standing of these abuses.

But: 1. No member of the clergy who seeks worldly gain, is better than a heretic; 2. a 'religious' doing the like, i. e. defending his order's endowments, is in the same case; and 3. Lucifer, Antichrist and men living in sin for many years show that we should consider, not length of years, but greatness of evil.

A detailed exposition of the three chief points of the prevailing blasphemy.

1. *Hidden Power.* Though men believe in the dispensing, absolving and indulgence-granting power of the Pope, he has no more than any other priest, if equally good.

1. perfeccior *pro* forrior C; *ib.* principe mundi *in marg. add.* D; *ib.* inquam nobis CDE. 2. inabilis ad beneficium quis *in marg. sup.* C. 3. 3. appreciat E. 4. actum DE; *ib.* de Anania dicitur A; *ib.* Saphira C. 12. quod *deest* A; *ib.* vetustas multitudo longitudo non arguit sed Cristi *lex. in marg. sup.* C. 14. contaminata C; *in marg.* contaminata D; *sub linea additum est:* contra mandata E. 16. consuetudinis E. 17. paucorum mentes C.

22. triplex blasfemia in { potestate  
sapiencia  
benevolencia } anticristi *in marg. infer.* C.  
23. parum C; *ib.* reserando A; reservanda C. 25. est *in marg. add.* A; *ib.* benevolencia ADE. 26. luciferi A. 27. simulare CDE. 28. subdole *deest* C. 29. in *pro* et CDE; *ib.* absolucione *deest* A. 31. in istis *deest* B.

ecclesiastice in casu quo sit precipuus anticristus, vel  
habet pariter cum aliis Cristi sacerdotibus eque bonis.

As for dispensations in the matter of vows, these vows were made either wisely or foolishly. If wisely, no dispensation can be wise; if foolishly, the sooner they are unmade, the better; and any priest can do that. If it is unreasonable to dispense with vows, not even an angel could do it; if reasonable, why ask the Pope?

Et quoad dispensaciones, specialiter cum voto, credit catholicis quod votum vel est sapienter vel stulte commissum et continuatum. Assistente vero sapientia 5 in continuacione voti commissi, foret stulticia dispensare. Si autem stulte commissum est, foret prudencia ipsum celeriter dissolvere et de commissionis stulticia penitere: ad eius remissionem et contriti absolucionem sufficit quicunque sacerdos habens claves ecclesie. Non enim 10 subiacet potestati hominis vel angeli dispensare cum religioso vel alio, nisi aput deum sit patens ratio, et apud subiectum utilitas dispensandi. Et sic quicunque stulte voverit, debet sine petita pape dispensacione votum tale dimittere. Et si solus ille habet prudenciam 15 ad consulendum in talibus, est pro consilio requirendus. In quo, si persona vovens vel alii facilius petendi excesserint vel parificati fuerint illo dimisso, ipsi (consulendi gracia) sunt petendi. Et quantum ad leges hominum que videntur istis contrarie, patet quod non 20 ligant nisi de quanto in lege Cristi fundate fuerint, consone rationi. Et secundum istam glosam condicionatam debent intelligi quod, si legi dei sint consone, tunc habeant robur suum. Et ille quem deus inspirando visitat practiset prudenter apparencia mundo incon- 25 veniencia que secuntur. Nec debet verti fidei in dubium quin tantum meretur secularis ex tanto fervore caritatis complens Cristi precepta atque consilia, sicut religiosus privati ordinis | adinventi, secundum votum obedienciam 31<sup>a</sup> et alios ritus perficiens; quia aliter Cristus et eius 30 apostoli imprudenter vel improvide tantum fructum religionis preterissent. Non enim legitur apostolos vel eorum discipulos vovisse tantam obedienciam, fecisse talem professionem vel servasse talem tradicionem humanam in suo modo vivendi, sed racionabiliter respuisse. 35

As for human laws, they are null unless based on Christ's laws and right reason; still, they must be set aside with prudence, on account of the danger of such steps.

A layman who follows Christ's counsels has as much merit as a 'Religious', for Christ's Apostles took no vows.

1. casum B; in casu in marg. add. D; ib. quod CE; q<sup>d</sup> corr. ex in quo D. 2. habet pro tunc A; ib. partem pro pariter CDE. 3. in marg.; nota de voto B. 4. catholicus D. 5. comissum C. 6. dispensari A. 8. vel ACDE. 9. cuius D; corr. ex 2 E. 10. ecclesie D. 11. vel pro cum A. 12. alie A. 13. dispensacio cum voto in marg. E. 14. Stulte promissum in marg. C. 16. resurgendus A; recurrendus CDE. 17. parva pro persona A. 21. fundate in lege Cristi C. 22. gloza condicionata in marg. C. 24. dominus DE. 26. sequuntur CE.

27. furore DE. 28. mandata pro precepta DE; ib. sicut D. 31. uel (et alia manu corr.) D; ib. invade ABC. 32. apostoli non leguntur vovisse in marg. sup. C.

Cum igitur eorum religio exemplaris fuit perfeccior, sequitur quod nobis foret perfeccius servire deo similiter.

- H. Item, si votum repetitum factum homini post votum factum deo habeat tantum virtutis; non est ratio quin  
5 per idem votum multiplicatum augetet religionem et meritum. Illa ergo foret excellens nova religio, in qua foret continue innovata professio. Si dicatur quod hoc foret superfluum, revera evidencius foret nedum superfluum sed stultum obligari sic homini post votum in-  
10 finitum solemnus factum deo.

Item, nemo prudenter subicit se homini obligatione perpetua, nisi propter informacionem vel commodum reportandum ab eo. Si informacio pensatur, prelati  
est sepe stulcius et ducens suum discipulum in pre-  
15 cipium. Si ergo rudis discipulus in arte mechanica non obligatur magistro nisi ad tempus, quousque ars sit perfecte cognita, videtur stultum sic obligari obligatione perpetua. Si vero lucrum temporale pensatur, quia illud vel mundana prosperitas sit causa precipua:  
20 manifestum est quod committitur ydolatria blasfema.

Item, votum vel promissio obediencie facta deo est infinitum melior, sic quod ista superaddita non valet, nisi quanto promovet vel habilitat Cristianum ad illam. Sed obligacio adiecta sepe ad hoc difficultat vel im-  
25 pedit, ergo contempni debet ut stolidi. Maior supponitur ex fide. Nam omnis homo, sicut et omnis natura creata naturaliter, dicit se obedire deo, quod est eis obligacio maxima. Cristianus etiam dicit in oracione dominica se dimittere debitoribus debita sua; et proficitur ac  
30 vovet se credere in deum. Sicut sacerdos dicit cottidie: *da mihi intellectum domine, et scrutabor legem tuam;*

Vows are considered superfluous after the taking of solemn vows; if so, Baptism is the most solemn vow of all, and renders all others superfluous.

It is folly to submit to the lifelong guidance of a man often of inferior talent; if this submission is interested, it is idolatrous blasphemy.

A promise of obedience to God is above all, and no other has any value, except in so far as it aids the fulfilment of the first; for every creature exists only to that end; our every day prayers, if said with intention, have the effect of a vow; and

1. ergo B. 2. servire simpliciter deo perfeccius *in marg.* C; *ib.* ~~impeccatus~~ C; *ib.* domino B; *ib.* simpliciter pro similiter C. 3. Iterum E.

5. votum multiplicatum si augetet religionem *in marg. infer.* C. 7. innovata professio *in marg.* C. 8, 9. revera — sed stultum *in marg. super add. post revera add.*: sic E. 10. solemnus CE. 11. prudens C. 12. commodum CDE. 14. discipulum suum C. 15. igitur pro ergo CDE. 17. sic stultum C. 18. vero *deest* BC. 19. quod id AB; quod illud DE. 20. committitur DE. 21. promissum C; *ib.* promissum deo factum multo solemnus *in marg. infer.* C. 26. sicut CDE. 27. eius A. 30. quotidie C; quotidie E. 31. michi C; *ib.* domine *deest* A.

10. The Baptismal vows, which are infinitely more solemn, since they are *commanded* as necessary for salvation; while the others are only evangelical *counsels*, and therefore belong to a quite different species. One vow is *to follow Christ closely enough not to lose Heaven*; another is *to follow Him as closely as possible*.



no action that  
linders us from  
doing our first  
duty, can have  
any merit.

Now these  
small  
communities of  
monks tie down  
their members  
and hinder them  
from doing  
God's work;  
the first founder  
of these sects  
ought to have  
thought well  
before he  
brought them  
into being.

*Objections :*  
1. There were  
sects under the  
Old Law and in  
Christ's time. —  
True, but we  
are no longer  
under the Old  
Law; and we  
nowhere read  
of vows made  
to men.

*et custodiam illam in toto corde meo.* Nec dubium  
quin quodlibet tale votum vocale debet esse infinitum  
solempnius quam votum faciendum cristiano. Et iterum,  
certum est quod in istis fit deo obligacio, votum et  
professio, non obstante carencia tradicionis humane;<sup>5</sup>  
et hoc si fidelis dicit effectualiter, meritorie, et non  
derisorie, ista deo. Nec vertitur fideli in dubium quin  
obligacio facta homini non valet nisi de quanto iuvat  
ad observandum obligacionem factam deo, quia de tanto  
est opus hominis meritorium placens deo. Et quod<sup>10</sup>  
minor sit vera patet ex dictis. Nam talia conventicula  
ligant religiosos, vel faciunt eos timidos ad dicendum  
veritatem in causa dei: faciunt eos gravidatos peccato  
publico ex consensu, et difficultant ad discendum et  
servandum tradiciones hominum. Nam, suspensa tota<sup>15</sup>  
ocupacione talium in pura observancia legis dei, quis  
dubitatur quin hoc foret meritorius observanti? Mirum I.  
itaque est quod diabolus sophista introduxit istam blas-  
femiam, cum caret auctoritate scripture, ratione et colore.  
Existens ergo in inicio quo primus Cristianus istam<sup>20</sup>  
religionem instituit, examinaret racionem, auctoritatem  
et utilitatem sollicite antequam induceret talem sectam.  
Non enim movet quod in lege veteri fuerunt religiosi,  
ut filii prophetarum; in tempore Cristi fuerunt reli-  
giosi, ut pharisei, saducei et essei; quod in veteri lege<sup>25</sup>  
nazarei sanctificabantur cum voto, ut dicitur Numeri 5<sup>o</sup>. Num.  
Nam volens sic iudaizare notare exemplar, ne addendo<sup>VI,</sup>  
vel diminuendo deficiat in auctoritate exemplaris; quia<sup>18—21</sup>  
modica declinacio in principio facit culpam. Religio  
autem quam Cristus instituit in lege sua docet quod,<sup>30</sup>  
dimissa observancia veteri vel adinvencione nova, sit in  
illa autorisacione facili et delectacione secunda fidelibus  
militandum. Unde hec adinventata novitas, habens unum  
laudabile, habet mille culpabilia a diabolo indubie adin-

2. quodlibet A; *ib.* de voto religiosorum vocaliter in *marg. sup.* C;  
*ib.* ex se infinitum esse C. 3. solempnius E; *ib.* faciendum A. 4. fit  
*corr.* ex fit E. 8. obligacio facta homini de quanto valet in *marg. sup.* C.

13. et faciunt A. 14. *after* discendum vel; et *alia manu corr.* D.  
15. hominis B. 17. dubit A; dubitat DE. 18. sophista diabolus C;  
sophista diabolus DE. 20. ergo *deest* E. 21. 22. utilitatem et aucto-  
ritatem C. 22. sollicite C. 24. 25. ut — ut *deest* AB; *ib.* religiosi  
*deest* DE. 24. quin *pro* in D; *corr. in marg.* E. 26. nazarei DE.  
27. iudicare A; iudaysare C; iudaisare DE; *ib.* volunt quidam iudaysare  
arguendo a simili cum non sit precedens in *marg.* C. 29. a *pro* in C.  
31. vel *deest* C. 32. auctoritative CDE; *ib.* faciliter CDE. 33. bonum C;  
*corr.* ex unum DE. 34. mille culpabilia in sectis in *marg.* C; *ib.* dya-  
bolo DE.



venta. Ut in lege veteri voverunt deo et non homini, in adinvencionibus modernis, voverunt stulte homini et non deo.

Nec movet dictum Anselmi *de similitudinibus*, quia 2. Anselm speaks in favour of 'Religious' men. — But he speaks of men who observe Christ's law more perfectly: which may happen even among them.  
 5 intelligit de illo religioso qui ex maiori caritate observat perfectius legem Christi; quod licet quandoque contingit in privatis ordinibus, non illi sunt per se causa sed observancia legis dei. Ideo ceca est evidenciam, si *multi sancti et scioli processerunt ex istis ordinibus*, ergo sunt  
 10 *laudandi*. Laudemus, inquam, gratiam dei, qui in tam presunto periculo conservavit sic homines propter observanciam legis sue.

Nec potest fundari quod obediencia talis, votum vel professio, per se facit ad perfectionem status vel meriti.  
 15 Sed si ex cautela diaboli faciat bonum quandoque per accidens, in maiori parte ex inmixtione stulticie facit  
 31<sup>b</sup> K. malum. Nam, ut docet Thomas, secunda secunde questione 186, in religionibus illis homo obligatur ad multa sub gravi pena, que ommittendo non peccaret  
 20 alias vel venialiter. Quis ergo difficultaret se tali religioni irrationabili, cum posset faciliter et libere militare sub benedicta et omnino racionabili simplici lege Christi? Quamvis enim deus, temptando homines, precipit et vult ipsos elicere sensum et visum ad quem deus non  
 25 vult quod ipsi compleant in effectu (ut patet de Abraham Gen. 22) tamen nichil precipit nec ad aliquid obligat  
 XXII, 1 hominem facere nisi quod vult sub pena peccati fieri; quia aliter liceret — ymo homo deberet — declinare mandatum domini: posito de blasphemo possibili quod  
 30 deus occuparet servum suum continue ipsum mandando facere quod non debet fieri, sicut scola anticristi docet

3. The vow by itself does not sanctify and may even do harm accidentally; for many venial sins become mortal in 'Religion'.  
 What God commands, He always wishes to be done by man; or it would be our right, or even our duty, to disobey Him.

2. advencionibus C. 4. Anzhelmi A; anshelmi C; corr. ex anshel-  
 mum DE. 5. religiosus verus in marg. C. 7. persone (p<sup>e</sup>) A; corr. ex  
 persone D. 8, 9. nulli sancti processerunt ex ordinibus pro quo deus  
 laudatur, sed quare in marg. inf. C. 11. presumpsum periculum in  
 marg. C. 15. dyaboli DE; ib. facit C; corr. ex faciet DE. 18. 168 B;  
 ib. Obligacio aggravat sub pena ad ea que alias possent non fieri in marg.  
 sup. C. 19. obmittendo AC. 20. igitur C. 21. dum BCDE; ib. faci-  
 liler libere in marg. C. 22. legi DE. 23. ergo B; ib. preci C.  
 25. vult CD. 26. nec pro nichil E; ib. aliud A. 27. vult CD.  
 28. ymmo C. 30. mandando ipsum C. 31. sicut CDE.

4. De Sancti Anselmi Similitudinibus, a work by Eadmer, professing to be compiled from notes taken by him "ex ore B. P. Anselmi". There is a chapter entitled: *Similitudo inter monachum et angelos et Deum* (Migne, t. CLIX, p. 650) many others too sound the praises of monastic life. 17. St. Thomas. *Summa Theol.* 2<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>a</sup>, qu. CLXXXVI, art. 9, 10.

suis prepositis licere precipere. Quod meritum ergo reportaret in talibus neutris tota obediens, cum non peccaret vel venialiter hec ommittens? Ideo comendat apostolus, Gall. 2<sup>o</sup> et 5<sup>o</sup>; libertatem quam habet cristiana religio, talia facere sive ommittere. Et Augustinus ad 5 Possidonium *de adulterinis coniugiis*: "Ea sunt in nostris officiis graviora que, cum licet nobis etiam non impendere, tamen causa dilectionis impendimus". Sic ergo videtur quod privata religio obligat prius liberum ad serviendum homini, ut remissius et illiberius serviat deo suo. Si ergo 10 quis fecerit talem obedienciam servo sathane, licet vocetur sacra, Cristus tamen dispensat et eius vicarius dispensare debet celeriter, ut talis obediencia diaboli dissolvatur; quia Ecclesiastici 5<sup>o</sup> scribitur: *Si quid voristi deo, ne moreris reddere; displicet ei, inquit, infidelis et stulta promissio.* 15 Sed quid est infidelius quam quod, ex tali religione inventa humanitus, causatur meritum ad quod non stat quemcunque pure secundum religionem Cristi attingere?

Papa igitur solveret colligaciones impietatis si, virtute sacre obediencie debite deo et ei, preciperet cuicunque 20 preposito talis privati ordinis dispensare cum omnibus suis subiectis, ut pro sua periodo non ad talem obligationem, professionem, obedienciam, vel votum perpetuum astringantur. Hoc enim est possibile, et foret multis meritorium; ymmo, possent cum illo vivere in 25 communi claustraliter, habere omnia in communi, et servare cuncta liberius que forent de perfeccione ordinis Cristiani. Unde, quia secundum Thomam (ubi supra), solum castitas, obediencia et paupertas sunt de essencia cuiuscunque privati ordinis; cum igitur hec communiter 30 L. pertinent cuicunque sacerdoti vel pure clerico, patet

Galat.  
II, 4;  
V, 13

Eccle.  
V, 3

Christian liberty is praised both by St. Paul and by Augustine; but private religion destroys this, and Christ grants dispensation therefrom, as from a foolish vow; so ought His Vicar to do.

The pope would do well to order all priors of Orders to give a general dispensation to their subjects; which would not interfere with their claustral life.

And this would unite the Church by assimilating the secular with the regular clergy.

2. neutris *in marg. add. D.* 3. obmittens A; *ib.* commendat CDE.  
5. obmittere A; omittit CE. 6. possidonium C. 8. igitur C.  
9. privata religio ad quid obligat *in marg. sup. C.* 10. illiverius D;  
*corr. E; ib.* sic igitur C. 12. dispensa C. 13. diaboli obediencia C;  
dyaboli DE. 14. *in marg. nota B; ib.* ne ne C. 15. inquit ei CDE;  
*ib.* infide C. 19. ergo D; *ib.* soluet C; sollveret E. 21. sibi ADE.  
22. privati *deest* A. 23. perydo C. 26. posset ABE. 28. ad perfeccionem DE. 29. quia *deest omnes MSS.* 31. ergo CDE; *ib.* hoc CDE.  
31. pertinet omnes MSS.

6. St. Aug. *De Coniugiis Adulterinis, ad Dollentium*, l. 4, cap. XIV (Migne, t. XL, p. 459). 20. It seems here that Wyclif contradicts himself when he speaks of the 'sacred obedience due to the Pope'. The contradiction does not exist in reality, however, the passage only shows that Wyclif would have considered a Pope who thought like himself as the 'real Vicar of Christ.' Or he may be arguing from his opponents' point of view.

quod rationabilis dispensacio et ecclesie magna unicio foret cum irreligiose captivatis taliter dispensari, ut patet Ecclesiastici 5<sup>o</sup>. Si papa tardat in isto, deus Should the Pope be slow to grant such dispensation, God will grant it; for the vows ought not to have been made. dispensat, ut votum irrationabile dimittatur. Non enim 5 complet votum sed aggravat peccatum, qui vovit im-provide fratrem iniuste occidere vel quicquam aliud imprudenter, et complet. Ideo lex Cristi precipit quod talis voti irrationabilis caveatur complecio, et de obli-gacionis stulticia fiat contricio. Sic enim sine dispen-sacione humana cessavit apostolus a voto blasfemie. 10 Ymmo, videtur quod papa vel quicumque qui posset taliter captivatos liberare, nedum peccaret graviter, sed committeret blasphemiam omittendo. Tunc enim unice purificaretur cristiana religio, et abiciens sanctos pre-15 positos privati ordinis studeat facta cristi et faciat illis factis plene similiter.

Nam Bernardus, ut supra exposui, ponit eundum ordinem monachorum qui fuit laicorum conversorum in Jerusalem habencium omnia in communi. Anzhelmus Authorities quoted in favour of Wyclif's view: Bernard compares monks to the early Church; Anselm speaks of a general profession of monachism similar to that of Christ's disciples; which Wyclif understands as the promises of every professing Christian. eciam, in epistola quadam que sic incipit "Cristianorum" sic loquitur: "Est" inquit "quedam generalis professio prime similis, quam nos docuit dulcissimus pater et frater noster piissimus Jesus; id est monachatus, quod idem est aput nos quod fuit discipulatus aput apostolos"; 20 et probat posterius quod eam rite recipiens mundatur ab omni crimine actuali. Ista, inquam, professio stat in castitate contra carnem, in paupertate contra mun-dum et in obediencia facta Cristo contra diabolum. Quod si aliquis Cristianus professus non fuerit, aut 25 fidelis in professione non consummaverit, non superabit ad celi gloriam triplicem inimicum. Unde Lanfranchus, Lanfranc holds that spiritual danger justifies withdrawal from a monastery. in quadam epistola, scribit: "Si ego Lanfrancus manu

1. ordines primate quomodo dispensarentur *in marg. sup. C.* 2. des-pensari B; dispensare CDE. 5. viuit C. 6. quicumque *pro* quic-quam C. 7. imprudenter E. 11. ymo DE. 12. liberare taliter captivos C; liberare totaliter captivos DE. 13. comitteret E; *ib.* omittendo DE; *ib.* unite E. 14. obiciens CDE. 16. sanctis C; *corr. ex factis* DE. 17. Bernhardus CDE. 17—19. ut supra — Jerusalem *in marg. add. D.* 17. ponit *in marg. add. E.* 18. laycorum C; conversorum *alia manu add. E.* 19. hunc inde *pro* habencium A. 20. quadam *deest* CDE. 22. persone CDE; *ib.* piissimus D. 23. id est *deest* B; *ib.* monachus A; monachatus id est disciplinatus *in marg. A.* 25, 26. ab omni mundatur C. 26. professio in quo C. 28. et *pro* in C; *ib.* dyabolum DE. 30. consumavit A; *confum*avaverit *corr. ex confu*avaverit C. 31. Lanfrancus *in marg. B;* Lanfranchus *in marg. C.*

19. *De Apostasia*, p. 3. 20. I can find no letter extant that begins thus. 32. Lanfranc. Ep. LX. *Ad Rudolphum Abbatem* (Migne, t. Cl., p. 549); Bened. ed. 329.

propria me de aliquo monasterio non recessurum iurasset, viderem autem quod ibi animam meam salvare non possem, statim exirem, nec periurii crimen incurrerem."

The fictive power of the Pope, by which he commands angels and regulates things of the next world, would be far better employed in enjoining the Superiors to command nothing against God's law.

Papa, inquam, qui fingit sibi tantam potestatem inesse, laxaret ipsam in isto ad edificacionem ecclesie. Legi enim <sup>5</sup> ex quadam bulla pape Clementis quomodo mandavit <sup>32<sup>a</sup></sup> angelis paradisi quod animam sic decidentis in purgatorio absolutam ad gaudia perpetua introducant. Et statim post: "voluimus ex consensu fratrum nostrorum cardinalium, quod si aliqua persona rediens de indulgentia predicta, instigante diabolo, peccato consenciat | M. et in eo peccato perseverante contingat eum mori ratione peccatorum que antea comiserat et sibi virtute anuli fuerint absoluta et indulta, nolumus quod pena inferni sibi aliquatenus inferatur, nisi ratione peccatorum <sup>15</sup> que post adventum fuerint perpetrata". Iste, inquam, papa, qui tam imperatorie mandat angelis et tante videtur dispensare contra veritatem legis divine, posset faciliter mandare prelati quod non obligent suos subditos dissona legi dei, specialiter cum hodie mundus in <sup>20</sup> ipsos tantum invaluit, quod impossibile sive difficile est ipsos servare paupertatem vel obedienciam deo suo.

II. False Wisdom. As is the Pope's power, so is his wisdom, which he must have to govern the Church; the proof is that he governs neither himself nor his people by Christ's laws.

Quantum ad blasphemiam contra verbum, patet quod papa dicit se tacite habere sapienciam supra omnes alios mortales ad ecclesiam regulandum. Deus enim non <sup>25</sup> committit sibi curam ecclesie sue, nisi infundat sibi claves sciencie ad officium istud necessarie. Et sicut potestas predicta false fingitur, sic et ista sciencia, ut patet ex duplicitate regiminis; nec ipsum regit nec populum secundum regulas legis Cristi. Per hoc enim, et non <sup>30</sup>

1. non *deest* A. 5. laxaret papa religiosos ad ecclesie edificacionem *in marg. inf.* C. 6. qua A. 6. 7. Clemens angelis mandavit ha *in marg.* C. 7. decedentis A; *corr.* DE; decidentis D (*corr.* ex decedentis); decedentis *corr.* ex decidentis E. 7. 8. purgatorie A. 8. *in marg.*: Nota blasphemiam cuiusdam bulle papalis B; *ib.* perducant B. 10. reddiens AC. 11. dyabolo CDE. 13. ante ea ACDE; *ib.* commiserat C. 14. volumus A; nolumus CDE. 15. aliquatus A; aliquatenus DE. 17. caute *pro* tante C. 19. oligent D. 20. dimissorie A. 21. tantum in eos C; *ib.* impossibile C; mundus invaluit in religiosis *in marg. sup.* C. 23. blasfemia in sapiencia *in marg.* C. 24. manifeste *pro* tacite C; manifeste habere tacite (manifeste *in marg. add.*) DE. 20. non *deest* CE. 21. ut *pro* nisi E; nisi (*vt alia manu corr.*) C. 23. et *deest* C; *ib.* sententia *pro* sciencia D; sciencia *corr.* ex sententia E. 30. Jesu Cristi C.

16. This may have been a spurious Bull. The doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church is that the eternal penalty of sins that are absolved is for ever blotted out; so that a man going to hell after falling into one mortal sin since his confession, could only suffer for that sin. The will of the Pope has nothing to do with this.

per verba ficta, crederetur sibi inesse vera sciencia; sicut per opera perversa creditur inesse apostasia atque stulticia. Illi autem qui nituntur fingere claves ecclesie non esse scienciam discernendi et sanandi morbos ovium, 5 sed nudam potenciam, fingunt, ac si dicerent deum suum esse potentem et non sapientem: sicut diffamatur diabolus. Nos autem, sicut distingwimus patrem a filio, nec unum posse esse sine alio, sic in pastore Cristi vicario non datur potestas regendi sine sciencia; nec 10 e contra. Sciencia autem in qua oportet ipsum pre-cellere, est fides scripture, cum noticia legis dei sit requisita ad regimen animarum. Non loquor autem de sciencia disputandi, sed de noticia beatitudinem sibi et populo acquirendi: que sciencia, sicut inluit apostolis, 15 sic et regimen animarum.

Tercia blasfemia contra spiritum sanctum est ficta benevolencia, qua vicarius anticristi mentitur se jura Cristi defendere, ac debita sponse sue exigere, non propter affectionem quam habet ad temporalia, sed 20 propter salutem anime detinentis, et propterea versatur N. totum regimen ecclesie circa ista. Sed ista duplicitas (quam spiritus sanctus effugiet) ex hoc convincitur, quod deficit potestas pape auferendi ista terrena que vendicat a proximo subtrahente. Deus autem, si tantum 25 appreciaretur has temporalium possessiones, daret vicario suo potenciam ad illas acquirendum et servandum, eciam invito adversario impugnante. Sic enim dat suis potestatem acquirendi et servandi virtutes, invitis hostibus; cum virtus per pacienciam iniurie inimici acquiritur, 30 et quesita non perditur nisi gratis, eciam toto exercitu diabolorum et hominum renitente. Defectus igitur pape querendi et servandi temporalia docent apostatas quod non in tali eorum possessione beneplacitum fuit deo. Aliter enim oporteret concedere blasfeme quod in bonis

To say that the keys imply power without wisdom is an absurd fiction; the Vicar of Christ must have both; the knowledge of Holy Writ, not scholastic, but practical.

### III. Feigned benevolence.

The Pope pretends that his love of temporal power proceeds merely from charity and zeal for the Church's rights. But if these possessions were necessary, God would never allow them to be taken from him, any more than His grace from His servants.

The Pope's want of success shows that God is not pleased with this temporal power.

2 sicut enim C; *ib.* et C; *ib.* opera perversa signa apostasie *in marg. sup.* C. 6. sicut A. 7. dyabolus DE; *ib.* sicut *deest* B; *ib.* distingwimus D; *ib.* a filio *twice* A. 8. esse *deest* A. 10. que sciencia et potestas requiruntur ad clavem *in marg. inf.* C. 14. acquirendi C; *ib.* sicut A. 16. ficta benevolencia tertia blasfemia *in marg. inf.* C. 17. benevolencia ACDE; *ib.* mitor D. 19. per *pro* propter C. 19—20. sed propter — sed ista *in marg. inf. alia manu add.* D. 22. sanctus *deest* C. 23. populo *pro* pape A; auferendi E. 26. ad illas potenciam DE; *ib.* acquirendum C. 27. pugnante C; impugnante C; impugnante *alia manu add.* D. 28. acquirendi C; *ib.* eciam invitis CDE. 29. in iniurie C, in *alia manu add.* D; *corr.* E; *ib.* acquiritur C. 31. dyabolorum E; *ib.* renitente D; remittente E. 32. Temporalia cumulat papa non secundum deum *in marg. sup.* C; *ib.* doceret CDE; *ib.* apostotas D. 33. tuerit C. 34. blasfeme concedere C.



que deus plus ponderat fuit improvidus ordinando remedia.

The whole life  
of Christ  
condemns this  
greed of  
temporal lucre.

Secundo, contra veritatem finguntur mendacia, cum vita Cristi docet tam verbo quam opere quod aufugit detestans in se et in suis vicariis tale dominium. Qua fronte igitur blasfeme finguntur ista debere pape competere jure Cristi? Si igitur iste due persone tolluntur, necesse est spiritum sanctum tolli. Ideo inevitabiliter sequitur quod papa non amat salutem anime subditi sed sua stercora; quia, deficientibus illis, non laborat more apostoli lucrifacere animabus, ut patet de nationibus barbaris convertendis. Nec tantum sollicitat fulminare censuras pro crimine sicut pro temporali stercore, cum crimen pro temporalibus faciliter summe simoniace potest emi. Et hec ratio quare prudentes divisi a nobis nolunt duci regimine talis ducis. Caucius enim sequeretur Cristum, fugiendo hanc generacionem pessimam anticristi, cum subditi sunt ei consentanei ex consensu. Et tantum inveterata malicia inualuit, quod unius simplicis momentanea rebellio parum proderit, cum satraparum suorum persecucione sit statissime extingendus.

We should  
refuse to obey  
such a leader;  
but the rebellion  
of one man  
alone would be  
promptly  
crushed.

It is safer to  
fly from this  
generation in  
spirit and wait  
for Antichrist  
to be destroyed  
by a miracle.

Ideo videtur tucius a generacione ista saltem in mente auffugere et ad proteccionem Cristi confugere, reliquendo destruccionem anticristi cum suis satrapis dei miraculo. Scimus quidem quod oportet ut viis nobis absconditis istud eveniat, sicut scimus quod *personarum acceptio non est apud deum; sed in omni gente vel loco qui ipsum dilexerit, acceptus est illi*, et eo acceptior, quo fuerit tradicionum anticristi et complicum suorum detestabilior. Seminacio itaque blasphemiarum et fructus sui modi crescendi docet patule quod minera blasfemie ita jacet.

4. signantur A. 5. aufugit D. 5. in (post et) deest C. 6. ergo CDE; *ib.* populo pro pape C. 7. prime B. 9. animam vel salutem B; anime subditi salutem C. 10. stercora subditorum coniungitur amare papa in marg. inf. C. 12, 13. Censuras non fulminat pro crimine sed pro stercore in marg. sup. C. 13, 14. pro — pro in marg. sup. add. D. 14. facilius C; *ib.* symoniace E. 15. prudenter C; corr. ex prudentis DE. 16. enim deest B. 19. momentanea rebellio C. 21. suarum E; *ib.* extingwendus E. 22. age'nanon C (*sic*); *ib.* istam C. 23. aufugere E. 24. dei miraculo relinquere C. 25. nos pro ut viis A; hiis corr. B; viis CDE. 22. sicut D. 28. erit est C. 31. quod deest A.

15. Allusion to the Western schism.



## CAPITULUM SECUNDUM.

A.     Ulterius restat detegere ramos huius blasfemie. Nec  
dubium quin omnis consentaneus, cooperans, defendens  
vel consulens, omnis eciam auctorisans sectas ut illud  
5 foveant vel defendant, sicut omnis ocians a reprehensione  
vel spirituali iuvamine ad destruendum hanc sectam  
Cristo contrariam: omnis enim, inquam, talis est ramus  
vel adiacens huic arbori maledicte. Et sic pauce vel  
nulle secte sunt inter nos, quin sapiant eius fructum;  
10 mille autem sunt meandri reputati pro nichilo, per quos  
sathan introducit maiora scelera, ut sunt 1. tradicionum  
humanarum exaltacio, 2. scole legis Cristi depressio et  
3. in malo sub apparencia boni coniuracio.

The branches  
of blasphemy  
are formed by  
all those who  
in any way  
consent to it.

1. Cautela quidem diaboli est sub simulacione yppo-  
15 critica sanctitatis introducere sectam suam. De primo  
dixi alibi diffuse quomodo lex pape contenciosa subtrahit  
sub fuce sanctitatis ab informacione, ab execucione et a  
dileccione legis dei, cum tamquam contraria sese diri-  
munt. 2. In legis Cristi depressione sunt mille cautele  
20 diaboli, ut sunt pro gloria scole in disputacionibus  
morosa occupacio, pro humana gloria contrariacio, et  
(quod pessimum est) legis Cristi depravacio; ut nostri,  
inter bona que seminant, dicunt quod scriptura sacra  
secundum maiorem partem sui est summe heretica et  
25 blasfema. Et horror huiusmodi distrahit multos ab atten-

Three causes of  
great crimes,  
1. the exaltation  
of traditions,  
2. the abasement  
of Christ's  
School, 3. the  
conspiracy of  
evil under the  
appearance of  
good.

Tricks of the  
devil;  
hypocrisy, vain  
scholastic  
disputes,  
quarrels for  
glory and  
corruption of  
Christ's law.

1. capitulum etc. *deest* A; capit. sec. *deest*, sed prima litera capituli sequentis coeruleo colore picta est, in marg. numerus "2" apparet C; Inscriptio *deest* sed in marg. numerus "2<sup>m</sup>" rubro colore pictus D; Inscriptio *deest* in marg. "2<sup>m</sup>" Pro prima litera V spatium relictum est E. 5. sicud D; *ib.* ocians a reprehensione in marg. C. 6. destruendam DE; *ib.* istam pro hanc DE. 7. inquam *deest* B. 10. sex pro sunt D; *corr.* E; *ib.* reputandi AB; *corr.* D; in marg. E. 11. scelera maiora in marg. C; *ib.* 1 *deest* ACD. 12, 13. 2, 3 *deest* ACD; in marg. BE. 13. in *deest* B. 14. 1 *deest* ACDE; dyaboli DE; cautela diaboli in marg. C. 16. ditinse D; *ib.* lex pape in marg. C. 17. a *deest* AB. 18, 19. diminuit C; derimunt AB; sed in marg.; diminuunt E. 19. legis cristi depressio in quo in marg. C; *ib.* 2 *deest* ACDE; in marg. B. 20. dyaboli DE. 22. dampnacio pro depravacio E. 23. scriptura sacra contempnitur quare in marg. sup. C.

Evil under the  
semblance of  
good, as shown  
in the doctrine  
of the  
Eucharist.

It is idolatry to  
adore as God  
what is not  
God; and they  
absurdly say  
that the Host  
is God; this is  
the greatest of  
all lies.

The more  
favoured the  
people, the  
more abject the  
sign  
worshipped, the  
more precious  
the thing  
blasphemed by  
that worship,  
the worse is  
the idolatry.  
Every idolater  
thinks he  
worships God,  
yet does not  
please Him, for  
the same reason  
as the  
worshippers of  
the Host.

cione legis dei, dirimit eius auctoritatem ex varia multi-  
tudine glosatorum, et ad tantum extraneat logicam  
scripture quod nullus modus loquendi est illis abieccior.  
Et de isto patet diffuse alibi. 3. Quantum ad tercium patet  
quod pars anticristi tot habet complices, quorum qui- 5  
dam subtilius et quidam expressius sunt contrarii legi  
Cristi; ut in sacramento sub pallio sanctitatis sunt  
hereses et ydolatrie simulate, ut patet de sacramento  
altaris. In qua materia si ydolatre sunt quicunque qui  
adorant creaturam non deum tamquam deum, patet 10  
quod tam de clero quam populo multi sunt idolatre:  
cum multi credunt et adorant hostiam (que de facto  
est panis in natura et corpus Cristi in figura) ac si esset  
naturaliter et idemptice corpus Cristi et sic deus, cum  
notum sit quod corpus Cristi est Cristus et per con- 15  
sequens deus noster, ut patet in materia de incarnatione.  
Et tamen ad tantum ydolatre nostri insaniunt, quod  
dicunt non esse aliud naturaliter corpus Cristi in celo  
glorificatum et objective beauificans cives celi, quam est  
hostia quam sacerdos conficit, tractat et manducat; et 20  
sic de aliis inconuenienciis, que recitavi paganos de-  
ridendo deducere. Nec potest ista impossibilitas heretica,  
ad quam sequitur deum non esse et omne aliud incon-  
ueniens excusari; quia deus veritas odit omne mendacium:  
ergo multo magis tantum mendacium de se ipso. 25

Item potest committi blasfema ydolatria colendo crea-  
turam abjectam non deum tanquam ipsa sit deus: ergo,  
posita aliqua ydolatria, oportet concedere istam ex  
peculiaritate populi, ex abieccione signi culti, et ex  
preciositate corporis blasphemati esse ydolatriam gra- 30  
uissimam. Item nullus est fidelis ydolatra quin fingit B.  
se deum suum colere devote in suo ydolo; sed quia  
devocio est mendax, ydeo non placet deo veritatis.  
Cum ergo eadem sit ratio in tali cultu, videtur quod  
sit ydolatria perhorrenda. Nec dubium quin ex defectu 35

4. diffuse D; *ib.* 3 *deest* ACD; *in marg.* BE. 5. habet tot CDE.  
6. expressius subtilius A. 7. pallio AC. 8. de ydolatria circa sacra-  
mentum *in marg.* A. 9. scilicet *pro* si A. 10. idolatria circa euka-  
ristiam *in marg. inf.* C. 11. *word effaced after* quam A; quam de CDE;  
*ib.* ydolatre DE. 12. et *deest* A. 13. cave *in marg.* C. 14. ydempti-  
ce CDE. 15. *post est scriptum erat* corpus C. 16. in materia *in*  
*marg. add.* D. 18. essencia A. 21. recitant B. 22. impossibilitas D.  
24. dominus *pro* deus E. 25. igitur C. 27. 28. ergo posita aliqua  
ydolatria oportet concedere *deest* C. 29. obiectione ABC. 31. in-  
fidelis CE; *corr.* ex fidelis D. 32. colere *corr.* ex collere A; collere  
deum suum C. 33. ideo E. 34. igitur CDE. 35. defectus instruc-  
tionis de eukaristia tangitur *in marg. sup.* C.

instruccionis tam cleri quam laici sic blasfeme intelligunt. In cuius signum fingunt ydemptitatem eiusdem corporis dimensionam multiplicem, et sic de aliis blasfemiis. in quibus gravius profundantur.

5 Et omnino culpandi sunt fratres qui habent codices suos plenos hoc testimonio, tam novos quos appreciantur ut ewangelium, quam antiquos; et tamen non iuvant predicantem hanc fidem in populo, sed fidem suam blasfeme reticent et depravant, ut codices ipsorum sunt  
10 pleni: *quod non videtur corpus Cristi in sacramento oculo corporali; quod sacramentum illud visum corporaliter ab eis in manibus sacerdotis nec est nec esse potest corpus domini ydemptice, nec pars eius.* Et tamen dicunt: Talia non sunt predicanda populo, ne eius devocio  
15 extingatur; sed permitti debet in eius ydolatria sordescere. Cuius causam ego non video nisi ut populus, propter questum et reverenciam mundanam presbyteri, seducatur: et sic sunt indubie ydolatre ex consensu.

Eph. IV, 3 Nam secundum apostolum ad Eph. 4, *Una est fides.*

20 Eandem ergo fidem, quam aput se abscondunt de hostia, debent revelare populo, ne peccet idolatria. Sciunt, inquam, quod sequitur: *hoc est sacramentum quod oculo corporali conspicimus:* ergo, *non est ydemptice corpus*  
33<sup>a</sup> *Cristi.* Sciunt eciam quod sequitur: | *multe sunt hostie*  
25 *consecrate distantes localiter, et quantumcumque contrarie in accidentibus variate:* ergo, *nulla earum est ydemptice corpus Cristi.* Et sciunt, tercio, quod sequitur: *hoc sacramentum est accidens* (ut fingunt ex fide); ergo, *non est ydemptice corpus Christi.* Sicut ergo credunt ante-  
30 cedens ex fide. sic predicent et consequens, cum multi sunt ydolatre pessimi, non credentes.

The Friars are much to blame for allowing the doctrine of the identity of the Host with Christ to spread amongst the people, knowing its falsity as they do.

They say that this doctrine favours popular devotion; but Faith is one.

A sacrament is not identical with Christ; nor is an accident; and the Hosts differ in many things from each other.

1. clerici C; *ib.* layci E. 2. ydemptiacionem CDE; *ib.* eiusdam B. 3. dimensionem A; dimensionam *corr.* ex dimensionem D; *ib.* multiplicacionem A; *corr.* B. 5. fratres culpandi quia non iuvant veritatem in *marg. inf.* C. 7. tam *pro* quam A; *ib.* non iuvant *corr.* ex nominant D; *super* iuvant *alia manu* nominant E. 9. recitant C; *corr.* ex reticent D; recitant *sed in marg.:* reticent E; *ib.* dampnant A. 12. nec *corr.* ex quod nec D. 13. tum *pro* tamen C. 14. predicando C. 15. extingwatur E. 16. causa non publicacionis in *marg.* C. 17. presbyteri C. 20. una est fides nota in *marg.* D; *ib.* apud E; *ib.* hoc *pro* hostia A. 21. ydolatria CDE. 23. carnali C. 23, 24. idemptice in corpus cristi non est hostia in *marg. sup.* C. 26. varietate B; *ib.* erit B; *ib.* ydemptice est C. 29. non credunt A. 30. predicet C; predicant A. 31. nec *pro* non C.

12. Aquinas (Sum. Theol. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, qu. 76, art. 7) absolutely denies that Christ's Body can be seen in the Sacrament by any bodily eye. It is no doubt to this universal doctrine of the School that Wyclif alludes. See *De Apostasia*, Introduction, p. xix.

If they do not believe the people is misled, let them enquire, and they will find it out. Some say they believe in general what Catholics should believe; a wavering position. And if this dogma is of so little account, the Church should not be burdened with it. Besides it must be important, if so many consider it as part of our faith, and others as flat idolatry.

Some blasphemously say that Christ spoke so obscurely as to leave us free to choose the side we prefer, since some say and some deny, that Scripture points to identification of bread with Christ's body. Wyclif's position.

If there is obscurity, we need faithful theologians, not greedy and worldly men, as at present.

Quod si non credunt, scrutentur in populo vulnus blasfemie et cognoscent quod maior pars populi, eciam clerus, qui reputat se capitaliter regere multas ecclesias, volunt mori in ista fide et occidendo in contrarium docentes irruere. Quidam autem fingunt quod non 5 credunt hoc diffinite, sed in communi credunt veritatem catholicam; sed quantum ad istud fluctuant, utramque partem dubitantes, tamquam impertinens fidei Cristiane. Sed rogo sic loquentes pensare quot Cristiani credunt diffinite contrarium. Pro salute ergo fratrum est veritas 10 detegenda. Item, si sit impertinens fidei, ad quid predicatur tam attente vel introducit ad onus ecclesie? Item, sic asserere esset blasfemare in legem domini et scandalizari doctores ecclesie, cum papa, sancti multi et communitas doctorum intromittunt se, absolute asserentes 15 ut fidem scripture simpliciter unam partem. Alii autem dicunt quod omnino est ydolatria credere talem hostiam ydemptice esse deum; et ex defectu noticie scripture, et in penam peccati parvipendencium ipsam cum suis studentibus atque doctentibus, est ista perplexitas ex 20 cautela diaboli introducta. Nec sciunt illi qui videntur regere ecclesiam perplexitatem istam dissolvere; et sic diffiniencium in penam peccati indubie multitudo multipliciter est divisa; nec sciunt subditi cui credent. Ideo alii blasfemant dicentes Cristum et suos apostoles cum 25 doctoribus sequentibus seduxisse ecclesiam locucionibus obscuris atque equivocis per quas fideles possunt credere quamcunque partem contradiccionis voluerint; ut hii dicunt quod in sex locis scriptura loquitur ydemptice de corpore Cristi; et hii, quod loquitur tropice. Quantum 30 ad istud credo, ut dixi in tractatu *de Eukaristie*, quod panis consecratus est in figura, non in natura, sacramentaliter, non substancialiter, et tropologice, non ydemptice, corpus Cristi. Et ad magnam utilitatem ecclesie, Cristus sic locutus est obscure atque equivoce, 35 ut fideles mereantur in sensus scrutinio, et ut ecclesia, detestans leges humanas, cognoscat se specialiter indigere theologis qui interpretentur sibi fideliter legem

3. ecclesias D. 4. vlt CDE; *ib.* fide *deest* CDE. 8. impertinens C. 9. quod diffinite B; quod *pro* quot C. 10. erit B. 12. aut *pro* vel DE. 13. dei CDE. 14. scandalizare CDE. 16. scire veritatem de enkaristia congrueret *in marg. sup.* C. 21. diaboli DE. 25. dicentes *in marg.* B. 26. ecclesiam D. 32. panis consecratus quomodo est corpus Cristi *in marg. sup.* D; *ib.* erit B. 33. tropice BCDE. 34. obscure locutus est cristus de sacramento propter meritum *in marg. sup.* C; *ib.* ntilitatem sic C. 35. est locutus sic DE. 38. interpretarentur ABDE.

dei; per illos enim tempore apostolorum, martyrum et sanctorum doctorum crevit ecclesia. Sed post genus theologorum, avaricie deditum, divisum est et conmixtum inter satrapas tradicionis humane; et multiplicatur per sectas dissensio secundum tempus periculosum, quod Cristus et suus apostolus predixerunt: et totum hoc est ad exercicium et meritum electorum. Et si queratur quid fidelis debet eligere, dicitur quod debet vivere in fide scripture et quem sensum de illa deus donaverit pie credere, et habere sensum scripture pure propter hoc quod papa et secte sic asserunt plus suspectum; quia vel sunt ignari sensus domini, et secundum Jeronimum, tractant fabrilia fabri, vel propter superbiam ac avariciam contempnentes sanctos doctores vel glosantes per oppositum magnificant dicta sua.

D. Quis ergo color, ut dixi alias, Si Innocencius tercius sic asserit, ergo verum? Nec enim movet ad hoc quod contra imperatorem blasfeme obiurgavit, quia noluit patriarcham suum secundum mundi gloriam exaltare; nec propter hoc quod in signum blasfemi dominii seduxit regem anglie, quod solveret sibi nongentas marcas pro anglia et ybemia; nec propter hoc quod anno sexto eius fratres predicatorum inceptorum. Quia ergo ecclesia pape Nicolai secundi ante circiter centum annis declaravit expresse catholice conformiter sanctis doctoribus et scripture istam materiam, ideo sibi debet credi potius posteriori priori postposito. Glosa tamen sibi debet dari ob reverenciam, quantum permittit mensura fidei: ut transsubstanciatio panis, quam ponit primo decretalium capitulo *Firmiter*, debet concedi ad sensum catholicum. Sic enim fuit Thomas Cantuariensis subito mutatus in

The faithful should believe on that point what Scripture tells him, notwithstanding the Pope and the Sects.

Innocent's decree is not necessarily true; and his conduct towards the Emperor, England, and the Dominicans renders Pope Nicolas preferable.

Yet, out of respect, one decree should be explained to mean a change like that of 'conversion'; and the other is doubtfully expressed.

1. martirum DE. 3. theologis factis avaris quid secutum est *in marg. inf. C.* 4, 5. multiplicata C. 8. fidelis quid eligeret *in marg. sup. C.* 9. deus de illa CE. 12. vel *pro* et C. 16. *in marg.*: Nota abusiones Innocencii III<sup>ii</sup>; Innocencii tercii condiciones non bone, tamen debet glosari propter reverenciam *in marg. inf. C.* 17. quod *deest* A. 18. obiurgat *omnes* MSS. 21. solvet C. 22. ybemia anualim A; hybernia CE; hibernia D. 24. annos *corr. ex* annis E. 27. quam propterea *pro* priori B; papa CDE; priori *deest* A; *ib.* debet sibi CE. 28. propter *pro* ob CE. 29. de transsubstanciacione *in marg. sup. C;* *ib.* inponit B. 30. debet firmiter B; firmiter *in marg. add. D.* 31. Quintuariensis A; Cathuriensis C; Canturiensis D; Caturiensis E.

13. From Horace (perhaps quoted by St. Jerome) Ep. l. II, l. 115, 116. Quod medicorum est

Promittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri. See De Apostasia, p. 171. 16. In *De Apostasia*, p. 69, l. 37. 30. Decr. Grat. lib. I, tit. 1, c. 1.



But the Friars  
have taken  
*transsubstan-*  
*tiation* as a  
destruction of  
the substance,  
and so the  
Sacrament  
is mere  
quantity;  
of what sort,  
they know not,

and are much  
embarrassed to  
choose.

This is  
blindness; the  
subject is only  
*lost sight of* by  
the minds of  
the faithful;  
just as an image  
makes one think  
of what it  
represents, not  
of what it is,  
without losing  
its entity on  
that account.

The other  
explanation  
contradicts  
Scripture, the

virum alium; et sic mutantur pape, sopito priori nomine,  
sine destruccione. Et quantum ad dictum suum de cele-  
bracione missarum, capitulo, *Cum Marthe*, patet quod  
ambigue procedit et non decretive in ista materia. Unde  
fratres sequentes subtiliaverunt infundabiliter et irra- 5  
cionabiliter ad gravamen et perturbacionem ecclesie,  
ponentes per "transsubstanciacionem", "destruccione[m]  
substancie"; | propter existenciam accidencium per se 33<sup>b</sup>  
ponunt sacramentum altaris esse nude quantitatem. Sed  
non explicant (ut nec sciunt) de sex generibus quantitatis 10  
famosis, sub quo genere quantitatis eukaristia sit con-  
tenta. Vident enim quod non sit numerus, locus aut  
tempus. Et de longitudine, latitudine et profunditate  
quidam, licet inevidenter, eligunt sextum genus; et sic,  
facta rarefaccione vel condensacione per totam, ponunt 15  
totam quantitatem sequentem, eciam si ponatur quantitas  
successiva, non esse sacramentum vel aliquam eius  
partem: et non est conveniens eorum testimonium, ut  
patet diffuse alibi.

Et movet hic cecitas! Post consecracionem manent 20  
accidencia sensibilia in actu considerandi, sopita actua-  
litate subiecti ex consideracione animi: ideo ponunt tale  
accidens sine subiecto quolibet existente, et undique  
inductis blasfemis opinionibus oneratur ecclesia. Sicut  
enim intrans domum et videns ymaginem, non suspendit 25  
consideracionem suam quo ad naturam ymaginis, utrum  
sit de quercu, buxo vel salice, sed totam intencionem  
et devocionem suam suspendit in signato; consimiliter  
est de Eukaristie sacramento. Non tamen propterea  
sequitur quod natura ymaginis destruitur vel desinit 30  
quoad deum. Magna itaque foret seduccio, quod scriptura E.  
sacra vocat sacramentum regulariter panem, ut loquitur  
canon misse, quod tam multi sancti et leges ecclesie

2. distraccione B. 4. discretive B: non decretive *in marg.* C. 5. subtiliaverunt *deest* A; subtiliarunt CE; *in marg. add.* D. 9. quantitatis *pro* altaris A. 11. genere quantitatis ABD. 14. sic *deest* B. 15. facto A; *ib.* vel *corr.* ex et D. 18. eorum *deest* ACDE. 19. diffuse D. 20. eos *pro* hic ACDE; *ib.* cecitas monet fratres *in marg.* C. 21. consyderandi D. 22. obiecti B; *ib.* consyderacione D; *ib.* anni *pro* animi A. 23. quomodolibet CDE. 24. opiniones blasfeme *in marg.* C; *ib.* sic *pro* sicut B. 25. non *deest* ACDE. 26. consyderacionem D. 27. de *deest* B. 27, 28. intencionem (et *deest* A. 28. suspensio devocionis *in marg.* C. 30. desint A. 31. cum (d *eras.*) *pro* deum E. 31, 32. sacra scriptura CE. 32. regulariter panem sacramentum A; *ib.* et ut *omnes* MSS. 33. ecclesie *deest* A.

20. All this is but a summary of what is expounded at length in *De Apostasia* and other treatises.



dicunt tam concorditer quod "panis et vinum erunt corpus Christi et sanguis"; (ymmo cantus novellus ecclesie dicit quod *fit sanguis Christi merum*; et sic de multis dictis ecclesie, que omnia non possunt salvari nisi ad  
 5 sensum figurativum vel tropicum. Nec valet glossa adversariorum exponencium hec dicta per suum oppositum, et annectens extraneas paliaciones; quia idem foret sic glossare et manifeste negare eos; imponere eis ignoranciam logice, et subtilitatem sermonis sibi ipsis ascribere);  
 10 et sic tales tripliciter seducunt ecclesiam, scilicet, in perfida et consentanea simulacione, in blasfemorum miraculorum faccione, et in horrenda inconveniencium intricacione. Nam audiunt cottidie pertinaciter defensatum ut fidem, quod sacramentum eucharistie est realiter verus  
 15 deus, quem vident oculo corporali; et tamen, quia hoc eis sonat ad commodum, obmutescunt! Et tamen doctores eorum quos colunt dicunt expresse quod hoc foret ydolatria turpissima. Sed subtiliant nimis inaniter in materia de quiditate hostie, sed discordant sine fun-  
 20 damente solido fluctuantes.

Sed per opinionem suam non subtiliant naturam hostie supra panem alium non sacramentum? sicut non subtiliant in materia de quiditate baptismi et penitencie, in qua est tanta difficultas et opinionum varietas? Qui-  
 25 dam enim dicunt quod sacramentum baptismi est aqua, alii quod est sal, tercia quod est oleum, quarti quod est vox baptizantis: quia, cum sit aliquid non potest esse ex naturis tam variis aggregatum, quia sic nichil foret hoc necessarium sacramentum; et sic hoc sacra-  
 30 mentum non esset, sicut nichil esset. Quinti dicunt quod hoc sacramentum est aliquid numinis, in signis illis absconditum. Et sexti dicunt quod est unum ex omnibus istis vel eorum aliquibus aggregatum. Et sic

liturgy, all traditions and sayings of the Church, or explains them against their real meaning.

A threefold seduction:  
 I. *dissimulation*,  
 II. *felicitous miracles*, and  
 III. *great absurdities*.

I. *Dissimulation*. They are mute, when they hear it said: we see Christ with our bodily eyes.

Their subtleties extend even to Baptism. Some say the sacrament is water, others salt, oil, the words uttered, some hidden thing, or the collection of all these.

1. tam *deest* CE; *delet* D; *ib.* erant CE. 2. sanguis C. 3. sanguis CE; sanguis christi fit merum *in marg.* C; *ib.* sit *pro* fit D; *post* fit *add.*: que E.  
 4. ecclesie *in marg.* *add.* D. 5. glossa CE. 6. annectens A; *ib.* palliatas CE; paliaciones D; *ib.* sic foret C. 7. glossare D; glozare E; *ib.* eis *deest* B. 8, 9. antiquis sanctis quidam imponunt ignoranciam *in marg. sup.* C. 10. ipsi E. 11. ecclesiam seducunt tripliciter quidam *in marg. inf.* C. 12. quotidie CD; quotidie E. 13. est eucharistie est C. 14, 15. deus verus CDE. 16. sonat eis CE; *ib.* comodum C. 17. sed *in marg.* *add.* D. 18. 21–23. *after* subtiliant, naturam hostie supra panem non sacramentum sicut non subtiliant B; *pro* sacramentum, sacram C; consecratum DE. 19. nec *pro* non. 20. autem A; *ib.* baptismi sacramenti quidditas *in marg. sup.* C. 21. baptizantis D; *ib.* aliud ACE. 22. aliud A; *ib.* minimis ABCD; numinis E. 23. vel eorum aliquibus *deest* CE.

3. Breviarium Romanum. In Festo Corporis Christi, ad vespas (Hymn. *Pange lingua*).

This disagreement shows their gross ignorance and dissimulation.

Lucre is the cause of their dissembling thus, and Christians ought not to sustain these teachers of fables and lies.

II. *False miracles.* Invented for want of true ones, they are of three principal sorts.  
1. They say that at each consecration the substance of bread is destroyed. This is contrary to the ancient doctrine,

and implies the horrible blasphemy that God annihilates the bread.

multi cum signis suis seducunt ecclesiam, qui ignorant propria instrumenta. Revera Paulus propter infinitum minus malum simulacionem Petri in faciem sibi restitit, *quia reprehensibilis erat*, ut dicitur gal. secundo. Et patet vocatorum militum Cristi infidelis vecordia. Gal. II, 11 5

Cuius causa est quia querunt lucrum temporalium et non salutem sui vel subditi, sicut nec docendam fidei veritatem. Quod si Cristianus subtraheret bona sua a prelato infideli ut pagano, quanto magis ab infideliiori domestico plus nocivo! Ipse enim non docet fidem sed fabulas atque mendacia, nec ministrat sacramenta ecclesiastica sed venena, cum, stulto stulcius, ignorat quiditatem, virtutem et alias veritates sacramenti. Sine causa ita et injuste occupat bona ecclesie, cum cumulus temporalium prelatos infatuat et facit eos in debito officii sui mutescere. 10 15

Quantum ad secundum, patet consideranti dicta adversariorum subtiliancium in ista materia; quia ipsi F. propter defectum veri miraculi nefande subtiliant. Tres quidem sunt hereses in materia de eukaristia, quibus tota die nomen domini blasphematur. Dicunt enim pro magno miraculo quod ipsi cum deo conficiunt, quod, virtute benediccionis qua panis a deo bono benedicitur, ipse panis destruitur funditus ad non esse. Non sic autem sencierunt antiqui doctores catholici et leges ecclesie de bonitate dei, cum dicunt concorditer quod panis ille secundum nullam partem eius destruitur, sed virtute benediccionis | vere fit sacramentaliter corpus Cristi. Doctor solempnis concedit quod manet post consecracionem panis aliquitas; ymo grossus decretista, glosator ordinarius. videtur dicere quod panis remanet, quamvis homines nesciant quo devenit. Omnes infideles horrerent istam crudelitatem irrationabilem posse com- 20 25 30 34<sup>n</sup>

1. signis seducunt quidem *in marg. inf. C.* 3. malam CDE; *ib.* facie CD. 4. Gall. CE. 5. patet *deest A.* 6. et *deest B.* 9. vel *pro* ut C. 12. Ignorans non sacramenta sed venena ministrat *in marg. D.* 13. virtutes *pro* veritates C; veritales *corr. ex* virtutes D; *ib.* itaque CDE; 14. occupant A; *ib.* Temporalia infatuant et faciunt mutescere *in marg. sup. C.* 16. tertium B; *ib.* consideranti D. 17. quod ACDE. 18. neplandi D. 19. hereses tres *in marg. inf. C.* 23. et ad A; *ib.* prima *in marg. C.* 26. eius partem CE. 27. sit CDE; *ib.* sacramentaliter *in marg. C.* 28. solempnis E; doctor solempnis concedit *in marg. C.* doctor solempnis *in marg. D.* 29. aliquitas CD; aliqidditas E; *ib.* ymo CD; *ib.* degrecista A; decretista *in marg. C.* 32. horrent D; *ib.* posset D.

28. In *De Apostasia*, this admission of an 'aliquitas' of bread remaining is ascribed to Henry Goethals of Ghent (p. 75, l. 32). Franklin's *Dictionnaire des pseudonymes latins* gives him the title of "Doctor solempnis". And Wyclif calls him so, in *De Ecclesia*, p. 317, l. 26.

petere deo bono. Nec sophisticandum est cum deo bono quod panis ille non destruitur, licet secundum se totum corrumpatur, sic quod nulla eius pars remanet in sui natura, nec in corpore Cristi, sed totum suum esse  
 5 creatum tollitur. Revera Manicheus horreret concedere istud competere deo malo. Secunda blasfemia qua verbum false colitur est vocatum miraculum quo dicitur deum sapientem adducere vel commultiplicare totum numerum quantitatis continuitatis, vel figure corporis sui in celo  
 10 ad omnem punctum Eukaristie; et tamen virtute verbi dei totum hoc fieri sine causa, cum nichil ibi informat sive quantificat: quia aliter foret corpus Cristi septipedale ad omnem punctum hostie, et quomodocunque figuratum. Tercia blasfemia que in spiritum sanctum  
 15 committitur stat in isto, quod omnes dotes corporis Cristi que sunt in celo et beatos reficiunt, sunt ad omnem punctum hostie, licet earum acciones a Deo benevolo sint suspense. Quamvis autem secundum Augustinum jam cessant miracula, tamen sacerdos symo-  
 20 niacus, ut inquit, cottidie facit talia infinita.

Quantum ad tertium, patet quod intricant se ipsos et alios inconveniente multiplici. Se ipsos, quia inponunt eis heresim, qui dicunt eukaristiam naturaliter esse panem. Sic enim, ut inquit, mitigaretur devocio populi  
 25 ad excellenciam sacramenti. Et tamen ipsimet profitentur concorditer quod illud sacramentum nec est corpus Cristi, nec potest esse pars Cristi, cum ipsum sit accidens. Et constat philosophis quod accidens est creatura abiectissima in natura: sic quod sacramentum altaris sit in-  
 G. 30 finitum imperfeccius sive indignius quam tela aranee, quam tantum luti, vel substantia aliqua assignanda. Et sic ubi alii fideles dicunt populo quod eukaristia in natura sua sit infinitum perfeccior quam ista corpora, et accidentaliter infinitum perfeccior quam quevis bestia,  
 35 cum sit quodammodo corpus Cristi; ipsi dicunt in-

2. They say that Christ's body is present in every point of the Host to no purpose, since He does not give it quantity.

And 3. that all the qualities of Christ's body are there, as in Heaven, but miraculously inactive.

### III. Great absurdities.

1. That the Sacrament is neither bread nor Christ's; body; or if the latter, then the most abject of things is Christ's body.

2. totum sic B; totum in marg. add. D. 3. pars eius CE; *ib.* remanet *deest* B. 4. esse suum CDE. 6. competere *deest* A; *ib.* secunda blasfemia in marg. C; *ib.* contra pro qua C. 7. colligitur A; tollitur C. 9. dimensive in marg. C. 10. punctum C. 11. tertia blasfemia in marg. C; cave in marg. D. 15, 16. Omnes dotes que sunt in celo corpus Cristi non sunt in sacramento in marg. D. 17, 18. a deo benivolo CDE. 18. benivole A. 19. miracula cessant in marg. C. 19, 20. simoniacus D. 20. quotidie C; quotidie E. 21. primum E. 23. quia pro qui ABD. 24. ut in marg. add. D; *ib.* populo C. 25. ipsummet C; ipsimet *corr.* ex ipsummet E; *ib.* profiteantur B. 30. imperfeccius C. 31. substantia *deest* A. 32, 33. Eukaristia perfectior in natura et in accidentalibus in marg. inf. C; *ib.* sit in natura sua CDE.

Which  
damnable  
heresy  
dishonours  
Christ more  
than our  
doctrine.

honorabiliter omnino oppositum. Tantum ergo honorem tribuimus eukaristie ut ipsi attribuunt quovismodo, et infinitum maiorem inferioritatem vel dedecus ipsi sibi attribuunt quam fideles quos vocant hereticos. Iudicet ergo populus naturali ingenio inter illos. Revera, me 5 seminante tale dogma in populo, ipsi diffamarent me undique tamquam hereticum destruendum. Et cum ipsi in maiori dampnatione pertinaciter perseverent, patet quam patule obviant sibi ipsis.

2. That every  
part of Christ's  
Body has its  
position in  
every point of  
the Host. So  
Christ's head is  
below his feet,  
and his heart  
outside and  
skin inside, etc.

Secundo, dicunt quod posicio (que est differencia 10 quantitatis) est ad omnem punctum hostie concomitanter cum corpore Cristi; quia aliter omnia membra Cristi forent confuse sine ordine locata. Et sic inquit quod infima pars corporis Cristi in hostia est vertex capitis; sed suprema pars corporis Cristi in hostia, supra caput, 15 sunt pedes continuati cum tybiis. Intima eciam pars corporis Cristi in hostia, ut fingunt, est cutis cum ossibus loco cordis, sed extrema pars corporis Cristi sunt viscera cum spiritibus; sic quod nisi deus suspenderet continuacionem parcium, foret corpus Cristi ibi 20 monstruosissimum. Cum enim ibi sit posicio parcium (que est differencia quantitatis), oportet ipsos concedere caput Cristi esse ibi supra collum, sicut corpus Cristi est in ecclesia sub celo et supra terram. Nam difinitive est in loco, sicut modo est deitas et anima hominis. 25 Conceditur esse supra se, quia secundum se totam est per situm supra quem est, ipsa anima secundum se totam: quod est evidencius de corpore Cristi in hostia, cum omnes partes eius locantur sic inferius atque superius. Nam discontinuatis partibus illius hostie, vel 30 sine motu locali, corpus Cristi foret totaliter sub et supra; ergo a pari, facta continuacione et multiplicacione corporis Cristi, ut modo. Ex quibus cum infinitis difficultatibus intricat hec secta se ipsam atque ecclesiam. Ulterius videtur concedendum vel relinquendum sub 35 dubio quod caput Cristi in hostia continuatur cum pedibus et quolibet eius pars quantitative cum qualibet.

*Proof.* As the  
soul of man is  
above his body  
by its way of  
existence,  
Christ's Body,  
existing in the  
same way, is  
above itself.

Were the Host  
broken into an  
upper and an  
under part,  
Christ's body  
would be above  
and below.

Whether  
Christ's Body  
in the Host is  
a continuous  
whole, seems  
doubtful;

2—4. quovismodo — attribuunt *deest* A. 6. doema E. 9. quod  
pro quam CE. 13. que A. 14, 15. est vertex capitis sed suprema  
pars corporis Cristi hostia *deest* C; *ib.* pars corporis — pars corporis *in*  
*marg. inf. add.* D. 15. capud E. 16. tibiis CDE; *ib.* eciam *deest* A.  
18. extima A; *ib.* Cristi *deest* A. 19. nisi *in marg. add.* D. 22. que  
pro que. 23. capud E. 24. in ecclesia est sic C; in ecclesia est E;  
*ib.* difinitive E. 25. sicud A; *ib.* non ABE; *corr.* E. 26. concedatur B;  
*ib.* esse *deest* D. 27. sic locantur D. 30. discountaminatis A; *ib.* tamen  
pro vel B. 32. multitudine CD. 34. intricaciones infer *in marg. sup.* C;  
*ib.* ista D. 36. capud E. 37. quantitativa A; *ib.* quolibet A.

- Nam quilibet talis pars est immediata cuilibet et est glutinatum et continuatum paratum; nec scitur quod deus suspendit accionem naturalem; ergo non est negandum simpliciter, quod quilibet talis pars continuatur
- H. 5 cuilibet. Et confirmatur ex fundamento istius sentencie. Nam deus posset hoc facere, et redundaret in difficultatem credendi ac mirabilitatem operum dei; ergo, ut arguunt in simili, catholice debet credi. Et confirmant infideles per hoc quod quidquid est inter labia et palata
- 10 oris hominis erit in ipso ore; sed omnia membra corporis Cristi sic sunt inter palata capitis Cristi et labia, ergo sunt in ore Cristi et per idem ex omni parte eius concava. Et sic de infinitis inconvenientibus, que tam fideles quam infideles obiciunt.
- 15 Unde greci, qui usque hodie nobis fidelius secuntur fidem apostoli, conficiunt in magna quantitate panis, immiscentque hostie panem, oleum vel butirum; et die
- 34<sup>b</sup> ieiunii vel non celebrant, | vel prope tempus quo ieiunando parce semel comedunt. Infideles autem derident clericos, quod sine fundacione introducunt novitates ad gravamen ecclesie, nec populum, manifeste ydolatrantes in heresi qua credit sacramentum esse corpus Cristi ydemptice, revocant ab errore. Ideo, si aliqua secta ydolatrando et apostotando cadit in heresim, hoc
- 20 sic facit potissime ex consensu. Nec scit aufugere, quin sicut idem homo multiplicatus est supra se et sub se, dexter et sinister, ante et retro sibi ipsi; sic esset de corpore Cristi in hostia. Quomodo, queso, staret homo multiplicatus super caput suum, iaceret in solario super
- 30 corpus suum, recubens in celario? et sic de aliis differentiis positis, captis a loco; ut sicut talis veniret retro se, curreret ante se, foret dexter et sinister sibi ipsi; sic corpus Cristi in hostia haberet ventrem ad dorsum, faciem ad occipud retro ipsum; et sic de in-

according to them whatever is most wonderful is to be believed.

The Greeks, consecrate loaves in large quantity, and avoid taking Communion on fast-days long before the meal.

There is no escaping from this: a man, it multiplied, would be both above and below himself etc.: it is the same for Christ's Body.

1. cuilibet *in marg. add. D.* 2. glutinatum A. 3. quo A; igitur CE. 8. confirmant C. 9. quicquid C; quicquid E. 10. 11. oris — capitis *deest A.* 10. est *pro* erit CDE; *ib.* si *pro* sed CD. 11. sic sunt *deest C;* *ib.* pallata D. 12. in *pro* ex CDE. 13. iniquitibus A; *ib.* inconvenientia ex positione non fundata inferit *in marg. sup. C.* 15. Greci conficiunt in magna quantitate *in marg. C;* *ib.* Cave *in marg. D;* *ib.* sequuntur CDE. 17. hodie *pro* hostie CDE. 18. non *deest A.* 19. prime AB; persone C; *pr* D; *ib.* simul ABC; semel DE. 21. populus idolatrans *in marg. C.* 22. credunt A. 24. hec ACDE. 25. Cave *in marg. D;* *ib.* aufugere CE. 26. sicut CDE. 27. et *deest CE.* 27-33. sic esset — sic corpus *in marg. inf. add. D.* 29. capud E. 30. cellario CE. 31. positivis CD; *ib.* capitis AC; captis E; *ib.* sicut CDE. 33. ventrem ad *in marg. add. D.* 31. caput A; occiput CE; accipit D.



finitis conclusionibus monstruosis. Ymmo, sicut canis comedit, ut inquit, corpus Cristi, sic sacerdos in penam penitencie combureret corpus Christi; et sic veritatem cremaret hereticus. Nec est ratio quod gradus positivus includat negacionem, ut fingitur, quin per idem omnis<sup>5</sup> positivus gradus vel terminus positivus; et sic neganda foret multiplicacio corporis Cristis in hostia.

Against all  
sophisms, we  
have two decrees  
of the Church,  
and many  
words of the  
Saints.

Satis ergo est tollere adversariorum sophismata contra antiquam sanctorum sententiam, licet non sit extranea superflue introducta, ut decretum *Ego Berengarius* mani-<sup>10</sup> feste dicit quod panis et vinum erunt post consecracionem tam sacramentum quam corpus Cristi et sanguis. Et idem dicit decretum beati Ambrosii de consecracione, dist. 2<sup>a</sup>, cap. *Omnia quecumque*, cum quotlibet dictis sanctorum.<sup>15</sup>

Objection. If  
Christ's body is  
not multiplied  
and each Host  
is His Body,  
there is but one  
Host or many  
bodies.

Et videtur sequi, si hoc sacramentum est corpus Cristi<sup>1</sup>. tunc corpus Cristi est hoc sacramentum; et sic quotlibet corpora forent corpus Cristi, vel non forent multe hostie consecrate. Hic autem audi vi responsionem triplicem. Prima negat hanc consequenciam: *hoc sacramentum est*<sup>20</sup> *corpus Cristi*: ergo, *corpus Cristi est hoc sacramentum*. Sicut, resolvendo sensum, non sequitur: *hoc sacramentum figurat sacramentaliter corpus Cristi*, ergo, *corpus figurat sacramentaliter istum panem*. Secunda responsio concedit consequenciam, et consequens quod debet aptari con-<sup>25</sup> sequenti iste sensus: *corpus Cristi est hoc sacramentum*, hoc est, *corpus Cristi figuratur per hoc sacramentum*: et sic corpus Cristi est quotlibet corpora separata, ad sensum conformem. Tercia responsio dicit quod duplex est corpus Cristi, scilicet in figura et in natura; et<sup>30</sup> sic Christus habet multa corpora in figura (ut loquitur beatus Jeronimus), sed nullum eorum est corpus Cristi quod naturaliter et personaliter actuatur per animam suam in celo, sed unum aliud corpus quod satis equivoce dicitur corpus Cristi. Ego autem, quia volui excutere<sup>35</sup>

Three replies.  
Either 1. to  
deny the  
consequence;

or 2. to admit  
that Christ's  
Body is each  
Host  
figuratively;

or 3. to say  
that Christ has  
a figurative as  
well as a  
natural body,  
the first only  
multipliable.

1. sicud D. 2. comedit deest C; in marg. E; ib. corpus deest D.  
3. comburet C. 4. qua A. 5. Cave in marg. D. 6. igitur CE.  
7. sit AD. 8. Berengarius D. 9. erant ACDE. 10. sanguis D.  
11. Cristi deest A. 12. hoc deest ACDE. 13. after forent a word  
effaced A. 14. enim A; corr. E; ib. audi vi in marg. add. C.  
15. corpus cristi CDE. 16. responsio secunda D. 17. quia CDE.  
18. iste in marg. A. 19. Cristi deest D. 20. Cristi deest A; ib. nu-  
mero CDE. 21. actualiter C; tur in ras. E.

10. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. II, c. 42. 14. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars,  
Dist. II, c. 74.



Joan. ista sophismata, declinavi ad logicam baptiste, dicentis  
 II, 21 se non esse heliam, ut per hoc populus evitet hanc  
 ydolatriam, quia credit panem sacramentum esse  
 Act. ydemptice deum suum: sicut apostolus alloquitur athe-  
 XVII, nienses act. 17. Et revera non magis fuit illa communitas  
 25 ydolatrie dedita quam modo infidelitate oneratur ecclesia.  
 Non igitur mirum si misse talium infidelium nocent  
 ecclesie. Ideo fidelis theologus predicaret cum apostolo  
 10 eos, ut non sic celebrent sive orent. Quia revera nec  
 3 Reg. prophete baal, de quibus 3<sup>i</sup> Reg. 18 nec sacerdotes baal,  
 XVIII, de quibus Daniel ultimo, fuerunt magis heretici ydolatre  
 19 et quam tales sunt. Condescendendo ergo logice divine  
 seq. que Matth. 5, concedit baptistam esse heliam, et Jer. 24,  
 Dan. concedit Jesum nostrum esse David, cum aliis tropicis  
 XIV, 2 locucionibus similibus, defendo contra sophistas per ali-  
 et seq. Jer. quam istarum trium responsionum, et specialiter per  
 XXIII, 5 terciam, veritatem.

Secunda via qua complices pape seminant de ipso  
 20 blasphemiam est heresis in qua de ipso infundabiliter  
 fingunt potenciam et indubie ut sic impetunt in Cristi  
 veritatem tamquam anticristi discipuli. Sicut enim addendo  
 ad pape Innocencii stulticiam de sacramento altaris intro-  
 ducitur ydolatria per magnam partem ecclesie; sic colendo  
 25 papam ut Cristi vicarium, vel secundum rationem falsam  
 spiritualis potencie quam pretendunt, committitur plus  
 detestanda atque blasfema ydolatria; quia honores  
 divini attribuuntur membro luciferi, quod est ydolum  
 detestabilius trunco picto, cum ipse non continet in se  
 K. 30 tantam maliciam. Et hec ratio quare Petrus vocatus  
 ad militem, non imperans ut miles sibi veniat, non

Wyclif prefers the latter, denying that Christ's natural body is in the Sacrament, because of the popular error, which is as rank idolatry as that of the Athenians and of the prophets and priests of Baal.

A second blasphemy of the Sects is the worship of the Pope as Christ's Vicar; which is worse than the adoration of a piece of wood.

1. declavari A; declinari CDE; *ib.* logicam baptiste amplexatus *in marg. sup.* C. 2. hec AC; *ib.* devitet CE. 3. sacratum *sed in marg. corr.*: sacramentum D; sacrum E. 4, 5. attenienses DE. 7. ergo D. 9. laycus E. 10. nec *deest* AB; *in marg.* D. 11. beel CE; *corr.* ex baal D. 13. sunt tales CDE; *ib.* condescendo C; *ib.* igitur CE. 14. quia A; *ib.* 20 A; XI CE; XII D. 15. alii C. 16. defendo A; defendēdo D. 16, 17. *a<sup>caz</sup>* C; *a<sup>ca</sup>* E. 17, 18. per terciam *deest* A. 19. contra complices C; contra *in marg.* D; delet E. 20. in *deest* CE; quam *pro* in qua D. 21. et *deest* A; *ib.* ut sic *in marg.* A. 22. sicut D. 23. ad *deest* E. 24. idolatria committitur nūdier *in marg. sup.* C; *ib.* ecclesie D; *ib.* sicut A. 26. pretendit CDE. 27. ydolatria atque blasfemia C; ydolatria atque blasfema ydolatria E. 29. in se non continet D.

1. In Wyclif's theory, John the Baptist being figuratively Elias, was really he; but he was right to deny it in the sense of being the very person of the prophet.

Fearing  
idolatry, Peter,  
Paul and  
Barnabas,  
refused to allow  
honours to be  
paid to them  
until the people  
were instructed.

But if the Pope  
exacts such  
honours to be  
paid to him  
personally, both  
he and his  
worshipper are  
guilty of  
idolatry.

The first thing  
is to disburden  
the Church  
from riches.

The wealthy  
among the  
clergy should  
acknowledge  
that the poor,  
if servants of  
God, ought  
to have  
wherewithal to  
serve Him.  
Wealth lessens,  
instead of  
increasing, the  
influence of the  
priesthood.

invenitur in aula regia sed in domo symonis leprosi IX, 4<sup>3</sup>;  
coriarii iuxta aquam, ut patet Act. 10. Petrus autem X 6  
venit humiliter, non equester cum sumptuosa familia,  
sed pedester. Quando autem Cornelius, procidens ad  
pedes Petri, oravit eum, dixit Petrus postquam elevavit 5  
eum: *Ego, inquit, ipse homo sum sicut et tu*. Et con-  
formiter fecerunt Paulus et Barnabas, ut legitur act. 14. 35<sup>a</sup>  
Quando autem noverunt populum in fide instructum Act.  
quomodo Cristus est caput totius ecclesie, et quomodo XIV.  
non debet honor impendi prelati eius, nisi de quanto 10  
Cristo impenditur in membris suis, tunc susceperunt  
honorem humiliter cum timore. Quod si papa nesciat  
quod sit membrum ecclesie et tamen exigit fieri appro-  
priate sibi, *ut sibi*, honores insolitos; quis dubitat quin  
sit blasfemus ydolatra, sicut et persona taliter eum 15  
colens? quia secundum rationem falsam veritati (que  
Cristus est) contrariam, colit, ut sic, membrum luciferi;  
quia, si omnes prelati nostri respuerent blasfemos  
honores, bene esset ecclesie ab ydolatRIA expurgate.  
Quod non erit antequam exonerata fuerit mundi 20  
diviciis. Et inferiores clerici habentes de diviciis, de  
decimis, vel aliis elemosinis ultra vite necessaria, re-  
cognoscant in superhabundantibus elemosinis et specialiter  
in decimis se esse procuratores pauperum non dominos. Ps.  
Cum enim *domini est terra et plenitudo eius*, sequitur XXIII,  
demonstrative fidelibus, quod deus vult cuicunque servo 1  
suo de bonis suis dividi prout opus est serviendo deo  
debite ad implecionem sui officii: patet ex hoc quod  
aliter deus non esset primus paterfamilias summe  
iustus. Et illud principium consideraret prelatus, videns 30  
quantum temporalium habundancia adauget sibi sacer-  
dotis officium ultra apostolos; et equa lance notata  
videret, quomodo non auget sed minuit ministerium  
sacerdotis; per hoc enim magis mundo, voluptati et  
dominacioni intenditur et de officio quod Cristus exigit 35

1. leprosi *deest* ADE. 2. coriarii E. 3. venit *in marg. add.* D.  
5. unde *pro* eum. 6. Ego enim A; *ib.* ipse inquit CE; *ib.* homo ipse D.  
7. 18 CE. 9. capud C. 11. nescit papa si membrum ecclesie est *in*  
*marg.* C. 15. sicut DE. 17. est Cristus est D; *ib.* sit *pro* sic C. 18. quod  
*pro* quia ACDE; *ib.* nostri prelati CE; *ib.* blasphemos E. 19. dotacio  
*in marg.* C. 20. fuerit exonerata C; fuerit exonerata DE. 21. de  
diviciis *deest* ACDE. 22. elemosinis CDE. 23. habundantibus D.  
24. procuratores A. 26. delive CE; *ib.* vnicuique CE. 27. dedi A;  
*ib.* finiundo C. 28. quia CE; *corr.* ex quod D. 29. primus *deest* C.  
30. consyderaret D. 31. adaugens BGD; *ib.* sibi *deest*. 32. ultra apo-  
stolos *in marg. add.* 33. videt C. 34. mundo magis E.

a suis prelatiſ subtrahitur. Ideo, ut ſepe dixi, particio  
indebita bonorum fortune eſt precipua cauſa pertur-  
bacioniſ eccleſie. Deus enim, cum ſit paterfamiliaſ ſumme  
ſciens, providet domui ſue tantum de temporalibuſ quan-  
tum eſt neceſſarium ad perficiendum ſerviciuſ quod  
exigit a ſubdiſ. Repugnat enim perfeccioni dei quod in  
iſto ſit ſuperfluuſ et diminutuſ; ſed occasione peccati  
puniendi contingunt fameſ terre, ſterilitaſ, et alia penalia  
in ewangelio nominata. Quod autem aliqui de Criſti familia  
ſic egent, peccata et ſpecialiter avaricia ſunt in cauſa.

Inequality of  
wealth iſ not  
ordered by God,  
but allowed aſ  
the puniſhment  
of ſin.

Deuſ enim vult quod ſeculareſ domini moderate  
habundent temporalibuſ, ut poteſtative incuciant timorem  
diſcolis contrariis legi Criſti. Vult eciam quod com-  
munitaſ vivens de laboricio vel mercimonio mediocriter  
poſſideat temporalia, quantum eſt neceſſarium, ut in  
ſtatu illo debite deo ſerviatuſ. Ideo dicit Cryſoſtomuſ,  
omelia 31 operiſ imperfecti, quod mercanteſ iniuſte non  
ſunt Criſtiani, quia poſiti inter deum et mercandiam  
affectuoſiſ iurant pro mammona et ex infidelitate ex-  
citant ementeſ ut iurent. Et ideo, relinquenteſ poſt  
mortem ſubſtanciaſ queſitaſ mundo atque extraneis,  
ſervant ſibi in cribro ſuperflua, ut petram. Ille autem  
mercator eſt periculoſior et deo obiectior, qui emit  
rem et ipſam integram vendit ultra valoreſ vel ne-  
ceſſitatem ad officiuſ continuandum in miniſterio dei,  
ut patet de mercantibuſ qui ſubito ſunt, vicioſe atque  
ſuperflue, mundo diviteſ. Sed non video quin, ſicud  
licet emere artificanda, ut artificiuſ vendatur debite, ſic  
licet iuſte temporalia integra commutare.

Yet temporal  
lordſ require to  
have richeſ and  
power.

And traderſ  
may poſſeſſ a  
moderate  
competence, in  
ſo far aſ their  
ſtate needſ it.

Et deuſ vult tercio quod cleriſi inſtar ſui et apoſto-  
loruſ ſtrictiſſime habeant de boniſ infimiſ, ut patet  
Thy. 6., quantum eſt neceſſarium ad complendum ſuum

Thoſe  
eſpecially who  
charge too dear  
become unjuſtly  
rich.

I. Tim.  
VI, 8

But the clergy  
ſhould be quite  
free from  
unnecessary  
wealth, ſource  
of all evil;

1. ydolatra B. 1, 2. ydolatra particio C; indebita particio E; particio  
idolatra bonorum fortune precipua cauſa perturbacioniſ eccleſie *in marg.*  
*ſup. C.* 5. officiuſ CE; *ib.* ſerviciuſ *ſed in marg. corr.* officiuſ D.  
6. enim *pro ei* A. 7. et *deest* B; vel CDE. 7, 8. peccata puniuntur *in*  
*marg. C.* 8. peccata BCE. 11. vlt CD; *ib.* domini ſeculareſ *in marg. C.*  
13. legiſ A. 13, 14. communitaſ *in marg. C.* 14. laboracio B. 16. deo  
debite CE; deo *in marg. add. D.* 17, 18. mercanteſ iniuſte non ſunt  
criſtiani *in marg. ſup. D.* 19. iurarunt B; *ib.* mamona AC; mamōa DE.  
19, 20. excident B. 21. conquiſitaſ CE; *corr.* ex que ſitaſ D.  
21, 22. atque — cribro *deest* C. 2. peccata *pro* petram C; petram *ſed*  
*in marg.*; peccata D; peccata *ſed in marg.*; petrum *deletum* E; *ib.* autem  
*deest* B. 23. mercator periculoſior *in marg. ſup. C.* 27. quin *corr.* ex  
quando E; *ib.* ſicut CDE. 28. rem artiſciendam CDE; *ib.* debite ven-  
datur C. 29. comutare E. 32. cleriſi ſtrictiſſime habent temporalia  
*in marg. inf. C.* 32. thymo C; prima thimo D; prima thimo 6 E.

17. *Operiſ imperfecti.* A work aſcribed to Chryſoſtom but  
probably written by an Arian; certainly not by him.

the infirm  
amongst them  
receiving alms  
from the rich,  
who need their  
prayers.

officium; et superbia anticristi in isto est precipua causa perturbacionis ecclesie. Ex hoc enim aspirant ad honores mundanos, ex hoc torpescunt in officio sacerdotali quod Cristus instituit, et ex hoc veniunt fames multiplices et bella in populo. Infirmi autem et im-<sup>5</sup> potentes debent vivere de decimis et aliis privatis elemosinis; sic quod mundo divites plus indigent illis ratione meriti quam e contra, ut docet Augustinus in *de verbis domini*, sermone 5<sup>o</sup>; et illi per clerum precipue sunt fraudati. Ideo, ad tollendam symoniam et alios<sup>10</sup> defectus ecclesie, nunquam erit sanata radicitus antequam a clero, reducto ad statum quem Cristus instituit, perfecte ablata fuerit causa morbi.

As a sign of  
Christ's  
dominion, all  
ought to give  
tithes; the poor,  
spiritual tithes;  
the rich, tithes  
of their  
substance.

In signum autem capitalis domini Jesu Cristi debent cuncti superhabundantes dare sibi in suis pauperibus<sup>15</sup> redditus decimarum, et specialiter clerus superhabundans. Nam ex adinvencione humana sub Greg. <sup>10</sup> nunc tarde sunt clero perquisite decime, ut narravi superius. Sicut ergo deus est naturaliter dominus capitalis cunctorum in mundo conversancium; ita naturaliter debent sibi<sup>20</sup> dare redditus decimarum; egeni, spiritualement decimam, et superhabundantes in bonis infimis cum hoc dabunt signanter decimam bonorum fortune. cum deus sit dominus super universitatem creatam, sicut denarius excedit novenarium. Unde sub tempore legis nature<sup>25</sup> M. Abel et Cayn dederunt deo decimas, ut patet Genes. 4<sup>Gen.</sup> sed quibus darentur | reliquit deus humano arbitrio, <sup>IV, 3, 4</sup> <sup>35<sup>b</sup></sup> docens naturaliter hoc principium quod dentur ad maiorem utilitatem ecclesie. Ideo in principio, quando nemo eguit illis decimis ad vescendum, cremabantur<sup>30</sup> decime, ut vel sic instruatur ecclesia caritative in deum ascendere. Nunc autem dabantur sacerdotibus et levitis tempore legis Mosayce; et nunc pauperibus, quibus naturaliter sunt debite, ut patet thob <sup>1<sup>o</sup></sup>. <sup>Tob. IV, 7</sup>

As it was from  
the beginning;  
tithes, at first  
burnt offerings,  
were later given  
to the priests  
and to the poor.

5. Nota in marg. A. 5, 6. inpotentes A. 7. indiget B. 8. dicit B; *ib.* in *deest* ACDE. 9. et in marg. *add.* D. 10. sunt precipue CE; *ib.* simoniam D. 14. pauperes infirmi debent vivere de decimis in marg. D. 15. sibi *deest* A. 16. redditus CDE. 17. ex inadinvencione D; *ib.* sit pro nunc A; *corr.* D. 18. decime in marg. A; *ib.* superius narravi CE; *ib.* sicut CDE; *ib.* in marg.; scilicet in tractatu de simonia B. 19. igitur CE. 20, 21. dare sibi DE. 21. dari AB. 22. superhabundans A. 24. dominus *deest* D; *ib.* sicut CDE. 26. Caym B; Caim *corr.* ex Cain D. 27. reliquit D. 28. debetur A. 30. deguit C. 30, 31. decime cremabantur aliquando quare in marg. C. 33, 34. decime naturaliter sunt debite pauperibus in marg. *sup.* C. 34. thobie CDE.

9. Aug. (Migne XXXVII, 215) seems to be the passage alluded to here.

Unde Augustinus in quadam epistola que sic incipit, *propicio Cristo* ita scribit: "Decime, fratres, tributa sunt egencium animarum. Redde ergo tributa pauperibus, offer libamina sacerdotibus". Et sequitur: "decime", inquit, 5 "ex debito requiruntur; et qui eas reddere noluerit res alienas invadit; et quanti pauperes in locis ubi ipse habitat, illo decimas non dante, fame mortui fuerint, tantorum homicidiorum reus ante tribunal eterni iudicis apparebit; quia rem a domino pauperibus delegatam suis 10 usibus reservavit. Qui igitur sibi aut premium comparere aut peccatorum desiderat indulgentiam promereri, redditis decimis, eciam de novem partibus studeat elemosinam dare; ita tamen ut quicquid excepto victu mediocri et vestitu rationabili superfuerit, non luxurie reservetur, 15 sed in thesauro celesti per elemosinam pauperum reponatur. Quidquid enim nobis deus plus quam opus est dederit, non nobis specialiter dedit, sed per nos aliis erogandum transmisit. Si non dederimus, res alienas invadimus." Ecce hic testimonium predicte sentencie. 20 Redeundo ergo patet ex dictis quod nec papa, nec prelatus ecclesie, sicut non haberet de temporalibus nisi titulo elemosine, quantum est necessarium ad ministerium quod Christus sibi instituit, sic nec honores hic debet suscipere, nisi quantum est necessarium, ut deus in 25 illo honorificetur a populo; et per consequens omnes mundanos honores debet aufugere; ymmo et quilibet secularis dominus, nisi de quanto est necessarium ut timeatur a populo ad coercendum rebelles legi Christi, ut tam ille quam ipsi ad iugum trahendum in curru 30 dei regularius reducantur.

Augustine's words: Tithes are a debt we owe to the poor, not a merit; if we will have merit, we must give of the other nine-tenths.

Thus, setting aside what is necessary for food and raiment, we can treasure up the rest as alms; God gave it us for that end alone.

No member of the Church, no secular lord, can have either riches, power, or honour, except for God's service in his state.

Si ergo, secundum Crysostomum, ommittenda est mercacio qua in alienis partibus emuntur integra, ut vendantur et integra, propter difficultatem atque peri-

Merchants are advised not to trade in foreign parts, on account of the difficulty of

2. ita *deest* D; *ib.* nota de decimis *in marg.* D. 3. tributa egencium decime *in marg.* C. 3. igitur CE. 5. requirunt CE. 6. *Cristi pro ubi* A. 8. homicidiorum reus *in marg.* C; *ib.* tribuales A. 9. paupibus C. 10. sibi igitur D; *ib.* aut *deest* D; *ib.* comparare ABCE. 11. desyderat D. 12. de novem partibus *in marg.* C. 13. quidquid D; *ib.* ex precepto A; ex dicto B; *ib.* mediocriter CDE. 16. Quid A: Quicquid C; quidquid D; quicquid E. 17. non *deest* A. 18. erogandum DE. 18, 19. Si — invadimus *deest* CE. 20. igitur CE. 21. sicut CDE; *ib.* aut *pro* nisi A; in B. 22. titulo CDE. 23. Cristus *deest* C; *ib.* debet hic D. 23, 24. honores pro quanto susciperent prelati et domini *in marg. sup.* C. 26. aufugere CDE; *ib.* ymo E. 28. rebelles *deest* A; rebellem legi D; rebelles legi CE; coercere rebelles *in marg.* C. 29. illi D; *ib.* trahendi ABCD. 31. igitur CE. 32. mercacio periculosa quare *in marg.* C.

2. Aug. (Migne, XXXVI, p. 1911).



estimating fair  
profits for their  
trouble and  
perils; how  
much more  
should the  
clergy avoid all  
worldly traffic!

Especially as  
regard the  
collation of  
benefices,

wherein the  
power of  
prelates is  
blasphemously  
exaggerated,  
contrary to the  
practice of the  
Apostles.

Nothing proves  
better that they  
lack this  
spiritual power,  
which God may  
give to an  
unknown  
priest.

culum taxandi iustum valorem talis laboris sic mercantis  
et vie periculum, ymmo taxacio continuacionis status  
mercantis est sibi incognita propter eventus innumera-  
biles causales. Multo magis clericus Cristi, et specialiter  
sacerdos superior, debet cavere negociacionem ad peri- 5  
culum sui et ecclesie magis ambiguam, vel statum  
prosperitatis mundane in quo iacent anime ampliora  
pericula. Primus enim mercator posset facilius iuste N.  
exequi mercandiam talem ex integris quam prelatus,  
et sic habundare diviciis. Nam expressius prohibetur a 10  
Cristo, plus retrahitur a cariori officio, et omnino  
periculosus blasphematur in honore mundano per mer-  
candiam sacerdotis quam per dictam laici mercandiam;  
et omnino de periculo mundani honoris, gracia lucri  
symoniace perquisiti, et summe de blasfema exaltacione 15  
potestatis prelati propter collacionem symoniacam pre-  
positure vel beneficii spiritualis.

Aliter enim numquam sic blasphemaretur de potestate  
prelati, implicando quod plus potest in colacione talium  
quam Petrus potuit sive Cristus. Sic quod patet sedule 20  
attendenti quod maior pars blateratorum de potestate  
prelati est heretica et blasfema. Nam quia potestas est  
insensibilis, fingi poterit et ficcione mendaci seduci  
populus. Apostoli autem non de magnitudine talis  
potestatis contenderant, sed ad plus laborandum pro 25  
edificacione ecclesie effectualiter secundum formam  
ewangelii laborabant. Unde non potest quis patencius  
ostendere se esse expertem talis potencie quam pompando  
de tali potencia sine correspondente opere. Deus enim  
non dat talem potestatem propter locum, propter tradi- 30  
ciones elacionis humane vel propter famam vel appa-  
renciam humane glorie, qua fingitur quod talis dominatur  
toti mundo, tamquam frater domini et amicus. Sacerdos  
enim mundo incognitus, qui similis sequitur Cristum  
in moribus, habet potestatem regendi et edificandi eccle- 35

1. laborem AD; talem laborem *omnes MSS.* 2. ymo E. 6. atque CE.  
6. 7 status prosperitatis mundane periculosus *in marg. inf.* C. 10. hun-  
dare C. 12. blasphematur E; *ib.* homine A. 13. layci E. 16, 17. vel  
prepositure beneficii A. 18. blasphemare D; *ib.* potestati C. 19. impli-  
cando CD; *ib.* habet CE; *ib.* collacione CDE. 21. blaterarum AD.  
22. prelati est *in marg. add.* D. 22, 23. potestas que insensibilis ideo  
excusabilior videtur *in marg.* D. 23. ei deest B; *ib.* mendacii B; *ib.* se-  
ducti B. 24. aut A. 25. contenderent D. 27. posset ACDE;  
gloriaci prelatorum de potestate causatur *in marg. sup.* C. 28. esse  
deest AD. 30. propter locum *in marg. add.* D. 31. eleccionis CDE.  
33. taquam D. 34. cognitus C.



siam excellencius; quia non consistit regimen ecclesie in spoliacione et prefeccione complicum vel sacramentali seduccionem secundum traditiones humanas, sed in meritoria operatione et in humili exhortacione ad viandum conformiter legi Cristi. Sic quod melius foret ecclesie non esse papam vel prelatos huiusmodi; sed, abiecta tota traditione cesarea, sacerdotes pauperes docere nude et familiariter legem Cristi.

So that it were better if there were neither Pope nor prelates, only poor priests.

Et quantum ad evidencias, patet quod sunt tante  
 10 racione vacue quod blasphemus verecundaretur in presencia  
 O. animalis irrationalis ipsas exponere. Nam ex illo Matth. 16,  
 Matth. emungunt potissime fictam potestatem blasphemam: *Quod-*  
 XVI, 19 *cunque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum et in celis etc.*  
 36<sup>a</sup> Sed | cum beatus Jeronimus dixit: "Sacerdotes nostros  
 15 racione blasfemi intellectus istius verbi supercilium  
 phariseorum induere"; notarent primo sensum dicti  
 Cristi. Oportet enim subintelligere talem condicionem,  
*potestate* (scilicet clavium) *non errante*; quia, ut tra-  
 20 ditiones sue coguntur dicere, clavibus suis de valde  
 possibili errantibus, nec solvunt nec ligant subditos suos  
 quo ad deum, sed intricant se ipsos fingentes superficie  
 tenus nodos vel dissolutiones nodorum. Et illa fictio  
 fingenti est nociva, et captivato est vel nociva vel im-  
 25 pertinens quo ad deum. Notarent secundo, quod ipsi,  
 ex sanctitate vite et imitatione morum sequendo Petrum  
 similes, sunt illi quibus ex merito consonant dicta Petro.  
 Si enim scolam humilitati et paupertati Cristi contrariam  
 exercent, nullus sacerdos in mundo est magis a dicte  
 potestatis participacione alienus. Cristus enim dixit,

Examination of the argument based on Christ's words to Peter: very weak.

1. Because the power of the keys would imply infallibility; to which they cannot pretend.

The Pope has as much right to claim the words said to Peter as to be called the light of the world: the right in both cases depends on personal holiness.

1. regimen ecclesie in quo consistit vñ attendetur in marg. sup. C.  
 2. et deest C; et pro in DE. 4. in deest E. 5. confuiter C. 5—9. Sic —  
 Et quantum deest A; in marg. D. 8. faciliter CE; ib. cristi legem C.  
 9. cautele A. 11. raciones C; rationalis BCD; irrationalis (ir al. manu add.) E;  
 ib. ipsa A; corr. D. 12. ptem C. 13. etc. deest CE. 15. racione  
 deest C; ib. supersilium B; supercilium DE. 16. secundum dictum C.  
 18. clave errante non solvitur in marg. inf. C; ib. ut deest B. 20. possi-  
 bilitate CE; corr. ex possibili D. 22. after fictio a word effaced A.  
 23. est fingenti CDE; ib. et deest B; ib. captivacio BC; ib. noticia (prima  
 vice) C. 23, 24. in pertinens C. 25. mutacione corr. ex imitatione D;  
 imitacio morum petri et apostolorum prelati indicitur in marg. sup. C.  
 26. petri corr. ex petro D. 28. exerceant C; ib. adiecte CD. 29. parti-  
 cipio CE.

14. Jer. Comment. in Matth. l. III, c. XVI (Migne, t. 26, p. 122;  
 p. 124 of Ben. edition). 20. As Wyclif here seems chiefly to  
 allude to the dispensing power, which would of course require  
 infallible knowledge to be always used rightly, he is exact in  
 saying that Church traditions do not admit that infallibility. The  
 Vatican Council itself proclaimed infallibility only for doctrinal  
 decrees in matters of faith and morals, *not* for acts concerning  
 Church discipline.

Matth. 5: *Vos estis lux mundi et sal terre*. Sed cum hoc stat in libertate arbitrii, si, dimittentes hanc sectam, declinant in viam diaboli, quid illis et privilegio dato Petro? Unde diabolus, sophista pessimus, seducit suos discipulos in consequenciarum ignoranciis: "Cristus talem 5 potestatem dedit Petro et ceteris apostolis", ergo illis.

Implicitly he asserts that whatever he does is right, and that he will be crowned in heaven at last, since this too was promised to Peter.

Words of Origen, bearing on the subject.

Unde, ut suggerunt, licet illis facere quecumque voluerint, quia pari evidencia sunt patres beatissimi, sessuri cum Cristo iudicando ecclesiam, et post perpetuo coronandi. Non enim est ratio diversitatis assignanda, quin 10 si sequitur: talem potestatem Petro contulit; ergo illis; per idem sequitur: talem gratiam iudicandi et regnandi cum Cristo Dominus contulit Petro: ergo et illis. Unde magnus doctor Origenes super eodem loco Matth. 16 sic loquitur: "Qui episcopatus vendicant locum, utuntur hoc 15 textu; sed bene dicunt de potestate, si opera illa habent propter que dictum est Petro, *Tu es Petrus*; ut super tales edificetur ecclesia. Alioquin ridiculum est ut dicamus eum qui vinculis peccatorum suorum est ligatus et trahit peccata sua sicut funem longum et tamquam iugulorum 20 vincula iniquitates suas, propter hoc solum quod episcopus dicitur habere huiusmodi potestatem. Sit ergo episcopus irreprehensibilis cum aliis 14<sup>cim</sup> que dicit apostolus, et tunc solvit: propterea, *quecumque solvit* qui huiusmodi est *erunt soluta in celo*. Si enim fuerit quis, 25 ut ita dicam, Petrus et non habuerit que in hoc loco dicuntur ad Petrum, et putaverit se posse ligare et solvere, ipse se fallit, non intelligens voluntatem scripture et inflatus incidit in iudicium diaboli".

Let the Pope remember that all his power is but the utterance of God's

Hec doctor. Et ex istis expergisceret papa, con- 30 P. siderans 3<sup>o</sup> similitudinem vite sue ad vitam Petri,

2. dimittens A. 3. declinat A; *ib.* dyaboli DE; *ib.* et CDE. 4. dyabolus E; diabolus sophista pessimus *in marg.* C. 6. petro *in marg.* add. D; *ib.* igitur C. 7. quomodocumque ACDE. 8. patres beatissimi etiam multi *in marg.* C; *ib.* sensuri A. 9. perpetuo *in marg.* add. D. 10. signanda omnes MSS. 11. contulit Petro D. 12, 13. per — Unde deest A. 13. deus CDE; *ib.* petro contulit CE; *ib.* et deest CDE. 14. Nota Origenes *in marg.* A. 15. potestas solvendi quibus tradita sit *in marg.* sup. D. 17. petro deest D; *ib.* ut deest C. 18. episcopus quando non solvit secundum Origenem, ridiculose quando *in marg.* sup. C. 19. ligatus est CDE. 20. iuge lorum ACDE. 21. vinculo ACDE. 22. igitur E. 23. alii corr. ex alii E. 24. solverit CDE. 27. ducuntur C. 27, 28. se ligare et solvere posse C. 28. vocem A. 29. dyaboli DE. 30. et deest D; *ib.* expergisceret C; expergisceret corr. ex pergesceret D. 30, 31. consyderans D. 31. vocis B.

29. Origenes, Comment. in Matth. (Migne, t. XIII, series Graece, p. 1010; ed. Ben., p. 526). The quotation is probably from memory, as it varies much from the original.

- et utrimque refrenaret inflatos pompantes, sciens ex fide quod correspondenter ad merita quo ad illum quem deus ante solvit vel ligat, papa est preco fidelis ecclesie, dum humiliter promulgat divinum iudicium; a quo  
 5 discordans, fit preco patris mendacii, et presumens hec virtute sua fieri blasfemat in deum, tam se ipsum quam subditos seducendo. Quomodo, queso, haberet virtutem ad aperiendum et claudendum cuicumque voluerit portas celi, qui contra iniustos persequentes ipsum in propriis  
 10 non sufficit, indignos a suis excludere, vel dignis suis carissimis portas proprias apperire? Aut quomodo daret quibus voluerit remissionem et indulgentiam "eciam ultra diem iudicii", et post, beatitudinem perpetuam angelorum, qui non habet a deo virtutem iudicium  
 15 dampnationis proprie evadendi, vel pro abiectione sua in domo domini non habet potestatem a se ipso iram dei ac odium avertendi? vel ad contratam de qua dicit se habere plenum dominium quemquam regulum quem diligit promovendi? Cum enim omnis caritas debet in-  
 20 cipere a se ipsa, stultus foret et ineptus minister dei, qui habens infinitum thesaurum dispensandum, assecurat alios de beatitudine per eius distributionem largifluam, et tamen permittit animam suam perire perpetuo. Revera qui vel est ineptus vel negligens, ut partem tanti thesauri  
 25 sibi recipiat, est valde ineptus ut constituatur super tot bona domini distribuenda quibuscunque voluerit; cum sit superbus minister luciferi, dedignans porcionem tam caram elemosyne sibi ipsi recipere.
- Stultus, inquam, laicus qui confidit in tam abiecto, A  
 30 blasfemo, atque maniaco, dum libere possit merendo ad Christum accedere, tali detestando yppocrita postposito et deiecto. Nec propter verba sua blasfema erit melius apud deum; sed potius incredulitate vel consensu sue blasfemie contaminabitur apud deum.

sentence; if his own disagrees with it, he blasphemes.

Can he open the gates of Heaven, who has no earthly power against his persecutors or in favour of his friends?

Can he save and absolve others who may himself be a castaway, and cannot even set up a friendly prince in the land he claims to rule?

Having such treasures, why can he not apply them to himself?

A warning to laymen.

1. utrumque ABCE; *ib.* inflatos *in marg. add.* D; *ib.* pompantos A; pomponticos C; papaticos D; popaticos E. 2. ad merita absolutio promulgatur *in marg. inf.* C. 3. non pro vel A; *ib.* papa preco fidelis quando *in marg.* C. 4. in deest B. 5. papa multa non potest *in marg. sup.* C. 6. aperire DE. 7. ultra *in marg. corr.* E. 8. angelorum perpetuam DE. 9. prope A. 10. ptatem C. 11. contractam *in marg.* A; contractam C; *ib.* de qua *corr. ex que* D. 12. indulgentias quare non daret papa *in marg. inf.* C. 13. ipso C; *ib.* ineptus negligens minister papa *in marg. inf.* C. 14. thesaurum DE; *ib.* et assecurat omnes MSS. A. 15. perie A. 16. thesauri DE. 17. quam pro sibi A. 18. cuicumque C. 19. porcionem *corr. ex percionem* E. 20. elemosyne deest A; care elemosine CDE; *ib.* recipere *in marg. add.* D. 21. laici et eciam religiosi periculose leconsentiunt ministro luciferi *in marg. sup.* C; laycus DE. 22. incredulitate CI.

A warning to  
the Friars and  
monks, who  
persecute those  
that spread  
Gospel truth.

Et non obstante fide et spe habenda in Iesu, eciam in religiosis deletur caritas; et potestatem anticristi blasfeme paliant, ac contra seminantes veritatem ewangelicam | instant sophistice, vel patule persecuntur; sic 36<sup>b</sup> quod, dominante dolo, vocata ecclesia est plena blasfemia. Nam sive religiosi proprietarii, sive angelus de celo, consensit isti blasfemie, sive approbando, sive tacendo vecorditer, gracia prosperitatis mundane, nisi redeat ad partem Cristi eternis ignibus deputabitur.

3. psalliant B; palliant CDE; *ib.* et E. 4. sollicite ABC; *ib.* patulo C; *ib.* persequuntur C; persecuntur *corr. ex* secuntur D. 5. dominate A.  
6. sive *dēest* C; sive expropriarii sive angelus CDE. 7. concesserit C; consenserit DE. 9. dampnabitur ACD; dabitur *in marg.* E.

## CAPITULUM TERCIVM.

Sed scrutando radicem lapsus ecclesie, videtur quod eadem sit radix symonie, apostasie atque blasfemie. Nam radix sathane et scole anticristi videtur stare in illa persona que magis mendaciter simulat vices Cristi. Sunt autem huius scole principia, ex quibus secuntur conclusiones sathane, cum quibus populus est cecatus. Primum, videtur quod eo ipso quo quis eligitur in romanum pontificem, ipse est caput ecclesie totius militantis et summus vicarius Cristi in terris. Secundum principium: Quidquid concernens fidem ipse decreverit, ipsum est ut ewangelium acceptandum. Et 3<sup>m</sup> principium est quod leges sue sunt plus quam ewangelium exequende. Ex ista triplicitate secuntur blasfemie infinite. Et licet scola anticristi supponat ista tria tamquam principia per se nota, tamen licet fideli notificando venenum arguere contra illa.

Contra primum: videtur quod sit notorie blasfemum mendacium. Nam factum docet multos tales fuisse capitales apostotas, ut hic supponitur: ergo, illud contra quod militat factum notorium est fallax principium ut sit metrum in omni accione morali totius praxis ecclesie. Item, nullus est talis Cristi vicarius, nisi habuerit supereminenciam virtutum. Sed blasfemum est dicere

Three principles stand at the root of this blasphemy: I. Every Bishop of Rome is Christ's Vicar. II. He is infallible in matters of faith; III. His laws are above the Gospel. These Wyclif attacks.

Many Popes are, as a fact, apostates, not Christ's Vicars.

Christ's vicar must have great virtue, which neither

1. capitulum tercivm deest (margini numerus „3” rubro colore adscriptus est) C; nigro colore E. 2. radicem lapsus CDE. 3. radix symonie apostasie blasfemie C; symonie D. 4. sequuntur C. 5. est populus E. 6. principia tria scole anticristi destruuntur in marg. sup. C. 7. caput E. 8. totius militantis ecclesie CE; post militantis in marg. repetitum est: ecclesie. 9. quicquid C; quicquid E. 10. decretum eius ut ewangelium in marg. C. 11. et deest ACDE. 12. leges eius ultra ewangelium in marg. C. 13. et pro ex C; ib. sequuntur C. 14. post ista scriptum erat: triplicitate secuntur blasfemie infinite sed totum deletum et in marg. add. est: tria D. 15. in deest B; ib. totius deest B.

1. For reasons stated in the Introduction, it has been considered unnecessary to continue the collation of the MSS. marked D and E any further than the beginning of the third chapter.

Christ nor his  
electors give:  
these, not  
having it  
themselves,

quod vel electores dant sibi talem gradum virtutum,  
vel quod oportet deum sibi assistere sic donando; ergo  
principium non est verum. Electores vero non habent  
potestatem conferendi talem gradum sibi ipsis; quomodo  
ergo conferrent hec dona extranee persone quam tam<sup>5</sup>  
contrariando elegerant? Unde diffinicio dei est Iac. ca<sup>o</sup> I<sup>o</sup>:  
“*Quod omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum*  
*desursum est, descendens a patre luminum:* in qua

Jac.

I, 17

and being  
unable to  
compel God by  
their votes.

Even Christ's  
election of  
Iscaariot failed  
to give him  
such virtue:  
how much less  
any other!

donacione nullus communicat homo mendax. Et se-  
cundum videtur nimis blasphemum quod electores regu-<sup>10</sup>  
lariter deum necessitant tantum dare: tunc enim essent  
indubie plus quam deus. Item, deus non eo ipso assistit  
electo per gratiam quo Cristum ipsum elegerit: sed  
quelibet eleccio Cristi est infinitum melior quam eleccio  
cardinalium vel romani populi, qui elegit Silvestrum; <sup>15</sup>  
ergo non oportet deum sic assistere cuicunque eleccioni  
romani pontificis. Maior patet de eleccione Scarioth, quem  
Cristus indubie virtuosius et sic melius elegit, quam  
cardinales vel alii scirent eligere romanum pontificem.  
Et patet minor ex supereminencia virtutis Christi a qua <sup>20</sup>  
cuncta sua opera processerunt, et ex fructu eleccionis  
Scarioth, ut dicitur posterius. Locus autem civitatis  
Rome est inpertinens sanctitati, ut patet in tractatu de  
papa, et testatur scriptura 2 Mach. 5<sup>o</sup>.

2. Mac.

V, 17

Every election  
is null that  
does not aim at  
choosing one of  
the elect; now  
these aim only  
at giving  
worldly power.

Item, deitas in eleccione hominum ponit gradus, <sup>25</sup> B.  
quia aliter foret ecclesia ordine destituta; sed nulla  
eleccio electorum pape est valida, nisi de quanto  
exemplata fuerit ab eleccione divina: ergo ipsi non  
eligerent regulariter papas, ponendo eis imperium ponti-  
ficum. Sicut enim sunt dispares in bonitate, ita videtur <sup>30</sup>  
(cum non sit potestas nisi a deo; ad Roma. 13<sup>o</sup>), Rom.  
quod sunt dispares in potestate. Si enim sunt presciti XIII, 1  
esse membra diaboli, quomodo daret eis dominus pari-  
tatem potestatis cum predestinatis quibus *dedit potestatem*  
*filios dei fieri*? Periculosum itaque est blasfeme mentiri, <sup>35</sup> Joan.  
quod quilibet papa est paris potestatis cum Cristo I, 12  
humanitus, cum Petro, et quolibet alio sancto papa.  
Et patet minor argumenti, ex hoc quod oportet deum

5. igitur C. 6. Jacobi I. C. 12. assisteret B. 14. quam eleccio  
deest C. 15. roni A. 16. debet pro oportet C. 17. roni A.  
19. ronu (et sic postea) A. 20. Christi deest A. 24. 2 deest A;  
ib. Machabe<sup>o</sup> C. 25. elcceo AC. 26. ordinacione. 29, 30. potatum,  
sed in marg. corr. potificum C. 33. mebn A. 33, 34. potestatem A.



prevenire in omni accione laudabili vel illaudabili cuius-  
cunque creature.

Item, foret blasphema presumpcio, in his que concernunt  
salutem magni populi temere diffinire; sed sic est in  
5 quacunque eleccione Romani pontificis, si non esset ad  
hoc revelacio: ergo, sic eligere foret blasphema presumpcio.  
Maior patet ex hoc quod blasphema foret presumpcio dare  
homini medicinam ex qua verisimiliter vel probabiliter  
crederetur quod ipse perderet vitam istam corpoream.

It is great  
presumption to  
decide on the  
election of a  
Pope without a  
special  
revelation;  
greater than to  
give a patient a  
very dangerous  
remedy:  
for the fact of  
the election  
leads men to  
believe that the  
Pope is the  
elect of God,  
wrongly in  
most cases.

10 Multo magis foret blasphemum mentiri sic de deo. Et  
minor patet ex hoc quod, instituens quemquam in  
Romanum pontificem dat magnam occasionem credendi  
quod ipse sit precellenter electus dei, et quod suis  
monitis regulariter est credendum. Istud autem fallit

15 ut plurimum. Ideo periculosum videtur seminare in  
ecclesia tale mendacium. Non enim aptatur ad hoc  
1. Cor. I, 27 regula dei dicentis in sancto apostolo primo Cor. 1<sup>o</sup>:

*Infirma mundi deus eligit, ut forcias queque confundat;*  
ut, inquam, ostendatur, non mundana prudencia, non  
20 terrena potencia, sed divina, elegit deus apostolos ad  
conquirendum sibi regnum ecclesie, ut confundat queque  
terrena forcias tamquam inutilia ad hunc finem. Qui  
autem innititur eligere plus mundi potentes, plus in  
mundana sapiencia prepollentes, ut loco Cristi presint  
25 ecclesie, contra Cristum innititur *terrene sapiencie, ani-*

Jac.  
III, 15 *mali et diabolice.*

Item, eo ipso quo quis statuit quemquam capud  
ecclesie, statuit eum predestinatum, cum solum talis  
sit pars ecclesie, ut hic supponitur. Sed nimis blasphemum

30 esset electores statuere vel diffinire predestinacionem  
huiusmodi: ergo et suum convertibile. Considerarent

37<sup>a</sup> itaque electores | pape quam potestatem et fidem ne-  
cessitantur fideles sibi tribuere, et cavendo de periculo  
accionis improvide, expectarent revelacionem divinam

35 vel omitterent super se huiusmodi onus cumulare. Sic  
enim fecerunt capitales apostoli, act. 1<sup>o</sup>, in elegendo  
Mathiam apostolum; quod foret longe minus, quam  
eligendo summum et simillimum Cristi vicarium. Eligere

As the Head of  
the Church  
must be of the  
Elect, they can  
no more choose  
such a Head  
than they can  
predestinate  
him;  
they should  
therefore  
beware and  
await a Divine  
revelation, or  
give up the  
task.

5. in *pro* ad B.

10. multum B.

14. requiritur A; requiritur C.

15. quam *pro* ut C.

17. aplo 'los 1<sup>o</sup> A.

18. forciora B.

23. autem

*deest* AC.

24. pposēs A.

30. diffamare A.

31. generis *pro* ergo A;

igitur *pro* ergo C.

32, 33. *nūcciat sed in marg.*: necessitantur A; ne-

cessitant BC.

34. acconia A.

35. obmitterent C; *ib.* Sicut AB.

Not that it is  
wrong for them  
to choose the  
best man as  
Bishop of  
Rome.

autem possunt homines episcopum civitatis romane quem  
rite credunt plus habilem ad hoc ministerium. Sed  
inponere sibi quod, eo ipso, sit caput tocius militantis  
ecclesie, summus Cristi vicarius, videtur nimis magna  
blasfemia. Moderni itaque prepositi didicerunt a patre  
mendacii pompare in accumulato honore et pretensione  
potestatis abscondite, sed defalcare de multitudine ope-  
rationis fructifere.

This first  
principle  
destroyed, at  
we once destroy  
the other two,  
and put three  
others in their  
place.

Mille sunt tales evidencie docentes quod primum prin-  
cipium de scola anticristi sit mendacium plenum veneno, et  
eius oppositum sit veritas proxima per se nota. Et  
eadem est consideracio de aliis duobus principiis cum  
conclusionibus ex ipsis sequentibus. Ideo sunt alia tria

1. None is more  
likely to be  
Antichrist than  
the Roman  
Pontiff, having  
such power to  
deceive, set  
himself above  
Christ, and  
defend his  
crimes.

principia catholice amplectenda. *Primum*: nullus viator  
est aprior romano pontifice ut sit vicarius principalis  
sathane et precipuus anticristus. Patet ex hoc quod ipse  
potest faciliter fraudare ecclesiam in yppocrisi et omni  
mendacio. Item, ipse potest plus calide se ipsum super  
Cristum extollere; et talis, iuxta testimonium scripture,  
est pronior ut sit maximus anticristus. Nam *rex super*  
*omnes filios superbie*, et pater mendacii, aptavit sibi  
talem vicarium qui false potestatem et dignitatem pom-  
pando pretendit, ut indulgenciis et aliis cautelis plurem  
plebem decipiat, et magistro suo in peccato similior  
profundius ex post ruat. Et iterum nemo potest peccuniam  
plus symoniace cumulare, et sic complices de secta  
magog, pro defendendo suo facinore, lacius, diuturnius,  
et sceleracius agregare; sed hec omnia testantur con-  
ditiones maximas anticristi.

2. The Pope is  
to be believed  
only when his  
words agree  
with Scripture,  
the standard of  
our faith and  
deeds, and the  
treasure of  
truth, to which  
even Christ  
recurred.

Secunda conclusio: Non est credendum romano pon-  
tifici in materia fidei, nisi de quanto se fundaverit in  
scriptura. Patet sic: In omni genere est unum principium,  
quod est metrum et mensura omnium aliorum; et per  
consequens, in genere faciendi vel credendi, standum  
est ad tale principium, quod non est fingendum, nisi  
scriptura, que est testimonium dei. Papa enim sepe  
erravit in fide. Item, secundum Augustinum 2<sup>o</sup> de doctrina

2. humilem A. 4. sumus A. 6. hōre A: onere BC; *ib.* p̄tēfione A.

9, 10. p<sup>m</sup> pn<sup>m</sup> A; p<sup>m</sup>ū pn<sup>m</sup>ciū B. 11. pxi A. 13. et ex A.  
14. amplectanda B. 20. est deest B; *ib.* magnus A; maximus BC.  
23. aliis eciam B. 25. profundius deest; zp<sup>9</sup> A.

32. *Unum principium*. Arist. ed. Did. tome II, p. 307, l. 1.  
37. Aug. *De Doctrina Christiana*. "Quidquid homo extra didicerit, si  
noxium est, ibi damnatur; si utile, ibi invenitur (Migne, CXXIV, p. 65).

D. *christiana* in fine, omnis veritas est in scriptura: non est credendum romano pontifici, nisi in veritate: ergo, non est credendum, nisi in scriptura, in qua est omnis fundacio veritatis. Item, Cristus summus pontifex fundavit  
 5 se humanitus eciam contra diabolum in scriptura, ut patet Matth. 4. Et sic fecit in omnibus factis suis, ut patet discurrendo per ea que scripta sunt de illo. Qui  
 10 ergo est Romanus pontifex, qui dedignatur fundare se in lege Domini vel scriptura, cum sit potissimum et dignissimum fundamentam? Si enim dedignatur se fundare in illa, dicens se habere potestatem interpretandi ipsam quomodocunque voluerit, et supplendi eius defectus, tunc blasfemat ut demonium meridianum. Et illud revocaret illum a condendis articulis fidei ut novis  
 15 legibus sed debet illa a deo complete condita, tamquam servus humilis, declarare. Et cum debet usque ad sobrietatem sapere, debet humiliter in sancta ignorancia reticere; et idem est iudicium de tota ecclesia militante. Et patet impossibilitas secundi principii anticristi.

20 Tercia conclusio: Blasfemum foret papam vel alium plus credere, magis diligere vel exequi magis sollicite leges proprias, quam legem Cristi et dei. Patet ex hoc, quod lex ad legem se habet ut legifer ad legiferum. Sed blasfemum foret in istis equiparare pure creaturam  
 25 creatori: ergo, blasfemum foret equiparare vel superaddere legem creature propriam legi dei. Voco autem legem creature propriam, quam statuit et nescit ipsam clare elicere ex scriptura. Item, proportionaliter ut quis diligit Cristum debet diligere eius legem; ut hic  
 30 supponitur et alibi declaratum est. Sed cum omnis fidelis debet infinitum plus diligere Cristum quam aliquam pure creaturam, videtur quod proportionaliter debet diligere legem Cristi. Omnes, inquam, fatemur quod diligimus deum super omnia; sed dileccio legis  
 35 dei iudicat veritatem. Item, proportionaliter ut affectus noster est ad aliquid, sic exequimur eius complecionem. Si affectus noster, ut dicimus, debet esse maxime in legem Christi, ergo debemus proportionaliter exequi eius complecionem. Omnes itaque dicimus deo illud Mt. 6<sup>o</sup>:

Matth. VI, 10

The Pope ought not to disdain Scripture, and make articles of faith, but expound it humbly, or keep silence.

It is blasphemy to follow any man rather than Scripture, thus equalling a creature with the Creator, loving him more than Christ, and not doing God's will.

2. igitur C. 5. q̄ ecia<sup>m</sup> A. 7-10. qui — enim *deest* A. 8. qui non *omnes* MSS. 12. libuerit BC. 14. vel C. 16. declarare *in marg.* C. 23. se habet *deest* B. 24, 25. blasphemum — ergo *deest* B. 28. celare A; clare elicere ipsam C. 35. sue *pro* dei A. 36. ad ali<sup>q</sup> A; a'd C; *ib.* exe<sup>2</sup> A. 37-39. Si — complecionem *deest* A. 37. Sed *pro* si C; *ib.* circa *pro* in C.

*Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in celo et in terra* etc. Et cum, licet non faciamus quod sit voluntas dei, nisi in compleciónē legis sue, tamen in hoc torpemus tamquam deo degeneres. Et patet falsitas tercii principii anticristi.

It follows that the Orders, depending on the Pope's decree, and all such decrees not founded on Scripture, should be done away with;

that the clergy should obey no Church laws save those of Christ:

and that the good which may follow from the present system proves nothing in its favour.

If God's law is to be their standard of action, it can hardly be so more than verbally.

These errors are very dangerous, for they create

Ex istis tribus principiis potest fidelis colligere quod 5 omnes privati ordines, qui non habent aliud fundamentum quam determinacionem papalem, cessare debeant. Et per idem omnes determinaciones romani pontificis, que non sunt patenter elicibiles ex scriptura. Et patet quam levis est evidenciac: si romanus pontifex cum quotquot 10 episcopis decreverit quod eukaristia sit accidens sine subiecto, vel tales ordines | confirmaverit, ergo verum. 37<sup>b</sup>

Secundo, videtur quod totus clerus debet, dimissa soliditudine legum papalium, legi Cristi intendere, etsi dicatur quod totales huiusmodi sit lex Cristi; quia, cum 15 diabolus transfiguratur se in angelum lucis, nec auctor legis dignatur fundare tradiciones suas in lege divina, ideo est pium et securum catholice quiescere in illis legibus que sunt patule in scriptura. Et patet 3<sup>o</sup> ut sepe asserui, quod non est color, si ex istis tradicionibus 20 multa bona eveniunt, ergo sunt a fidelibus exequenda. Nam ex peccato primi angeli et primi hominis, ymmo ex quocunque malo, occasionaliter et per gratiam dei multa bona eveniunt. Ideo non est color, si ex privatis ordinibus et propriis legibus cum suis defensionibus 25 multa bona proveniunt, ergo non sunt iniuste. Ideo oportet ad legem Cristi, ut regulam directivam, attendere, et ipsis iuxta positis videre ipsas non in aliquo dissonare: quod videtur difficile, cum vel propter talia privata lege dei dimissa omnes eis afficimur vel, lege dei postposita, 30 nimis remisse eam exequimur. Et quomodocunque loquimur, factum nostrum et consciencia dictant ista implicite esse vera. Quis, inquam, religiosus non nimis appreciatur tradiciones privatas, ut in studio, in valore et observacione plus eis attendat, vel minus respiciat 35 legem Cristi? Et conformiter de studentibus alias leges hominum factum clamat istud, eciam negatum a nobis, quo ad conscienciam esse verum. Nec sunt dissimulandi errores predicti, quia continuata obliquitas a rectitudine

1. fñat C; *ib.* tamen *omnes* MSS. 2. faciamus quod non *omnes* MSS;  
*ib.* fit C. 3. cum C. 4. filis A. 12. igitur. 13. debet *deest* C.  
15. tamen B. 16. nec *deest* A. 19. qui B. 20. sic *pro* sepe A.  
21. igitur C. 30. afficiuntur AB; *ib.* ut *pro* vel AB. 32. dñant A.  
33. implicita AB. 38. diffilandi A. 39. obliq'sarane A.

- Cristi preparat ad ruinam. Religiones itaque private, et  
 affidaciones indurate sue regule, generant divisiones et  
 sectas proprietarias in ecclesia sancta dei. Ex hoc enim  
 querunt refuge que sua sunt, vel non querunt (vel nimis  
 F. 5 remisse) bona communia que sunt Cristi. Et patet fideli  
 quod affeccio proprietatis in homine interiori prepon-  
 derans sapit symoniam, apostasiam, blasphemiam, et  
 dampnabilitatem perpetuam; et per consequens sub-  
 versionem populi in ducibus qui traherent ad concordiam  
 10 legis dei. Si inquam totus populus foret unius secte  
 cristiane. tanquam vir unus, et tota sollicitudo discordie  
 versa foret ad studium concordie legis dei, quis dubitat  
 quin ecclesia foret concordior et disposicior ad amorem?  
 Ideo. ve illis qui auctorisant et seminant sectas tales!  
 15 Posset enim populus ad tempus tenere sectas momenta-  
 neas, sicut fecit apostolus act. 2<sup>o</sup>; sed tota indignitas  
 consistit in dispositione indissolubili istorum rituum.  
 Per hoc enim equiparat blasphemus tradicionem suarum  
 observancias legi dei: quod deus non potest. Ideo videtur,  
 20 quod secte iste novelle sapiunt omnino blasphemiam, cum  
 repugnat sapiencie divine ordinare hos particulares ritus  
 cuicunque persone date secte perpetuo observandos.  
 Ideo deus legitur dedisse maximas, totum genus hominum  
 obligantes. Et quantum ad modos vivendi, cum possunt  
 25 et debent secundum personas, etates, et alias circum-  
 stancias quantumlibet variari, deus reliquit istam varia-  
 tionem prudencie humane. Quis ergo posset statuere  
 quod totum genus date secte debet sic vivere? Papa  
 enim non potest istud debitum statuere; sic nec potest  
 30 aptitudinem tocius secte future cognoscere.

divisions, every  
man seeking  
his own  
welfare;

whence comes  
apostasy,  
simony and  
blasphemy.

Their laws  
should not have  
been made  
perpetually  
binding;  
God gives  
commandments  
binding all men  
in general, but  
leaves each man  
free to choose  
his way of life.

Act.  
II, 44

Sed contra istud arguitur per hoc quod necesse est  
 totam ecclesiam habere unum capitaneum conversantem;  
 cuius religio non staret, nisi sibi ut capiti obediret.

*Objection:* The  
Church needs  
a Head.  
*Answer:* The  
best Head is

3. sancta *deest* B. 4. refuge *corr.* ex *refugere* A; *ib.* minus;  $\widehat{m}^9$  A.

5.  $\widehat{b}^o$   $\widehat{y}^m$   $\widehat{q}$  A; *ib.* *ymmo pro communia* A. 7. et blasphemiam A.  
 15. *in marg.* nota B. 16. 26 C. 21. observandas A. 24. vivendi  
*deest* BC. 27. igitur C. 31. *in marg.* obieccio B.

17. Wyclif, in *De Apostasia* (cap. I, p. 15, l. 33) understands the perpetuity of Papal confirmation of religious orders to mean "so long as God shall allow their existence"; which agrees with Clement VII's abolition of the Templars, and in later times, Clement XIV's dissolution of the Jesuits. It is curious that Wyclif does not allude to the first case. Though the Templars were not in the same category as the Friars, still the Pope's action in their case was a striking precedent.



Christ; all  
others, unless  
they bring men  
to Him, are  
hurtful.

It was expedient  
even for Christ  
to leave His  
Apostles; so it  
is better not to  
have any visible  
chief.

Besides, this is  
an occasion of  
schism in the  
Church, and  
ought to be  
abolished; as  
also all  
hierarchical  
dignities.

We are all  
brethren, as  
Christ says,  
and should not  
take other titles.

Hic dicitur, ut sepe alibi, quod sufficit cristianismum  
Cristum habere conversantem secum ad tempus et postea  
in celo ad dexteram dei patris residentem; quia cum  
ista fuerit operacio spiritus sancti, credendum est quod  
fuit aprior. Unde quicumque capitaneus militantis ecclesie 5  
non prodest sed obest, nisi de quanto moverit suos  
subditos ad ipsum in celestibus aspirare. Ideo ad istum  
sensum dicit Joh. ewangelista cap. 17: *Expedi vobis ut* Joan.  
*ego radam.* Et ista sententia dicta est in fine tractatus XVI, 7  
de Apostasia. Sicut ergo est expeditus militanti ecclesie 10  
quod Cristus sic ascenderit, quam quod semper cum  
ecclesia militaret: sic foret expeditus quod tota ecclesia  
militans aspiraret ad eum et reciperet ab eo inspira-  
cionem fidei, quam quod constituat super se unum  
capitaneum secundum legem maioritatis cesaree. Et si 15  
aliquis haberet ex dono dei humiliter servire ecclesie,  
non alte sapiat, nec querat preter domini dei eleccionem  
humanam vel cartam aliam.

Item, omnis occasio scismatis, apostasie vel blasfemie G.  
debet tolli ab ecclesia. Sed precipua occasio omnium 20  
istorum est prelatorum graduacio humanitus adinventat:  
ergo racionabiliter debet tolli. Minor argumenti patet  
ex hoc quod ex hinc prelati querunt gloriam suam, non  
gloriam domini Jesu Cristi, contra apostolum I. Cor. 10: 1 Cor.  
*Omnia in gloriam Cristi facite.* Quis, inquam, prelatus ex X, 31  
divisione | predicta non querit honorem suum humanum 25  
eciam plus quam honorem Cristi? Vel ad minimum 38<sup>a</sup>  
dividitur cultus sive intensio honorandi propter gradua-  
cionem istam adinventam. Facta ostendunt quod singuli  
(quia omnes) quasi querunt gloriam suam. Ista enim est 30  
occasio quare venit dissensio de qua loquitur apostolus  
II. Thess. 2<sup>o</sup>: ut patet de secta machometi et aliis. Si  
enim essemus in reputacione omnes fratres, sicut  
fuerunt apostoli, nec aliquis reputaretur maior, nisi ut  
foret abscondite apud deum virtuosior, cessaret con- 35

1. cristianissimum; *ḫaniffim* A. 2. postmodum BC. 4. fuerit *deest*  
*omnes MSS*; *ib.* aprophanacio A. 5. milit<sup>e</sup> A. 6. est *deest* AC.  
10. Sic igitur C. 11. quod *deest* A. 13. in deum A. 22. igitur C.  
23. per C. 24. apl'm Cor. 10 A. 26. mundanum BC. 28. intencio BC;  
*ib.* horadi A. 29. adiuveniendam B; *ib.* facto AC. 30. qui *pro* quia C.  
33. repugnacione A. 34. repugnaretur A.

10. De Apostasia, cap. XVII, p. 237, l. 15 et seq. 31. There  
is (2 Thess. II, 3) mention of *discessio*, but none of *dissensio*;  
nor is there anything approaching to that sense. Wyclif's copy  
of the Vulgate may have had *dissensio*.



Matth.  
XXIII, 8

tencionis elacio. Et ista videtur doctrina Cristi, Matt. 23<sup>o</sup>:  
*Nolite, inquit, vocari rabi; unus enim est magister vester,*  
*et omnes vos fratres estis, etc.* Et istam sententiam  
 pulcre declarat beatus Jeronimus cap. 18<sup>a</sup> ad Ewandrum,  
 5 ubi declarat primo ex fide scripture multiplicis, quod  
 olim omnis sacerdos vel presbiter fuit episcopus, et e  
 contra; 2<sup>o</sup> declarat quod dyaconatus est inferior sacer-  
 docio; et 3<sup>o</sup> dicit quod diutina consuetudo vel humana  
 ordinacio, licet mutet nomen, non potest tamen mutare  
 10 officii dignitatem. "Quid", inquit, "profers michi unius  
 urbis consuetudinem? quid paucitatem, de qua ortum  
 est supercilium in leges ecclesie vendicas?" Si, inquam,  
 consilium romanum ordinat dyacones suos cardinales et  
 ut sic prestanciores aliis episcopis, quid hoc ad fidei  
 15 veritatem? Unde conclusio huius sancti est quod qui-  
 cunque, presbiter sive episcopus, precellunt in moribus,  
 sunt maiores. Cum enim convertibiliter sequatur: *Petrus*  
*est maior quoad deum: igitur Petrus est maior;* Deus  
 autem non appreciatur adiacenciam temporalium, nisi  
 20 forsitan reprobando: manifestum est quod quicumque fuerit  
 H. maior in moribus est maior eo ipso. Unde Jeronimus,  
 ubi supra: "Ubicumque", inquit, "fuerit episcopus, sive  
 Rome sive alibi, eiusdem meriti eiusdemque sacerdotii  
 potencia diviciarum et paupertatis humilitas vel subli-  
 25 miorem vel inferiorem episcopum facit. Ceterum, omnes  
 apostolorum successores sunt". Ideo, ut declarat eadem  
 epistola, "primo indifferenter nominabantur presbiteri; sed  
 quod postea unus electus est, qui ceteris preponeretur,  
 in scismatis remedium factum est, ne unusquisque  
 30 trahens ad se, ecclesiam Cristi rumperet". Unde in epist.  
 ad Demetriadem, que sic incipit: *Omnibus divine scripture*  
*paginis evangelium antecellit,* sic scribitur: "Ac dicis,  
 supra Petrum fundatur ecclesia; licet id ipsum in alio

St. Jerome  
says, writing of  
the different  
degrees in Holy  
Orders, that  
custom changes  
nothing as to  
faith;

that riches or  
poverty may  
make a bishop  
higher or lower,  
but all are  
successors of  
the Apostles;

and that,  
though the  
Church was  
based upon the  
Twelve, one  
was set over  
them to avoid  
all schism.

2. est enim C. 3. omnes enim BC. 7. inferius omnes MSS.  
 9. ordinacio *deest* C; *ib.* tamen *deest* A. 14. sint *pro* sic C; *ib.* alienis A.  
 18. ergo C. 21. J'o9 A. 23. romane A *sed in marg.*: Rome.  
 31. demet'and, A.

12. Hieronymus, Ep. Ad Evangelum. Migne, t. XXII, p. 1194  
 (ed. Bened. 1083). 15. It is a remarkable fact that many  
*bishops* who are cardinals are so only under the title of deacons.  
 As is known there are three classes in this Church dignity,  
 bishops, priests, and deacons. A man who is only in Minor  
 Orders may be a cardinal deacon, it being supposed that he intends  
 taking Sacred Orders; should he marry, however, he loses his  
 dignity. 32. Hieron. Migne, t. XXIII, pag. 279 (ed. Bened.).

loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni celorum accipiant, et ex equo super eos ecclesie fortitudo solidetur: tamen propterea inter 12<sup>cim</sup> unus eligitur ut, capite constituto, scismatis tollatur occasio". Sic igitur, sicut nomen est eversum in sacramento altaris, vocando 5 illud accidens sine subiecto; sic eversum est nomen, officium, et dignitas prelatorum. Deus enim ordinavit quod regulariter pauperior, humilior et servicior pro tollendo scismate foret maior. Sed diabolus, mundus, et caro dogmatisant quod fama populari celebrior, mundo 10 dicior et strepitu temporali potencior sit in ecclesia Cristi superior: et illud blasfemum mendacium confundit ecclesiam.

But everything is changed now: instead of humility, pride gives greatness in the Church.

And this is the cause of many blasphemies.

Item, propter talem principatum sunt prelati et eorum sententia plena blasfemia: igitur est rationabiliter sub- 15 trahenda. Antecedens patet de multiplicacione legum papalium, ut de eleccionibus, de provisionibus, et similibus, que sunt sepe manifeste contraria legi dei. Cum igitur ista causant principia pollitice conversacionis ecclesie, et "modicus error in principio sit causa pergrandis in fine"; 20 manifestum est quod oportet ex ista contrariacione a voluntate divina ecclesiam errare multipliciter in progressu. Et idem patet de indulgenciis, privilegiis et aliis blasfemiis patentibus vendicatis. Quoad leges adinventas, dictum est in tractatu de religione 2<sup>o</sup> cap. Nam manifestum est 25 quod ewangelizantes et multo magis statuentes contrarium legi dei, ut ecclesia ipsum observet, sunt anathematizati.

Among others, of indulgences, and of new laws.

Ignorance is no excuse; and the Church will never be cured until delivered from this evil.

ut docet apostolus Gall. 1<sup>o</sup>. Nec dubium quin omne 30 falsum vel irrationabile est preter ewangelium, quia illud sibi contrarium. Nec excusat ignorancia sic statuentes a blasfemia, quia apostolus fuit blasfemus, putando se parare obsequium deo; ut patet Thimo. 1<sup>o</sup>. Multo magis 1 Tim. I, 13 qui gratis seminant leges ad regulandum ecclesiam que

2. quo *pro* equo omnes MSS. 3. XII C. 6. ipsum *pro* illud C; *ib.* est *deest* C. 8. *f̄m̄cōr* A: servitivor(?) B. 10. quo A. 11. populari A. 12. *m̄dam* A. 14. *p̄n̄latu* (sic) A. 18. sepe *deest* C; *ib.* *dei* A. 23. blasfemis B; blasfemiis C. 23, 24. *blaffens* *po<sup>tib</sup>* A. 24. *po<sup>tib</sup>* C. 26. scientes A. 28. *glla* A. 26. est *deest* B; *ib.* aliud A: aliquid C. 27. ignoranciam C; *ib.* a *deest* C. 29. deo *deest* A.

20. Aristotle. Polit. V, c. 3 (ed. Diſot, vol. I, p. 568, l. 48). This *dictum* is very frequently quoted by Aquinas and other medieval authors in regard to philosophical truth; but Wyclif seems to employ it in much the same sense as Aristotle.

1. immediate obviant legi dei. Et pro ista sententia faciat  
Crisostomus opere imperfecto, omelia 5, et declaratum  
est in fine libri tercii. Nec unquam evacuabitur ab  
ecclesia ista legum blasphemia, quamdiu ecclesia stat fedata  
5 temporalibus, extra religionem quam Cristus instituit;  
quia omnes tales satrape dicunt implicate quod sunt  
sapientiores et in providencia meliores domino Jesu  
Cristo. Ideo dicit Crisostomus: "Non", inquit, "potest  
mens humana directicare quod sapientia divina dictabat.  
10 Sic enim ait Salomon, proverb. 30: *Non addas verbis*  
Prov. XXX, 6 *dei nec detrahas vide.* Quis enim est ausus hec, facere  
se sapientiore quam putat deum?" O quam multi sunt  
blasfemi isto anathemate innodati! quia omnes qui falsum  
vel irrationabile statuunt, aut preter autoritatem scripture  
15 pro sponse Cristi regimine.

- Debent igitur sacerdotes Cristi fragmenta panis scrip-  
38<sup>b</sup> ture | colligere, et panem venenosum extra eius formam  
abicere; quia aliter non induunt formam Cristi discipuli,  
sed scelestissimi anticristi. Cum enim Cristus precepit  
20 apostolis *colligere fragmenta, ne pereant*, ut patet Joh. 6.  
Per quod notatur secundum sanctos, quod prepositi  
ecclesie, gerentes vicem apostolorum, debent colligere  
cum sollicitudine subtiles sensus in scriptura implicatos ad  
pascendum ecclesiam; cum autem, secundum Augustinum.  
25 in scriptura sit omnis veritas, ille prelatus nimis blasfeme  
degenerat, qui, dimisso ignito verbo domini, intendit  
pro pascendo populo verbis fallacibus adinventis. Nam  
idem foret hoc facere, et extollendo anticristum supra  
deum, Cristum deserere. Ideo, deuter. 14<sup>o</sup> precipitur et  
30 proverb. 30<sup>o</sup> repetitur quod *homo nec addat nec subtrahat*  
*verbis dei.*

Priests should  
feed Christ's  
flock with  
bread, not  
poison; that  
bread is  
Scripture, in  
which is all  
truth: such  
as do  
otherwise are  
blasphemers.

9. directicare A; *ib.* dictabit B. 11. detrahsm A. 12. putat quam  
omnes MSS. 24. enim pro autem omnes MSS. 25. sacra sit B.  
26. ig'to A. 27. populo deest A. 29. Cristum deest A; *ib.* 4<sup>o</sup> B.  
30. non AC.

10. The Vulgate has: *Ne addas quidquam verbis illius, et arguaris, inveniariusque mendax.*

## CAPITULUM QUARTUM.

God, having placed man in this world only to serve Him and yearn towards Heaven, has given him to this end the example of the natural heaven, of the Sacrament, and of Christ's person.

Constat ex fide quomodo nedum in principio quod A. est verbum. deus creavit mundum (scilicet celum et terram, que inter omnia eius opera sunt maxime distancia tam naturaliter quam localiter), hominem autem cum 5 instrumentis suis posuit deus in medio, ut secundum amorem, qui est pondus anime, deo et celestibus constanter adhereat, et terrena, nisi de quanto sunt ad hec necessaria, religiose postponat. Unde omnis apostasia in declinatione ad temporalia est fundata. Deus autem, 10 sicut docuit in apostolo suo Jacobo precipuam partem <sup>Jacob.</sup> religionis sue esse hominem *se custodire immaculatum* 1, 27 *ab hoc seculo*; sic posuit, secundum evidenciam exempli triplicis, quomodo homo aspiraret religiose ad celestia, et apostasiam qua meus afficitur opacis terrestribus 15 declinaret. Primum est exemplum naturale quo deus ordinavit celum spere sublunari influere regendo inferiora, et secundum lucem ac tenebras cum aliis vicissitudinibus temporum alternari. Secundum est exemplum sacramentale, in quo deus posuit panem qui est basis 20 corporalis alimenti, ut figuret fidelibus et sit quodammodo corpus Cristi. Sed tertium exemplum est supernaturale, in quo deitas et humanitas sunt personaliter idem homo. Et omnes istos gradus deus instituit, ut revocet hominem a temporalibus ad eterna. 25

The error concerning the Sacrament argues a want of that unworldliness

Error autem in exemplo medio secundum generationem signa querencium prenosticat errorem in vita ecclesie. Omnes autem hereses, scilicet symonia, apostasia et blasfemia, fundantur in declinatione animi ad terrena.

1. Cap. 4<sup>m</sup> in red ink AC; deest B. 2. quod deus C. 9. apofto<sup>m</sup> A.  
19. alternare C. 21. ut deest A.

7. *Pondus anime*. This beautiful and deeply philosophical definition of love is not, of Wyclif's invention. See St. Augustine, Confessions (Migne, t. XXXII, p. 848). Also t. XXXIII, p. 212, 213, 677).

Nemo enim vult inordinate commutare temporalia pro eternis, spiritualia pro temporalibus, nisi qui inordinate afficitur ad terrena, et per consequens non sine hoc committitur symonia. Et ita videtur obligacio, de quo  
 5 psal. 124<sup>o</sup>: *Declinantes autem in obligationes adducet dominus cum operantibus iniquitatem.* Et 2<sup>o</sup>, nemo excedit  
 Ps. CXXIV, 5 limites Cristi religionis, nisi cuius animus nimis afficitur

ad terrena. Ideo docet Jacobus, quia secunda pars religionis est hominem *se immaculatum custodire ab hoc*  
 10 *seculo.* Unde orat ecclesia, “ut sic transeamus per bona temporalia ut non amittamus eterna”; “ut deus doceat nos terrena despicere et amare celestia” et “ut terrenis affectionibus mitigatis facilius celestia capiamus”.

which the words of the Church show should be our greatest desire.

B. Ex ista sententia ecclesie cum experientia et fide  
 15 scripture colligitur quod omnis heresis vel peccatum in militante ecclesia stat in libra in qua affectus ad temporalia et eterna. Appendiculum autem breve temporalium preponderatur, dum omnes querunt que sua sunt secundum rationem qua illis sunt propria, et non secundum

All heresies proceed from too great attachment to things temporal.

20 rationem qua sunt communia communis dominii Jesu Cristi. Et sic longum appendiculum eque libre quo affectus viatoris eterna respiceret non libratur. Ipsum enim brachium, propter carenciam ponderis quod fidelis in lance affectus acciperet, non curatur. Et tamen, sicut  
 25 celum est corpus supremum, latissimum, clarissimum et plenum influencia luminis et sanctis spiritibus, sic terra est corpus infimum, strictissimum, opacissimum et plenum corrupcionibus atque demonibus. Et hec creditur ratio quare diabolus tantum allicit hominem ad terrena.

We do not hold the balance equal; though Heaven and earth are not to be compared, the latter prevails.

30 Sophista enim, rationi contrarius et primus apostata, nititur ducere scolam suam ad metam blasfemie: quod fit, quando falsitati plus applauditur quam fructui veritatis. Unde diabolus, propter hoc quod suggit sangwinem

It is the devil's work.

5. after 124 dicitur C. 11. edoceat A. 12. cestia A. 14. Et pro ex A.  
 16. affectionis BC. 18. sua deest A. 20, 21. gma dni chũ X̄ C.  
 24. accipiet A. 28. corporibus B; corrupcionis C. 33. suggerit A.

10. Brev. Rom. Coll. pro Dom. III post. Pent. 33. It is possible that these words may embody the superstition that devils drank the blood of witches:

“There's one come down to fetch his dues;  
 A kiss, a coll, a sip of blood.”

(The Witch, by Middleton.)

But Wyclif, as usual, takes the mystic meaning and spiritualizes everything.

He is a leech,  
hidden in  
marshes of  
corruption, and  
has two  
daughters:  
hypocrisy and  
tyranny.

But the Pope,  
the Cardinals,  
the Bishops, the  
arch-deacons,  
the officials,  
the deans, the  
rectors, the  
priests, the  
monks, the  
friars, the door-  
keepers and the  
questors are  
also of the race;  
i. e. if they are  
corrupt.

But how many  
of the Church  
officials live the  
lives of the  
Apostles? So  
many are  
Christ's  
servants; the  
others are the  
adherents of  
Antichrist.

ex spiritibus quibus letificarentur et alleviarentur *filii* Ps. IV, 3  
*hominum gravi corde*, dicitur proverb. 3o sanguisuga. Prov. XXX, 15  
*Sanguisuge*, inquit, *due sunt filie dicentes, affer, affer*.  
Constat quidem quod ecclesia militans resultat ex po-  
pularibus tamquam terra, ex mundi potentibus tamquam 5  
lignis, et ex clericis tamquam herbis. Diabolus autem,  
latens in paludibus vel locis putridis, habet de clericis  
et mundi potentibus duas perversas filias, scilicet yppo-  
critis et tyrannos. Cantus autem eorum precipuus est  
scopare populum, spoliando ipsum temporalibus, dicendo 10  
suis tyronibus: *affer affer*. Et sicut arbusta spinosa ac  
herbe mortifere de terra germinant et per accidens  
proficiunt, licet multum in particulari officiant; | sic 39<sup>a</sup>  
est de dictis yppocritis et tyrannis.

Sunt autem in clero duodecim filie sanguisuge cum 15  
suis complicitibus: scilicet, papa, cardinales, episcopi,  
archidiaconi, officiales, decani, rectores, presbiteri, mo-  
nachi, fratres, ostiarii, et questores. Sed (quia granum et  
palea possunt abscondi sub istis nominibus) ideo suppono  
quod de pseudo-talibus fiat sermo, quod ex eo discerni 20  
poterit quod de fastu et questu symoniace procreantur.  
Non enim licet nominare vel acceptare officium cleri C.  
in ecclesia, nisi de quanto in lege Cristi fuerit appro-  
batus; sed necesse est ut diabolus, onerans ecclesiam  
cum ritibus et temporalibus, oneret eam eciam cum suis 25  
officiariis, qui blasfeme spolient pauperes et simplices  
matris ecclesie. Consideremus ergo statum expropriarium  
statui innocencie simillimum, quem Cristus vixit et docuit  
suos apostolos laborando spiritualiter observare; et  
consideremus, quot officarii in clero sic laborando 30  
retinent istum statum. Et tot sunt fideles servi Cristi.  
Alii autem sunt complices anticristi; et servata ista  
sententia, non oneraretur ecclesia cum raptoribus et  
discolis dissipantibus scolam Cristi. Quicunque enim,  
pensato suo ministerio per se edificativo ecclesie, ipsam 35  
alleviat, non onustat; et ipsam secundum viam virtutum  
trahit ad celestia, non deprimit ad terrena: omnis, in-  
quam, talis est fidelis servus Cristi et adiutor domini,  
ac penna columbe, que ipsam transvehat per mare huius

1. et omnes MSS.; ib. litificaretur A. 2. 3<sup>o</sup> A. 5. potentatibus BC.  
11. suis *deest* A. 21. procurantur C. 22. acceptare *deest* C. 24. est  
*deest* A; ib. honerans ecciam C. 28. falsissimum A; simillimum *pro*  
falsissimum C. 35. edificative AB; edificacio C. 38. Christ *deest* BC.



seculi ad eterna. Et phariseus condicionis opposite est servus dampnabilis, proditor sponse Cristi.

The false Pope can be known by his attachment to earthly things.

The endowment of the Church by Constantine, accepted by St. Sylvester, was a great calamity and contrary to the spirit of the Fathers.

Augustine quoted: to disinherit a son in favour of the Church is not allowable; legally right, it would be morally wrong.

Either Augustine would have been against such endowment, or inconsistent; if not the latter, all good Bishops ought now to side with him.

Et patet quomodo pseudopapa discernitur a fideli. Si enim querit que sua sunt, detrahens subditos suos  
 5 peccati pondere ad infernum, quis dubitat quin terrenorum cupiditas ipsum faciat anticristum? Primum autem venenum notabile post Cristum effusum in ecclesia dicitur ortum ex dotacione romani pontificis, sub  
 10 Constantino cesare et Silvestro, de qua dist. 96, *Constantinus imperator*. Primo autem blasphematur, extollendo Silvestrum super omne quod dicitur deus, quod non potuit peccare, sic recipiendo dotacionem ecclesie. Quod est contra decretum Cipriani, positum dist. 8. "Si solus," inquit, "Cristus audiendus est, non debemus attendere  
 15 quod alius ante nos faciendum putaverit, sed quid qui ante nos omnes est, Cristus, prior fecerit." Et idem sentenciat Augustinus in sermone *de vita clericorum*, posito 17<sup>a</sup> quest. 4 ca<sup>o</sup> ultimo sub his verbis: "Quicumque wult, exhereditato filio, heredem facere ecclesiam, querat  
 20 alium qui suscipiat, non Augustinum: ymmo, deo propicio, neminem inveniet. Quam laudabile fuit factum sancti Aurelii cartaginiensis episcopi! Quidam enim, dum filios non haberet, nec speraret, res suas omnes, retento sibi usufructu, donavit ecclesie. Nati sunt ei filii:  
 25 reddidit ei episcopus omnia; nec opinanti ea, que illi donaverat in potestate habebat episcopus non reddere, sed iure fori, non iure poli."

D. Ecce primo quomodo sancti horruerant, quando parum lapsi sunt a Cristi pauperie, quod super ipsos cumuletur  
 30 lapsus gravior. Et indubie vel oportet dicere quod Augustinus in hoc dicto dissensit tali dotacioni, et imprecatus fuit non fore aliquam in futurum, vel quod tamquam infidelis in ista lege dissipuit. Sed retento primo membro, patet evidencius quod sancti prelati tenerent hodie  
 35 eandem sentenciam. Nunc enim est ecclesia plus temporalibus inviscata, et inpetracionibus subdole plus sunt invente.

9. quo C. 9. 10. Constancius C. 17. Augustinus *in marg.* A.  
 18. *in marg.* nota B. 22. catha C. 23. nec speraret *deest* A.  
 24. usu fructuum B. 25. omo C. 26. donaverit B. 33. depuit A;  
 desipuit C. 34. plati A. 35. istam *pro* eandem C; *ib.* ecclesie A.  
 36. inpetraciones plus subdole C. 37. invete A.

10. Decr. Grat. 1<sup>a</sup> Pars. Dist. XCVI, c. 13. 16. Decr. Grat.  
 1<sup>a</sup> Pars. Dist. VIII, c. 9. 18. Decr. Grat. 2<sup>a</sup> Pars. Cons. XVII,  
 qu. 4, c. 43.

Both Pope and monks ought to have refused endowments, and should give them up.

Aurelius' conduct is an example to our Bishops; what he did was his duty, not before the law, but before God.

It is no use saying that in his case there were tacit conditions; for the successors of those who gave the endowments live now; so the case is the same.

And these endowments weaken the secular power;

which, according to Isidore, is a necessary supplement of Church authority.

Ex quibus colligitur quod nec pontifices nec claustrales eligerent dotacionem huiusmodi; sed fatue susceptam resignarent in manibus secularium dominorum. Sic enim recte fecit beatus Aurelius episcopus, qui fuit propterea ab Augustino merito comendatus. Nec valet dicere quod 5 illud fuit opus supererogacionis, ad quod prelati nostri non hodie sunt asstricti; quia hodie imminet maior necessitas, et prelati debent esse in hoc ita perfecti sicut fuit Aurelius. Aliter enim licet eis quantumcunque irreligiose vivere. propter istam *excusacionem in peccato*. 10 Similiter, episcopus habuit reddere *iure poli*, ut dicit Ps. Augustinus, et per consequens iure dei qui dictavit ipsum CXI, 4 debere reddere. Sic enim voluit Augustinus: ut recitat de eo beatus Possidonius.

Nec valet 2<sup>a</sup> *excusacio in peccato*, qua dicitur quod 15 secularis memoratus intelexit condicionem tacitam in casu quo non habuit filios vel heredes; quia per idem in omni dotacione subintelligi debet talis condicio: et omnino quod deo sit placitum. Cum igitur supersunt filii imperatorum, regum et secularium dominorum, videtur 20 quod clerus dotatus debet reddere *iure poli*. Item, ex ordinacione divina ecclesia debet constare ex mundi potentibus, ad quos necessaria est temporalis possessio. Sed hoc clerus possessionatus nititur extinguere opere vel consensu; ergo, ut sic, resistit ordinacioni divine. 25 Assumptum patet, romanorum 13. et sepe alibi; ymmo ex dicto Ysidori, posito 23 q. 5. ca<sup>o</sup> *principes*. Et minor argumenti patet, notando | omnes possessiones que sunt 30 in manu pape et cleri, ac quanta foret secularis potestas illis dominiis correspondens, que exhinc de ecclesia 30 tollitur, et in occupacionibus exhinc deterioratis nomen domini blasphematur. Nec dubium quin hoc perpetratur consensu cleri, ad hoc multipliciter procurantis. Et cum hoc fit instinctu diaboli deteriorantis brachiumulare et dampnificantis ecclesiam, manifestum est quod poten- 35 tatus debent in isto potestative resistere. Ad hoc enim E. portant gladium, secundum apostolum. Et testatur Ysidorus ubi supra. "Intra Ecclesiam," inquit, "potestates necessarie non essent, nisi ut, quod non prevalent sacerdotes efficere

3. restituerent C. 12. ius qui A. 14. possidanius A; possideus C.  
20. imperatoris C. 23. potentantibus A. 25. igitur C. 30. dominis B.  
31. occupantibus C. 32. perpetrat AB. 38. nccc. Eccie pro intra  
ecclesiam A. 39. ut deest AC.

per doctrine sermonem. potestas hoc imperet per discipline terrorem. Sepe per regnum terrenum celeste regnum perficit, ut qui, intra ecclesiam positi, contra fidem et disciplinam agunt, rigore principum terreantur".  
 5 Quare ergo non exercent hunc gladium ad hoc sibi datum a deo, ut compellant yppocritas intrare religionem Christi quam false profitentur? "Cognoscant," inquit Ysidorus, "principes seculi deo se debere rationem, reddituros esse etiam propter ecclesiam quam a Christo tuendam  
 10 suscipiunt. Nam sive augeatur pax et disciplina in ecclesia per fideles principes, sive solvatur, ille ab eis rationem exigit, qui eorum potestati suam ecclesiam creditit".

Quam, quero, rationem reddent deo seculares domini, qui propter sanguinem, pecuniam vel desidium, per  
 15 mittunt yppocritas. ymmo, cum suis conducunt, perdere Christum et suam ecclesiam? Nam per dotaciones cecas symonia, apostasia et blasfemia sustentantur; et per consequens, irato domino, bella, dissensiones et infidelitates alie sustentantur. Cum enim oportet deum dare pacem  
 20 et caritatem hominibus, si eis infuerit; homines autem illi adversantur blasfeme ordinacioni divine ineptando clerum contra Christi monita, ut sit mundo plus deditus, quomodo transfunderet deus per clerum huiusmodi concordiam et amorem? Quin potius, iuxta beatum Gre-  
 25 gorium, deus, aliunde placatus populo, subtraheret exhinc ab eis spirituale suffragium. Istam igitur cecam pietatem (quin potius gravem stulticiam) portabunt principes, cum presumptuose contraveniendo ordinacioni divine privant se cleri suffragio, et, quod plus est, ut sic, multi-  
 30 pliciter perturbant rem publicam, tam temporalia quam spiritualia blasfeme et improvide dispensando, ex quo tamquam calendis diaboli causatur dissensio. Servitium enim factum diabolo est maxime difficile et sumptuosum, maxime intricabile et onerosum, ac per consequens  
 35 maxime carens retribucione laudabili, cum sit deo et nature contrarium.

Hec est pars mundi potencium ex pietate proditoria cum bonis dei conspirantium contra Christum: et de numero blasfemiarum que fiunt ratione potestatis secularis in clero, difficile est narrare. Ex hinc enim blas-

A most severe account will be exacted of secular lords, who, for interested motives or through mistaken piety, allow or even favour such evils.

They pervert the clergy; thence comes want of charity and lack of God's grace, great dissensions and wars; all through their folly.

For they are responsible for the blasphemies concerning the 'patrimony of the Crucified',

3. regnum *deest* A. 5. igitur C. 6. expellant B. 9. etiam AC.  
 10. disciplina ecclesia C: *ib.* ecclesie *pro* in ecclesia B. 13. deo reddent C.  
 14. segnicem A. 15. conducunt *struck out* B. 16. ceteras AC.  
 17-19. et — sustentantur *deest* A. 19. suscitantur C. 23. clerus C.  
 27. verius BC. 28. sumtuose AB. 29. seculi *pro* cleri A.

femant in Cristum, menciesentes quod ipse dominatus  
 fuit civiliter, et vixit seculariter. In cuius signum vocant  
 totum questum cleri "patrimonium crucifixi". Secundo F.  
 blasfemant de papa et aliis prelatiis cesareis, menciesentes  
 quod iure generacionis Cristi debent summe seculariter 5  
 dominari. Et tercio blasfemant in vendicando potestatem  
 spiritualem Cristi, menciesentes quod habeant potestatem  
 excommunicandi, absolvendi, dispensandi, indulgendi et  
 abscondite transmutandi, ultra hoc quod ratione vel  
 scriptura sciunt ostendere, vel Cristo debere competere. 10  
 Et tandem blasfemant quod sunt fratres et amici Cristi,  
 tanquam iuramento vel pacto cum eo confederati; quod  
 quitquid pretenderint se facere in nomine Cristi. illud  
 faciunt eo ipso. Et hinc volant blasfemie de innumera-  
 bilibus milibus annorum, quibus fingitur stulte ipsos 15  
 a pena et a culpa absolvere. Sed si plus elongantur a  
 Cristi in modo vivendi, servando eius precepta et con-  
 silia, quid illis et generacioni Cristi salvande? Sicut  
 enim secundum legem mundanam, requiritur carnalis  
 generacio ad successionem hereditariam, ita secundam 20  
 legem divinam requiritur ad spiritualem generacionem  
 filiorum dei, successio hereditaria quoad mores Cristi,  
 quem oportet filios suos proxime generare. Et ita  
 cecatur generacio signa querencium, quod plus atten-  
 dunt ad leges humanas, quibus prelatus mundanus 25  
 instituitur, quam ad conformitatem operum quibus scola  
 Cristi mandat credere. Signum autem evidens est quod  
 tales prelati sunt anticristi discipuli, si non amant do-  
 minum Jesum Cristum sequendo eum in moribus, sed  
 pompant de potestate sua quam deus non revelavit. 30  
 Cristus enim vult nec se ipsum nec apostolos suos, nisi  
 mediante revelacione, detegere huiusmodi potestatem.  
 Nam, ut *data est sibi omnis potestas*, sic debet ad ipsum  
 referri, et cristiani humile ministerium publicari. Unde  
 sterilitas fructus potestatis huiusmodi signum est quod 35  
 ypocrite blasfemant de potestate Cristi, quia si adesset  
 operaretur magna, tam in prelatiis quam in populo; cum

1. menciesentes A. 3. petrociniū A. 4. menciesentes A. 6. ven-  
 dendo A. 11. tamen *omnes MSS*; *ib.* tres A. 12. tantum *pro* tamquam  
*omnes MSS*. 14. hic B; huic A. 18. sicud AC. 19. humanam C;  
*ib.* car<sup>u</sup>lis A. 36. *ipse* A.

5. Christ being of royal blood. 32. Allusion to Christ's  
 words: *Beatus es, Simon Bar-jona; quia caro et sanguis non  
 revelavit tibi, sed Pater meus qui in coelis est.*

potestas apostolorum moderate contenta fructifere pullulavit. Potestas ergo de qua se pompant non excedit  
 40<sup>a</sup> potestatem luciferi, qui non in tanta yppocrisi et | illusione pape *similitudinem altissimo* simulavit. Pauci enim  
 5 steterunt in hac evidenciori similitudine diaboli; nec fumus sue blasfeme superbie in opinione tam peccancium quam seductorum tam diutine ascendebat.

while their power more nearly resembles that of Lucifer.

Item. Cristus precepit apostolis suis doctrina multiplici nec diligere mundum nec mundalia; sed yppocrite, fin-  
 10 gentes se esse Cristi vicarios, hec diligunt excessive. Ergo, cum sit tantum contra doctrinam et mandata Cristi, sequitur quod sunt discipuli anticristi. Sunt yppocrite multipliciter mendaces, simulantes falsitatem contrariam  
 Joan. XV, 10 veritati. Et assumptum argumenti patet Joh. 15. *Quia*  
 15 *vero de mundo non estis, sed ego elegi vos de mundo, propterea odit vos mundus. Mementote sermonis mei, quem ego dixi vobis: Non est servus maior domino suo.* Et eadem sententia exprimitur Joh. 2, Joh. 18 et Thi. 6. Et  
 Luc. XIV, 33 iterum Luc. 14 sic concludit: *Sic omnis ex vobis, qui non*  
 G. 20 *renunciaverit omnibus que possidet, non potest esse meus discipulus;* ubi non dubium quin loquitur de renunciacione civili; primo, quia debuerunt renunciare in seculo omnibus terrenis secundum preponderantem affectionem. Ille ergo qui elegit iustos cognatos de mundo, intendebat  
 25 quod plus renunciarent seculo quam homines temporales. Similiter, ut Augustinus notat, apostoli et vicarii Cristi  
 Job XLII, 25 debent singulariter comittere bellum adversus *regem super omnes filios superbie*; qui, cum sit princeps mundi, habet 20 milia bellancium contra Cristum; hoc est,  
 30 universitatem temporalium ex prevaricancia duplicancium contra denarium mandatorum. Quis ergo singulariter sic agonisans contra diabolum indisponeret se inviscatus in rethi diaboli? Quin potius, sedens in fide filii, computat omnes sumptus, orando, contemplando et exhortando? Illi enim sumptus sunt necessarii ad expugnandum  
 35 diabolum. Etsi Cristi vicarius non comisceat se cum mundo, tamen tota cogitacio, tota intencio, et tota

Christ's precepts are formal; absolute unworldliness and renunciation of earthly possessions for all; much more for his Apostles;

it is impossible otherwise to conquer the king of pride:

1. 2 pululavit C. 2. igitur C; *ib.* sepe C. 5. fletu'nt AC.  
 7. ostendebant C. 11. igitur C. 12. sunt enim B. 14. veritatem A.  
 18. 1 Thym. B. 20. que pos. n. p. eē m. A. 21. quod A; *deest* B.  
 24. igitur C; *ib.* in A. 25. renunciaret C. 29. millia C. 31. igitur C.  
 32. sic agonisando BC; *ib.* se *deest* A. 33, 34. computat sūptus C.  
 36, 37. comisceat se mūdo C. 37. se in marg. A.



Even if we strain every nerve, the victory is hard to win.

Christ's deeds are no less formal; and deeds are of more weight than words. He had not *where* to lay His head.

Reason and faith agree in this; riches are good only in so far as they help heavenward, which superfluity cannot do; food and raiment should be enough for us.

affeccio hominis distracta a mundo vix sufficit complere istam victoriam. Ideo signantissime concludit Cristus singulariter de suis discipulis: *Sic omnis ex vobis qui non renunciat omnibus que possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus.* Et patet quam multi episcopi mendaciter simulant se esse Cristi discipulos, qui nec sunt sacerdotes nec clerici, sed ex simulata iniquitate duplici capitalia membra patris mendacii.

3<sup>o</sup> confirmatur ista sententia ex multiplici facto Cristi. Opus enim tam veracis hominis est optimus interpretes 10 sensus sermonis sui. Ex hoc enim narrat Lucas, Act. I, 1 primo, quod iste magister optimus, factum preponderans, *cepit facere et docere.* Sic enim reprobatur phariseos Mat. 23. ex duplicitate verborum; *dicunt*, inquit, *et non faciunt.* Absit autem talis duplicitas in Cristo; ymo 15 ex fide capimus quod Cristus exemplando exposuit ad quem sensum voluit discipulos suos mundum relinquere, et illum sensum sermonis sui exponere. Ideo, cum Cristus fuit summe pauper expropriarius, ipso dicente, Mat. 8., VIII, 20 quod non habet tantum proprietatis de mundo, ut habeat domicillium vel locum proprium *in quo caput suum reclinat.* Ad istum ergo sensum mandavit Cristus suis presbiteris mundum relinquere: quod servatum est quousque glosator diabolus comovit scribas suos scripturam subvertere. 25

Et concordat cum hoc lex nature, naturalis ratio et H. fides ecclesie. Constat quidem quod talis status pauperitatis est similior statui innocencie et statui glorie, sicut est similior statui quem Cristus et sui apostoli observarunt. Et ita patet ex fide quod affluentia temporalium non expedit viatori, nisi de quanto promovet ad beatitudinem aquirendam. Sed planum est ex eadem fide quod non promovet, sed tardat, omne quod habet ultra vite necessaria, et secundum modum quo recognoscat hec secundum istam rationem dari a deo: ergo, 35 cum hoc fieret innitendo divine providencie in talibus, querendo *primum regnum dei et iusticiam eius*, ut Cristus docuit, videtur quod ille modus habendi temporalia sit magis consonus hic in via. Et super hac lege videtur fundari regula apostoli 1. thi. 6. quam papa 40 et omnes episcopi debent specialiter observare, *habentes* 1 Tim. VI, 8

4. possi- A; *ib.* esse meus A. 14. 21 B. 16. expo<sup>n</sup>it A. 36. dictionem *pro* divine B; *ib.* prudencie AB.

Matth. XXIII, 3

Matth. VIII, 20

Matth. VI, 33

1 Tim. VI, 8



*alimenta et quibus tegamur hiis contenti simus.* "Alimenta" dicit generaliter cibum et potum cum medicinis in quantum ad medelam anime promovent; et secundum modum magis aptum ad hoc, qui indubie est modus, quem

5 Cristus constituit et servavit. Et confirmari potest ex lege veteri. Nam Jerem. 35. patet quomodo deus comendat rechabitas, quia ad preceptum Jonadab filii recab noluerunt vinum bibere, nec edificiis vel agriculture intendere. Cum ergo Cristus, deus et homo, precepit suis 10 tam multipliciter verbo et exemplo, ut in nichil *negociis secularibus implicentur*, videtur prelatos nostros ex recabiturum opere iudicandos. Nam secundum apostolum

1<sup>a</sup> cor. ultimo: *Si quis non amaverit dominum Jesum Cristum, anathema sit.* Et secundum evangelium Cristi

40<sup>b</sup> 15 Joh. 14. *Si quis diligit Cristum | sermonem suum servabit.*

Joan. XIV, 23 Ex quibus videtur colligi quod tales prelati sunt excommunicati atque heretici; et per consequens pro nullis

2<sup>a</sup> Thes. III, 14 graciis vel ministeriis spiritualibus consulendi. Et ista videtur sententia apostoli 2<sup>a</sup> Thess. 3<sup>o</sup>. *Si quis, inquit,*

20 *non obedierit verbo nostro per epistolam, hunc notate et non comisceamini cum illo, ut confundatur;* quia, ut docet

Tit. III, 10 apostolus ad thyt. 3<sup>o</sup>, *Hereticum hominem debet fidelis post correptionem duplicem evitare;* et multo magis non

25 debet fidelis dare illis taliter suas elemosinas contra Cristum.

Et si obicitur de silvestro et aliis, non dubium quin in hoc peccant graviter, et potest esse quod fructuose postmodum sunt contriti; sicut creditur quod longe aliter ipsi quam prelati moderni occuparunt elemosinas 30 eis datas; cece enim in ecclesia deteriorando procedunt.

1. Ex ista itaque venenosa radice credit fidelis totum dominium seculare cristianismi infectum; quia tam dominium quod clerus occupat, quam dominium eciam principum seculi. Dominium autem quod clerus occupat est spolia 35 contra voluntatem dei plus quam tyrrannice occupata; quia blasfeme contra mandatum Cristi ad magnam per-

Luxurious prelates will be judged by the Rechabites,

and anathematized as heretics for not loving Christ, as they do not keep His commandments.

Sylvester, in spite of his motives, sinned in accepting an endowment so pernicious that it has infected all Christendom, and heavenly signs portend calamities.

2. cum deest A. 7. recabite in marg. A; recabitas C. 9. igitur C.  
10. in deest omne; MSS. 26. quin deest B. 28. sunt deest C.  
29. occupaverunt C. 30. Ecce C. 31. Et pro ex A; ib. 1<sup>a</sup> itq3 e A.  
33. q̄ = quam pro quod C; ib. eciam deest C. 35. occupate A;  
occupare C. 36. blastemum A; blasphema BC.

tubacionem sue ecclesie. In cuius signum, propter strictitudinem anguli semidiametrorum in terra concurrentium fiunt angustie, dissensiones et bella, et specialiter de vocato patrimonio crucifixi et in secta cristiana: quod indicat, cum caput nostrum Cristus non potest deficere, 5 quod vocata membra discordant a capite, a quo recipere celestes influencias per observanciam mandatorum.

Suppose Christ were, unknown, to blame the prelates now and condemn the traffic in Church dignities, he would be burnt as a heretic or despised as a madman: for they persecute His members in like manner for so doing.

The Apostles Peter and Paul gave other examples; Judas had the care of the money, and the deacons, trusted in like manner, were below the Apostles.

In tantum, quod si Cristus prelati incognitus visiteret peregrine prelatos istius ecclesie presencia corporali, instaretque inopportune contra vocatos eius vicarios, sicut 10 olim institit contra minorem avariciam sacerdotum, est evidens quod excommunicarent eum in curia romana et nisi veritatem revocare voluerit, condemnarent eum ad ignem tamquam hereticum et blasphemam. Sic enim persecuntur eius membra, qui remisse nimis et vecor- 15 diter dicunt modicam scintillam conversacionis Cristi et obligacionem, prelatorum precipue, ad sequendum ipsum in moribus: ut, si tamquam rex substerneret mercandia ecclesie sicut olim, et preciperet servis suis per totum imperium quod non debent presbytero Cristi possessionem, 20 nec permittant eum quitquam occupare ultra formam quam Cristus instituit eis, quam maniacus reputaretur rex et quam excommunicatum decretum edicere! quia dampnabiliter causatur quod mundus aliter exigit hodie in prelatiis. cum oportet eos seculariter vivere, eo quod 25 aliter in despectum et disparenciam potestatis presbyteri periret dignitas prelatorum. Ista autem interpellacio blasfema preponit mundum domino; quia quod mundus requirit preponderat, cum, dimissis Cristi consiliis, querit fictam apparenciam quoad mundum. Talem autem 30 maioritatem sophisticam non quesierunt apostoli, quando Petrus latuit in domo coriarii et Paulus arti scenofactorie

2. angeli *omnes* MSS.; *ib.* semidyametrum C. 6. accipite A.  
9. p̄laſos ip̄ istū A; prelatos *deest* C. 10. q3 = quia A; = q3 quod C;  
*ib.* inportue A; imptune C. 12. et *deest omnes* MSS. 14. cum B.  
15. et nimis C. 17. eum; *in marg.* ipsum A. 19. ecclesie *deest* C.  
20. debet *omnes* MSS. 22. mai'ac9 A. 28. blasfemo B. 29. f̄ff; A.  
32. can'ary A; *ib.* scenofcōe A; scenevecte B.

2. Being unable to find any sense in the reading *angeli*, I have supposed that the passage has something to do with astrological predictions, rife in those days. Perhaps two untoward planets were nearly in conjunction at that time and their radii, drawn from the central point *earth* made a very acute angle (cf. Sermones II, 126).

intendebat; ymmo. quando Paulus ordinavit episcopos intendere domui sue, ipso omnino egente. non scivit quod per temporalium copiam debet dignitas presbyteri mensurari. Recoluit enim quod Judas portavit oculos, et quod diaconi, ex hoc inferiores apostolis, bona pauperum dispensarunt. Sed oportet quod tunc quassaretur contencio inter discipulos Jesu, *quis eorum videretur esse maior*; et, contempta apparencia mundani honoris, intendunt regule Cristi lu. 22, quod humilis ex maiori caritate ministrancior, licet non videtur seculo (de qua latencia gauderet), sed est de facto apud deum maior eo.

Christ's rule is that the humblest shall be the highest.

Luc.  
XXII,  
24

perum dispensarunt. Sed oportet quod tunc quassaretur contencio inter discipulos Jesu, *quis eorum videretur esse maior*; et, contempta apparencia mundani honoris, intendunt regule Cristi lu. 22, quod humilis ex maiori caritate ministrancior, licet non videtur seculo (de qua latencia gauderet), sed est de facto apud deum maior eo.

Fomitem autem huius maioritatis mundane ministravit Constantinus romane ecclesie. In cuius penam creditur imperium enervatum. Nam vix invenis principem vel hereditem terrenam quin sit isto toxico maculata. Nam, vel in occupationem anticristi laceratur dominium, vel secularis omittit causam Cristi corrigere vel expresse consentit mamnone anticristi. Ideo non mirum, si sic venenatum rethe temporalis domini illaqueat multos

Constantine's endowment has weakened both the Church and the Empire;

inviscatos diaboli. Oportet ergo conformiter brachiumulare concurre, et fomitem venenose divisionis in ecclesia romana extingwere. Nec oportet timere periculum, habito oculo simplici et manu prudenti, quia pro reparacione status cleri quem Cristus instituit laboratur. Et ex fide capimus quod non peccatur sed promeretur, in quantum ex parte Cristi intencione simplici laboratur. Sicut ergo Cristus laboravit ad destruendum peccata sacerdotum, phariseorum, et scribarum, eorum fastu et questu inficiente ecclesiam, instituendo sacerdotes

it therefore becomes a duty of the secular prince, God's vicegerent, to undo the mischief, follow Christ's example, and refuse temporal aid to priests who are in error.

condicionis opposite: sic debet princeps fidelis, dei vicarius, sacerdotes suos plus evagantes extra normam Cristi corripere, et specialiter elemosinas suas subtrahere. Aliter enim cum bonis Cristi fovet proditorie partem contra ipsum. Et cum istud peccatum tantum publicatur ex parte utriusque brachii, manifestum est quod durante hac heresi non permanebit | ecclesia inturbata, sed necesse est bella, lites et prodiciones undique seminari.

2. ipo oio auo A. 3. per deest B. 6. dispensarent C. 10. misnor AC; ib. quo pro qua A. 11. gaudetur B; ib. eo maior C. 12. ffoite3 A. 13. gftat9 A. 14. ipiu = impium A; ib. oneratum A. 15. ista toxica AB. 18. mamoe A. 19. venatu A; ib. relaqueat BC. 20. iustos A; inviscatos A; in visco C; ib. concorditer B. 27. igitur C. 33. fovent C. 37. bella et lites C.

And first of all, the root of blasphemy must be put down; the money which the clergy has would be most useful to strengthen the secular arm; for the king is to the kingdom like the heart to the body, and death ensues if his power is too much weakened.

Et cum oportet a causa morbi incipere, manifestum est quod oportet primo humiliari caput huius blasfemie; ebulliente enim fonte huius scaturiginis venenose, necesse est partem diaboli multum prevalere. Si enim totum dominium in manu cleri prudenter dispersum fuerit 5 in manu brachii secularis, optatum foret medium ad pacificandum et instruendum rem publicam secundum religionem apostolicam pauperum clericorum. Unde ymaginatur quidam quod rex, cui primo et ultimo inest vita politica, sit quasi cor in medio corporis, 10 vallatus possensionibus regni sui; et deficiente seculari dominio partibus regni per innaturalem eius accumulationem clero, necesse est ut, corde appropinquante morti politice, inordinate spoliet partes sibi subiectas, et discrasia suborietur in toto corpore policie. Talis 15 enim est ordo in humano corpore prope mortem cordis, quod primo et ultimo vivit, trahentem cum impetu substantiam parcium exteriorum.

2. *after* quod : durante hac heresi quod C. 3. ebulliente C. 4. <sup>mm</sup> A ;  
 nimium B. 12. regis BC; *ib.* p <sup>1</sup> n<sup>2</sup>alem A. 16. Christi *pro* est B;  
*ib.* corde B; cordis *deest* C.

## CAPITULUM QUINTUM.

- A. Secunda coniugacio membrorum filie sanguisuge sunt  
 cardinales apostate. In illis enim, ut cardine, vertuntur  
 valve duplicitatis late vie que ducit ad baratrum. Unde  
 5 illis iuxta nomen et syllabas quatuor *car-di-na-lis* descri-  
 bunt quidam quod cardinalis est CARior Diaboli NATus,  
 Math. XII, 30 LICium Seminator. Cum enim secundum fidem, *qui non*  
*est cum Cristo contra Cristum est*; illi autem *non con-*  
*gregant cum Cristo* secundum legem suam membra  
 10 ecclesie secundum rationem comunem universalis Cristi  
 domini, sed *dispergunt*, dum querunt fastum et questum  
 proprium; et quantum in eis est solvunt, multiplicando  
 capita, unitatem: quod si habent preeminenciam in hac  
 blasfema apostasia, manifestum est quod sunt tales.  
 15 Nomen enim impositum preter exemplum scripture non  
 habet tantam vim numinis ut excludat cathenas diaboli  
 et imprimat veritatem domini eo ipso. Tales igitur,  
 sicut servando legem Cristi magis proficiunt, sic apo-  
 statando magis officiunt. Unde quidam, notando 10 literas:  
 20 *cardinalis*, dicit quod universitas malicie in nomine  
 illorum includitur: ac si diceretur *Cardinalis*, quasi  
 Custos Apostotarum Regni Diaboli, Iuvans Nequissimum  
 Ad Legem Iudicis Sopiendam.
- Sed quomodocunque fuerit de istis verbis extra-  
 25 ordinariis, in maiori parte veris, certum videtur quod  
 officium illud cum nomine fuit culpabiliter et sine  
 auctoritatis evidenciam introductum. Nam institutio cuius-  
 que romani pontificis in summum ducem et proximum  
 Cristi vicarium fuit stulta: ergo quodcunque accessorium.
- The college of  
 Apostate  
 Cardinals is the  
 hinge (*cardo*) of  
 the door of the  
 broad way; the  
 syllables and  
 letters of the  
 very word can  
 be made to  
 affirm their  
 wickedness;  
 justly, if they  
 harm the  
 Church.
- The Cardinalate  
 was wrongly  
 instituted;  
 because, Papal  
 pretensions  
 being wrong,  
 whatever  
 favours them  
 must be wrong  
 too.

1. 5 red ink C.      5. silabas omnes MSS.      6, 7. ē car'or dia' natō  
 litū ser'ator. A.      7. suscitator B.      8. contra ipsum est BC.  
 11. disperdunt BC.      13. habet A.      18, 19. apostado A; apostado C.  
 19. 10 deest C.      24. extra deest C.      26. istud C.

ad roborandum vel consulendum istam stulticiam. Assumptum patet, eo quod non subest potestati terrene pontificem talem statuere. Ideo foret nimis magna blasfemia, hoc temptare. Et iterum, foret ewangelica sapiencia omnes sacerdotes esse socios regulatos immediate per unum<sup>5</sup> abbatem dominum nostrum Jesum Cristum. Sic enim fuit tempore apostolorum, quando crevit ecclesia; et sententia ista consonat cum scriptura. Item, non licet vel angelo de celo onerare ecclesiam vel introducere<sup>10</sup> novos ritus inedicabiles vel infundabiles in scriptura. Sed ritus cardinalatus est nimis per se inedicativus ecclesie et infundabilis in scriptura: ergo, non licet ista statuere. Maiorem suppono ex fide, cum aliter liceret sponsam Cristi (et sic Cristum) dampnificare. Et istam perfidiam destruit apostolus ad Gall. 1<sup>o</sup>. Minor autem<sup>15</sup> argumenti patet ex hoc quod ante hoc nomen vel ritum Gal. I. introductum plus profecit ecclesie; et cardinales, deposito nomine et onere ecclesie, et ablatis fastu et questu, plus undiquaque proficerent. Notet, inquam, cardinalis, B. in quo secundum legem Cristi prodest ecclesie, in quo<sup>20</sup> non efficacius proficeret dimisso lucro, nomine et honore. Nec dubium quin in isto excessu apostotat, quia contra regulam quam Cristus instituit ad edificacionem ecclesie retrocedit. Et patet, cum potestatem istam supra Cristum vendicat, quod blasfemat.<sup>25</sup>

Item, terminus potencie et officii ministri ecclesie, ne evagetur in devium, est signandus: sed nullus, si non ille, quem Cristus instituit. Cum enim Cristus sit omnipotens, omnisciens ac summe benevolus, patet quod ratio necessitat eum incorrigibiliter ordinare, et specialiter cum<sup>30</sup> in primitiva ecclesia foret messis plurior et laboricium copiosius, ordinaret deus plurem maneriem ministrorum. Tunc autem non ordinavit nisi diacones et presbyteros. Idem autem sunt presbyteri et sacerdotes sive episcopi,

2. patet *deest* B; patet ex eo C; *ib.* potēti<sup>o</sup> A. 3. nimina *pro* nimis magna B. 5. esse sacros regulatos C; *ib.* unicum C. 12. igitur C. 13. supposicionem A; *ib.* licet C. 16. patet *deest* A. 18. cum *pro* et BC. 20. quod *pro* in quo *omnes* MSS. 22. apostol<sup>us</sup> A. 27. demum A. 29. et *pro* ac C; *ib.* benioſy AC. 30. eum *deest* B; *ib.* incorr<sup>ter</sup> B. 31. in *deest* B. 31. laboritimum B. 32. plēn<sup>us</sup> A. 33. enim B. 34. sunt *deest* BC.

33. *Ordinavit.* Wyclif seems to argue as though the Cardinalate were a special form of Holy Orders; no doubt on account of their power of electing the Pope. 34. Jeron. Ad Evangelium, *ubi supra.*

As it would be certainly better for the Church and the cardinals if they laid aside their dignities, which have no Scripture warrant, these are unjustifiable.

A line must be drawn somewhere in the number of Church dignities; and there can be none but the line drawn by Christ, who ordained none but priests and deacons.



ut docet Jeron. in epist. 18 ad Evandrum, ex textu apostoli. Ideo dicit archidiaconus cum aliis concorditer, quod in tempore apostolorum non fuerunt nisi duo ordines cleri, scilicet diaconus et sacerdos.

5 Et quod illud foret melius patet nedum auctoritate, ratione et practica, sed levi et utili experientia. Nam certum est quod totum genus humanum est tantum finite honorificencie mundialis, cuius magna parte attributa clero in cardinalibus, necesse est totum mun-  
 10 danum honorem humani generis debitum secularibus indebite dispartiri. | Et idem est iudicium de sumptuosa  
 41<sup>b</sup> familia et expensis; cultor itaque vinee domini potest faciliter experiri quomodo ecclesia, quantum ad fastum et questum, foret exonerata, si fuerit isto gradu car-  
 15 dinalium expurgata. Et istud deducunt quidam ex hoc, quod post dotacionem et promocionem ecclesie, multiplicata sunt (preter legem ewangelii) officia dignitatum in patriarchis et cardinalibus et aliis ministris adiacen-  
 20 tibus, ultra hoc quod est fundabile in scriptura alterius testamenti. Et cum non porporcionaliter crescit fructus ministerii, verisimile est quod causa huius multiplicacionis est cupiditas temporalium, et mundani honoris affectio. Sic enim posset hoc devium, nisi haberet frenum, procedere infinite. Et pensata regula non evacuabitur  
 25 quin mensura debita per Cristum exceditur: quod foret C. nimis periculosum in principio religionis Cristi. Fatentur enim se habere in quodam ordine tamquam apostolos in profectu ecclesie: quod est evidencius in causacione defectus ecclesie. Primo enim blasphemant supra apostolos,  
 30 quod sine ipsorum collegio non stat via rata ecclesie. Et cum manifestum sit quod ipsa deviat, oportet ipsos concedere quod ipsi principaliter causant hoc devium. Cum enim, ut inquit, habent a deo comissam curam ecclesie, vel oportet eos in se fingere defectum  
 35 regiminis, vel in deo. Talis ergo blasphemus est nimis

There being but a limited amount of honour payable in the world, what goes to the cardinals is so much taken from the secular powers, burdening the Church, unscriptural, and resulting from the love of worldly glory.

They consider themselves as similar to the Apostles, and blaspheme; for if the Church is in its present state, they put the fault on God, and are therefore unworthy to rule.

1. eugen<sup>um</sup> B. 8, 9. magnam partem attributam omnes MSS.  
 11. dispartiri AB. 18. cat<sup>um</sup> lib<sup>rum</sup> (et in marg.) card<sup>inalibus</sup> A. 19, 20. in altero testamento BC. 25. excedit A. 28. caucoe C. 30. sine in marg. suppl. C.

2. Guido de Baisio, an Italian theologian, archdeacon of Bologna; born in Reggio; died after 1300. There are no fewer than six persons designated by the title of *Archidiaconus*. See Franklin's *Dictionnaire des pseudonymes latins*.

Their want of  
submission to  
Christ's law  
shows this; the  
more incapable  
of doing good,  
the prouder  
they are.

indispositus ad regendum ecclesiam, quia indisponit se  
quoad deum, a quo reciperet omnem veritatem sui  
regiminis. Ideo implicate, licet mendaciter, dicit quod  
contra voluntatem Cristi ex se et anticristo regit  
ecclesiam; aliter enim submitteret se Cristo, servando  
legem quam Cristus instituit ad hoc opus, et excuciendo  
superbos ritus et onerosos cum quibus Cristus non  
coagit. Talis, inquam, est eo superbior quo est ipse ad  
edificacionem ecclesie inutilior, et in fingendo gradum  
alciolem quoad deum multiplicacior. Et hec ratio, quare  
apostoli non miscuerunt se cum mundanis honoribus vel  
mediis ad eosdem.

It is objected  
that this would  
put an end to  
I. endowments,  
II. graduations,  
III. excommuni-  
cations.

I. True, this  
doctrine would  
put an end to  
Church  
endowments;  
but it would  
enrich the  
clergy with  
virtues.

Argumenta autem que fiunt ad stabiliendum papatus  
vel cardinalatus officium non sunt digna memoria. Sed  
contra ista arguitur per hoc, quod iuxta hanc viam  
cessaret omnis cleri dotacio, omnis eorum graduacio,  
et omnis eorum excommunicacio, eo quod Cristus non  
auctorisavit ista in opere vel sermone. Hic dicitur quod  
(limitato sensu pertinenti) verum concluditur; debet  
enim clerus dotari a Cristo virtutibus secundum quas  
confirmabitur in merito vie, correspondentes ad dotes  
patric. Terrenam autem coniugacionem perpetuitatis  
temporalium non debet clerus Cristi admittere.

And we must  
destroy the  
reign of  
Antichrist,  
consisting of  
false members  
of the Church,  
in order to  
strengthen  
Christ's  
kingdom, which  
is not of this  
world, like  
Antichrist's.

Unde communiter dicitur quod triplex est regnum,  
scilicet anticristi, principis terreni, et Cristi. Primum  
est destruendum, 2<sup>um</sup> consulendum, et 3<sup>um</sup> adquirendum.  
Primum autem regnum stat in pseudopapis, pseudo-  
cardinalibus, pseudoepiscopis, cum suis abbatibus et  
prelatis eis subditis. Et sicut Cristus acquirit regnum  
deo patri, ut dicit apostolus 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. 15<sup>o</sup>; sic anticristus  
est in adquirendo regnum patri suo sathane. Est enim  
anticristus Cristo contrarius; quia Cristus aufugit regnum  
terrenum (Joh. 6); Anticristus autem isto studio nititur  
secundum regulas sathane adquirere sibi ipsum. Cristus  
precepit suis censem dare cesari, recognoscendo ipsum  
superiorem et dominum quoad mundum. Anticristus  
vero non recognoscit superiorem in terris, nec vult, ut  
Cristus, concedere quod vivit de puris elemosinis secu-  
larium; sed subtractis elemosinis spiritualibus, fingit

All in him  
contrasts with  
Christ, his  
pride with  
Christ's  
lowliness, his  
riches with

10. multiplier AC. 14. cardinalis A. 15. hanc per hoc A; ib. hanc  
before viam deest A. 18. h' A. 21. in m'ito AC; ib. correspon-  
denter C. 23. gmt' A. 24. Nota in marg. A. 25. scilicet deest A.  
8. episcopis B. 30. 5 AC. 31. adquirendum AC. 32. x' A.  
7. ut postea suppl. C.

quod de suis elemosinis corporalibus vivit totum brachium  
seculare. Et sic, ubi in sinceritate et veritate est tota  
conversacio Cristi, in yppocrisi et mendacio est tota  
conversacio anticristi. Cristus enim vixit vitam pauperi-

Christ's  
poverty, his  
falsity with  
Christ's truth.

5 mam, non habens temporaliter proprium, ubi caput  
suum reclinet, ut hic supponitur. Anticristus autem  
supponit se dominum orbis; et certum est quod in  
falsitate mendacii, quia si illud ius possidet, constat

Math.

IV, 8, 9

10 quod titulo sathane (4<sup>o</sup> Math.) Cristo mendaciter  
promittentis quod *omnia regna mundi* sibi daret, *si*  
*cadens ipsum adoraret*: quod facit anticristus totidem  
vicibus quot legem sathane et commodum temporale  
veritati Cristi preponderat. Nec dubium quin mendaciter  
et blasfeme istud regnum occupatur; quia titulo quo

15 ista possessio foret patrocinium crucifixi, qui sic vivens  
possessionem talem contulit anticristo vicario suo! Est  
eciam anticristus tamquam filius sathane sibi ipsi con-  
trarius, quia a Cristo non poterit tenere illud dominium,  
nisi, servando legem suam, foret precipuus sequax vite

20 Cristi. A quo cum olim forefaceret, patet quam iuste  
perdidit titulum quoad Cristum. Et cum diffitetur se  
habere illud a principibus seculi pro servicio quod  
Cristus et seculares domini limitarunt, non superest a quo,  
nisi a sathana, possideat regnum istud. Et verificata est

25 prophecia apostoli 2<sup>a</sup> tessel 2<sup>o</sup>. *Quod anticristus extollitur*  
*super omne quod dicitur deus.*

2 Thess.

II, 4

Math.

XII, 25 Sed consolacio est in Cristo dicente, Math. 12. *Omne*  
*regnum contra se divisum desolabitur. Si, inquit, sathanas*

30 *stabit regnum eius?* Sathan enim qui secundum Ysid.  
vocatur adversator, potest dici dictus anticristus cum  
suis membris, qui adversatur deo, homini et sibi ipsi.  
Et cum terrenum regnum inficitur ista labe, et regna  
tam spissim insurgunt adversus regna, patet *quomodo*

42<sup>a</sup> 35 *sathan sathanam eicit.* Non solum | promotus anticristi,  
adeptus ecclesiasticam dignitatem, verum eciam diabolus  
in forma religiosi conquirat sceleratissime sub fuco patri-  
monii crucifixi. Ideo cum partes huius regni non sibi

G. cohereant, ut prophetizatur dan. 3<sup>o</sup>. necesse est ut hoc

He is the son  
of Satan who  
said the world  
belonged to  
him; and as  
such he reigns  
under the false  
pretence of  
following  
Christ, which  
he has long  
ceased to do.

But his  
kingdom is  
coming to an  
end for it is  
now divided  
against itself,  
Satan being the  
adversary of  
God, of men,  
and of himself;  
and devils cast  
out devils.

2. mnda<sup>a</sup> A. 7. se esse B. 8. quod A. 9. 14 B. 10. pro-  
mittendi omnes MSS. 10, 11. si — adoraret deest C. 12. quo A.  
16. anticristus omnes MSS. 29. sath<sup>ss</sup> sath<sup>am</sup> A. 33. cum pro et  
cum B. 37, 38. pro<sup>u</sup> A. 39. pba<sup>2</sup> A; pphetat<sup>2</sup> C.

regnum corruens desoletur. Secundum autem, terrenum regnum, oportet foveri in timore et pietate sub spe tercii regni acquirendi, pro quo rogamus, Mat. 6: *Adreniat regnum tuum.* Matth. VI, 10

II. Not only the Church should be disendowed, but all hierarchical degrees should be done away with, according to our doctrine, leaving only the hidden differences of personal holiness.

Sicut ergo conceditur quod cessaret omnis cristiani cleri dotacio (et ad hoc obnixè ageret quodlibet mundanum imperium, et precipuus clerus Cristi; sed pseudo-fratres subdole plus retardant); ulterius conceditur quod cessaret omnis graduacio in clero, cum omnis presbyter niteretur, quantum posset, secundum Cristi miliciam regnum anticristi destruere, et, fovendo regnum terrenum, regnum celorum recipere; sed preter, graduacionem in Cristo absconditam, correspondenter ad gradus huius milicie, in fide Cristi expetere. Et per hoc reduceretur clerus Cristi ad quantitatem proporcionalem mundi et morum ecclesie.

III. As for excommunications, they would also cease, for they are the Devil's weapons, and are prefigured by the treason of Judas; his use of armed men, his hypocritical kiss and his pieces of silver; and at the Day of Judgment those who excommunicate will go backwards and fall to the ground.

Et quantum ad tercium, dictum est diffuse de excommunicatione pro temporalibus, quomodo est iniusta. Diabolus enim machinatus est media per que posset sibi regnum conquirere, cum non solum excitat suos milites ad pugnandum corporaliter, sed quia robur efficax eis deficit ad expugnandum Cristi miliciam, quod paliant excommunicationem horridam in Cristi nomine: ut vel sic cristicole terreantur negare temporalia Cristi membris diaboli. Omnia autem ista sunt figurata in Scarioth, qui cum accepisset cohortem et ministros a phariseis osculo proditorio tradidit veritatem, ut dicitur Jo. 18. Sic anticristus cecat armatam miliciam secularem, hinc simulacione sanctitatis cause, hinc ministris executoribus censure terrificæ, hinc ficcione sinceri amoris quo fingunt se veritatem diligere, eciam excommunicatum suum quem tam aspere persecuntur. Et evidens est quod simulant inde osculum, quia peccant gravius quoad deum. Et propter collacionem temporalium que Judas expetit erunt cum cremento inestimabilis indulgencie absolute: quod evidenter indicat ipsos non ob amorem dicte persone quam sic excommunicant, sed propter amorem peccunie medicinam terrificam taliter fulminare. Sed in finali iudicio, quando Cristus dicet eis: *Ego sum, abibunt retrorsum et cadent in terram*, quia invincibile iudicium dei et hominis, quod nullus eorum potest

Joan. XVIII, 3

1. hoc regnum diaboli B.  
17. 2<sup>m</sup> C. 19. media deest C.  
39. pasci in marg. A.

5. Sic igitur C.  
26. cohortem C.

10. inniteretur B.  
37. pp ob A.

fugere nec a iudice culpam abscondere, faciet eos in tenebras exteriores corruere.

- F. Signa autem preponderantie fastus et questus super honorem dei et salutem ecclesie est modus et frequentatio excommunicacionis quam modo fulminant, ultra hoc quod Cristus et sui apostoli exemplarunt. Ipsi enim non tradiderunt quemquam sathane, nec habuerunt potestatem ad hoc, nisi proportionaliter ut demeruerit apud deum. Numquid credimus lex excommunicacionis (de qua in 7<sup>o</sup> decretal. de penis, ca<sup>o</sup> *felicitis recordacionis*)? ubi statuitur, quod "si quis cardinalem romane ecclesie hostiliter fuerit persecutus, si percusserit vel ceperit, aut si socius fuerit facientis, sit perpetuo infamis tamquam reus criminis lese maiestatis. Sit diffidatus, sit intestabilis; nec habebit in repetendo vel respondendo in iudicio liberam accionem". Et sic de multis condicionibus infundabilibus, que sunt magis horrende quam pena pro tradicionem Cristi psalmo Scarioth prophetata. Ubi certum videtur, cum apud deum non sit personarum accepcio, quod ista lex processit ex affectione proprietaria iniuriam propriam vindicandi; quod repugnat caritati, cum exemplatur ex commentis diaboli, cui proprium est nulli dimittere sed omnino niti iniuriam propriam vindicare.

The number and frequency of excommunications is a sufficient proof that they do not proceed from a right motive; they should not be disproportioned to the offence, as in a certain Decretal, which it is clear was dictated by a spirit of revenge.

- Item, de lege dei oportet quod equalis iniuria equaliter et maior iniuria amplius puniatur. Sed sepe contingit, quod peccatum in alium non cardinalem sit gravior; ergo, iustum foret quod pena inflictas sit gravior, cum cardinalis non in quantum talis sit Cristi domini nec in domino confirmatus, sed de possibili persequens Cristum et membra eius, manifestum est ex lege divini iudicii, quod licet in casu secundum istam penam triplicem et multo acucius persequi cardinalem. Qui igitur statuit penam huiusmodi blasfemie legem statuit contra deum. Item, maior pars istarum penarum sapit blasfemiam, nec subiacet episcopi potestati. Quomodo, queso, habet papa potestatem mandandi omnia bona talium confiscari, nisi fuerit monarcha imperans seculariter toti

Why should an offence be punished more severely, because it was against a Cardinal? Not necessarily belonging to Christ, not confirmed in grace, and perhaps a persecutor, he may himself merit the severest punishment. Whence has the Pope power to command such penalties?

5. non *pro modo* A. 6. ex-<sup>a</sup>i-nt̃ (*sic*) A. 8. ad — nisi *deest* C.  
10. quo B; *ib.* 6<sup>o</sup> B; *ib.* a<sup>o</sup> A. 11. cardinales A. 12. insecutus B.  
13. socius *deest* B; *ib.* condicionis AB. 15. r̃ndedo (*sic*) A. 16. ligam  
*pro* liberam B. 18. primo B. 20. p̃ceff<sup>it</sup> A. 22. exemplar excom-  
municantes A. 23. debet *pro* sed A; d3 (= debet) C. 27. igitur C;  
*ib.* insita A. 28. Cristus A. 31. licet *deest* A.



Again,  
disinheritance  
is unjust.  
No one should  
suffer but for  
his own sins.

mundo? et sic de ruina habitacionis talium et exclusione  
communicacionis politice cum republica. Quomodo in- Ezech.  
super inhabitabitur in herede, cum lex dei Ezech. ponit XVIII,  
in libertate arbitrii filiorum vel patrisare vel degenerare <sup>2</sup>  
et secundum hoc retribucionem recipere? et sic undique <sup>5</sup>  
de ignorancia condignitatis pene infligte; sic quod  
tollerabilius foret cardinalatum non esse quam tam  
spissim et tam perseveranter sub forma legis perpetue  
blasfemare.

Query:  
Whether all  
the prelates are  
heretics? Some  
heretics are  
only so-called,  
some are *real*,  
i. e. such as  
God knows to  
be so because  
they are in  
mortal sin.  
Who keeps  
God's law is a  
Catholic; who  
does not is a  
heretic.

<sup>2</sup> principaliter arguitur, quod omnes tales prelati <sup>10</sup> G.  
forent heretici et per consequens tam in accionibus suis  
quam passionibus forent reputandi tamquam | heretici <sup>42<sup>b</sup></sup>  
et tractandi: consequens inopinabile. Hic dicitur quod  
in finali iudicio multi cognoscentur heretici qui modo  
reputantur archicristiani. Ideo distinguitur communiter, <sup>15</sup>  
pocius pro modo loquendi quam pro veritate rei, quod  
dupliciter dicitur hereticus: scilicet *vere* et *nuncupative*.  
*Vere*, quem deus noscit prescitum ab ecclesia propter  
sua scelera; et solum talis est de facto hereticus. Sed  
*nuncupative* hereticus est quem iudices vel iniqui reputant <sup>20</sup>  
hereticum; et hoc est impertinens ad esse hereticum.  
Cristus enim fuit reputatus summe hereticus, quia blas-  
femus et propterea occidendus. Unde probabiliter creditur  
quod nostri prelati, sicut fuit in veteri testamento, dam-  
nant multos tamquam hereticos, et secundum divinum <sup>25</sup>  
iudicium est e contra. Et sic omnes prelati nostri presciti  
vel peccantes mortaliter sunt heretici; et sicut est in talibus  
iudicium erroneum, sic plurimum nocent ecclesie, quic-  
quid fecerint. Iudicium autem infallibile de hereticis atque  
catholicis est quod omnis qui servaverit legem Cristi <sup>30</sup>  
est catholicus, et solum talis. Et quicumque dissolverit  
legem Cristi est hereticus, et solum talis. Et in utroque  
sunt multi gradus et iudicium ecclesie variatum.

It is blasphemy  
to say that the  
Pope can decide  
who is a  
heretic.  
This is itself a  
heresy,  
implying  
impeccability  
on the part of  
the judge.

Sed inter omnes blasfemias istius materie, una de  
maximis est quod nemo creditur esse hereticus nisi <sup>35</sup>  
a papa vel iudice sibi subdeputato fuerit iudicatus  
pro tali; et tunc est hereticus eo ipso. Nam sic iusti-  
ficaretur iudicium sacerdotum condemnancium Cristum  
ad mortem, et nostri prelati extollerentur *super omne*  
*quod dicitur deus*, cum tantum variando a Cristi vita <sup>40</sup>

3. lex dei C; *ib.* Exeielis B. 8. et tam perseveranter *deest* A.  
13, 14. et — modo *deest* A. 16. pocius *deest* AC 18. prescitum *deest* AC.  
21. lege vel C. 27. peccatores A; piores C. 32. talis *deest* C.  
34. infra *pro* materie A. 36. obiectio *pro* subdeputato B; sub<sup>to</sup> f C.



forent impeccabiles, quod aures fidelium abhorrerent. Unde quam evidenter creditur quod prelati exorbitant a Cristi vestigiis, tam evidenter cognoscitur quod sunt heretici; et eo gravius, quo magis et constancius declinant. Et in ista sententia catholica debent omnes cristiani usque ad mortem stare concorditer. Oportet enim credere quod Cristus est caput universalis ecclesie, quem oportet omnem salvandum sequi in conversacione; et eo propius quo in ecclesia superius. Et iuxta hanc  
 10 fidem oporteret fideles disponere se ad martyrium  
 H. contra anticristum. Jam enim machinatum est per falsos fratres novum genus martyrii, quod quicunque fuerit impetitus super heretica pravitate debet sibi proponi a prelato vel iudice, et debet ille simpliciter concedere  
 15 vel negare; quo concesso, debet indilate exponi ad ignem sine responso ulteriori. Unde superadditur quod episcopi ipsi, propter hoc quod tolerant tales hereticos, sunt a suis episcopis deponendi.

Contra istam blasphemiam invehitur. *Primo*: sepe contingit quod tam prelati quam iudices errant in fide, iudicando de valde fideli sententia quod sit heretica; quo habito, si sic procederetur ad iudicium. iudicaretur temere contra fidem. Ergo iudicaretur taliter; sed consequens est blasphemum. Qui autem tenet quod non  
 25 contingit prelatos vel iudices errare in isto, blasfeme extollit eos supra Cristum. Nam qui non potest errare invidia vel ignorancia in tali iudicio non potest errare simpliciter.

Item, ista lex foret contra misericordiam, et per consequens contra omnipotenciam trinitatis, et per consequens foret plena blasfemia. Nam staret cum assumpto quod quidam foret inpotens ad concedendum vel negandum expresse sibi impositum. Staret eciam quod haberet a deo lumen intelligencie ad convincendum suos iudices  
 35 super stulto iudicio, sicut Daniel convicerat sacerdotes. Et staret tercio quod contritus de sua pertinacia fructuose doleat de commisso. Quod cum repugnaret divine clemencie ut adeo dampnetur, patet quam blasphemum foret falsum illud pro lege statuere. Nam illud non, sed

Christ alone is Head of the Church, and we should follow Him alone, and suffer martyrdom for this truth.

A new sort of martyrdom; the accused must answer yes or no, and if yes, be at once burnt as a heretic, and his bishop be deposed for tolerating him.

This is protested against, 1. because the judges are themselves apt to err out of hatred or ignorance.

Such proceedings, allowing of no explanation, no argument to convince the judges, no room for repentance, are cruel, contrary to Christ's and indeed to all law, unless it be Mahomet's.

1. abhorrent A. 2. quod C. 4. sic pro et B. 14. illud B.  
 16, 17. episcopi deest A. 17. quod postea suppl. C; ib. extulerant B.  
 18. episcopis in marg. A. 20. errent omnes MSS. 22. a iudice A.  
 23. igitur C. 24. blasphemum A; ib. Quod pro qui A. 27. vel negligencia sive ignorancia C. 31. plana B. 37. convinceret A; convicerat B.  
 36. ut pro et B; ib. primo pro tercio B. 39. scripture sive stature (sic) C.

lex contraria, ordinatur pro hereticis in lege domini. Unde nulla lex mundi, nisi forte fuerit lex machomete, condempnavit convictum, nisi premittat responsum. Nam in finali iudicio prescitus concedet irrevocabiler crimen suum.

5

As for the deposing of bishops, it is a plot laid by an apostate to get fat bishoprics for himself.

For a Friar who becomes a bishop is an apostate unless as zealous, as poor and as humble as before.

Item, quantum ad illud apostaticum, patet quod non subest ratio, nisi forte talis pseudo velit episcopatus pinguius symoniace spoliare, sicut episcopatum symoniace in curia perquisivit. Symoniace dico; quia non dubium, I. si propter fastum et lucrum statum expropriarium 10 pauperis fratris deseruit et non propter amorem salutis anime subditorum, tunc est manifestus hereticus. Quod convinci poterit, si diligentius post onus suscepti regiminis curat animas subditorum, et si servaverit paupertatem et penalitatem fratris solitam, cum maiori humilitate et ceteris virtutibus; cum tamen ista sint compossibilia episcopo; et propter perfeccionem dimitti non debeant, sed augeri.

A Friar, becoming a rich bishop can hardly fail to apostatize; he keeps the garb but neglects the mortifying practices of his Order.

Et forte coram deo et humano iudicio pauci vel nulli sunt fratres ad episcopatus pingues promoti, qui non 20 apostotant, quia in religione domini retrocedunt. Nam perfeccionem ordinis quam oportet se ipsos concedere, pretermittunt, cum tot animas et tam meritorie edificare poterint; sed ex antiqua yppocrisi patris sui servant accidencia sui habitus, ut colorem, quantitatem et figuram 25 extrinsecam, et dimittunt ritus penales absconditos, in quibus sua religio | servaretur; quia cultores et consecratores accidencium, tamquam *generacio adultera*, Luc. *signa querunt*. Sed, *ypocrita, eice primum trabem de* VI, 42 *oculo tuo, et tunc poteris festucam de oculo* 30 *episcopi confratris tui detrachere*. Si enim sub negligencia symoniaca sunt in tua diocesi mille heretici, qua fronte hortaris episcopum sub pena amissionis episcopii, quod in loco exempto condempnet tamquam hereticum in

Hypocrite, wouldst thou depose a brother bishop, when thousands of heretics are in thy own diocese?

3. condempnabit C. 7. volet C. 9. in contratta curta pro in curia B. 11. fratris deest AC. 12. tunc deest A. 13. onus deest B. 18. augi A. 25. sine habitu A. 27, 28. consecretores C. 31. deicere B.

12. Wyclif names nobody; but his contemporaries must have known pretty well whom he was describing: a rich bishop, author of the scheme he attacks, and formerly a Friar. In Ch. XIII, he says "*quidam frater Londoniis . . . asseruit publice hominem sine responso comburendum tanquam hereticum*." Though it is not usual to call a Bishop "friar", this may have been the same person. After *poterit* I should supply *quaerendo*.

materia quam blaterando nescis concipere? Certum quippe est, secundum legem talionis, quod tu es coronatus hereticus, nisi ostenderis personam quam sic cece accusas esse hereticam. Cece, dico tibi, quia nude ex revelacione mendaciorum quibus mendacia accumulasti. Et ista foret nimis ceca probacio ad convincendum hereticum, potissime quia persona illa accusata de heresi protestatur et erit parata continue revocare, si debeat. Et talis secundum legem Cristi non est hereticus.

He whom thou blindly accusest in a matter thou canst not understand, without proofs, (except lies), protestis, and will recant, if need be.

10 Sed vereor quod iste episcopus nescit corrigere in hac parte. Stat enim difficultas de quidditate sacramenti altaris; persona autem accusata dicit cum scriptura quod est panis secundum naturam et est corpus Cristi per miraculum. Pars autem adversa dicit quod est  
15 secundum naturam abieccius quam aliqua substantia, et miraculum non se extendit, ut faciat ipsum esse corpus Cristi; sed ut ipsum, privatum subiecto, sit  
K. signum corporis Cristi. In isto autem episcopus nescit hereticare aliquem, nisi forte heresi mendaci ficta maculet  
20 prius mundum. Sed *a periculo in falsis fratribus* libera

This is the point; the accused says that the Sacrament, by nature bread, is Christ's body by a miracle; his opponents give it the most abject nature, and deny that it is more than the sign of Christ's Body. Who is the heretic?

2 Cor. XI, 26 nos domine! Ipsum enim, ut recitat apostolus 2<sup>a</sup> Cor. 2. est ultimum; et, ut dicit Augustinus, est maximum. Si enim hereticus nititur subvertere legem Cristi, sine responso comburendo mendaciter accusatum de heresi,  
25 quis non timeret tale meridianum demonium? Sed spes est quod corruet cum attemptet sibi impossibile contra Cristum. Quis, rogo, episcopus non deponeretur, si permissio heretici in sua heresi diocesi sit causa sufficiens deponendi? Tunc enim deponendus foret episcopus ani-

Who but he who would burn the accused without allowing him to answer?

30 marum, Cristus, cum scienter permittit Iudam et istum refugam cum multis similibus. Sicut enim errat in scandalisando fratres de heresi, sic errat a lege Cristi in modo condemnandi hereticos; cum Cristus precipit in suo apostolo hereticum devitare, Thimot. 3<sup>o</sup>. Timendum est quod *de ore proprio* iudicabitur *servus nequam*, cum

Every bishop would have to be deposed for suffering heretics; Christ Himself suffered Judas and suffers this apostate too.

Luc.  
XIX, 22

4. esse *deest* B; *ib.* tibi *deest* C. 5. mendacium *pro* mendaciorum

omnes MSS. 12. aut *acca*<sup>2</sup> *accat*<sup>2</sup> A. 17. ut *deest* B. 19. *hrc pro*  
hereticare A. 30. istam B. 31. similibus *deest* C. 33. *ymmo pro*  
in modo A. 34. *titm* 3 C.

1. As is shown by the sequel, this refers to the Eucharistic controversy. Wyclif has fairly lost patience with his adversary; yet it must be confessed that his own system of philosophy is so subtle, and his view of the Eucharist, connected therewith, so difficult to understand, that 'nescis concipere' is hardly an insult.

lignorancia crassa et ceca desidia permittat culpabiliter multos hereticos in sua diocesi delitere, sicut faciunt illi qui foveant hereticos propter lucrum.

Heretical prelates ought to be severely punished by the people of Christ.

In the Old Law they were put to death; in the New, a miracle or the civil power should alone do that. Christ rebuked His disciples when they wished to bring down fire from heaven. The prelates in our time think otherwise.

Sed 3<sup>o</sup> arguitur principaliter per hoc quod heretici sunt severius castigandi. Si ergo predicti prelati supponi debent esse heretici, debent a populo castigari. Consequens foret nimis turbativum ecclesie. Hic dicitur quod illud consequens debet concedi et practicari. Pro quo notandum quod in lege veteri heretici debuerunt occidi, ut patet levitici 14. Et hinc sacerdotes et pharisei, imponentes Cristo blasphemiam, dixerunt Joh. 19. *Nos legem habemus et secundum legem debet mori*. Secundum legem novam non legi hereticum a cristiano iudicialiter occidendum, sed secundum dei miraculum (ut patet de Anania et Zaphira, Act. 5<sup>o</sup>). et secundum leges civiles. Cristus autem videtur docere luc. 9. quod tale iudicium ewangelicum ad mortem non debuit exerceri; sed, impressa misericordia et memoria finalis iudicii, talia debent servari usque ad finale regis Cristi iudicium, de quo Mat. 25<sup>o</sup>. Unde luce 9 legitur, quomodo *facies Jesu erat cum discipulis suis versus ierusalem* et samaritani propterea ipsos abiecerant. Iacobus autem et Johannes dixerunt, *Domine, vis, dicamus ut descendat ignis de celo et consumat eos, sicut Elias fecit? Et conversus increpavit eos, dicens: Nescitis, cuius spiritus estis; filius enim hominis non venit animas perdere sed salvare*. Satrape vero non per ignem de celo, sed per ignem scelestum sepe comburunt fideles, quia eis displicent arguendo. Ac si dicerent "oportet nos propter nostrum civile dominium legem Cristi differre et pena alia mixtim civili et mixtim prophetica vindicare; quia, cum sumus dii in terris, iudicamus istum prescitum eternis ignibus comburendum". Et sic anticristus extollitur super Cristum.

Matth. XXV, 31-46  
Luc. IX, 52-57

How heretics are to be dealt with; Scripture, in four places, says distinctly that they should be avoided.

Si autem queratur qua pena debet puniri hereticus, dicitur quod Cristus Mt. 18. prohibet comunicacionem cum illo, quando precipit quod *sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus*. Et idem docet ewangelista, Joh. mandans quod *nec ave ei dixeritis*; quia dicendo ei *ave* comunicat operibus eius ex consensu. Et 3<sup>o</sup> apostolus precipit Thymoteo *hereticum devitare*. Causam autem huius

Matth. XVIII, 17  
Joan. I, 10  
Tit. III, 10

1. permittit AC. 2. licere A; delirere C. 4. dicti BC. 5. pensai A. 6. quod deest C. 15. 5 deest B. 19. Cristi deest B. 21. helias C. 28. eis deest B; ib. ac<sup>o</sup> B. 29. diceret A. 30. desuper pro differre A. deferre C. 35. 14 A. 38, 39. communicabitur BC.

<sup>2</sup>Thess. <sup>III, 14</sup> pene convertit generaliter 2 Tess. 3<sup>o</sup>. *Si quis, inquit, non obedit verbo nostro per epistolam, hunc notate, et*  
<sup>4</sup>3<sup>b</sup> *non comisceamini | cum illo, ut confundatur.* Ista autem  
<sup>5</sup>lex de punitione heretici foret sufficiens, nisi subintro-  
 ductus fuerit legifer anticristus. Et si queritur quis erit  
 iudex exequens istam legem contra hereticos, dicitur  
 quod persona ecclesie secundum quodcumque membrum  
 ad hoc sufficiat. Exemplum autem secundum quod  
 iudicabitur, est scriptura quam omnes fideles debent  
<sup>10</sup>cognoscere.

Every member  
 of the Church  
 should be  
 judge, and the  
 standard to  
 judge by, Holy  
 Writ.

Sed dubitatur de gradu comunicacionis et modo  
 iudicandi hereticum. Videtur autem quod opera de-  
 clinancia a vita et mandatis Cristi sufficiunt ad illud  
 iudicium. Nam opera plus debent credi quam paliatum  
<sup>15</sup>eciam pape iudicium, quia illi non debet credi, nisi de  
 quanto fideliter vincitur ex opere et scriptura. Si  
 autem sit sententia que non scitur notorie ad scripturam  
 consequens vel repugnans iudici, debet de illa silentium  
 tamquam falsa. Illa autem que concernunt mores, ut  
<sup>20</sup>peccata publica, debent omnimode suspendi. In clerico  
 autem qui debet esse elemosinarius secularis brachii  
 obturari debet per negacionem temporalis suffragii. Cum  
 Joh. ewangelista dicat in eius secunda epistola. *Si quis*  
*venit ad vos et doctrinam Cristi non affert, nolite eum*  
<sup>25</sup>*recipere in domum nec ave ei dixeritis;* ubi patet quod  
 exigitur doctrina veritatis tam vita quam verbo. Et  
 excluditur ab apostatis domicilium et comunicacio ver-  
 balis; et multo magis supererrogacio elemosine preter  
 necessarie. Videtur enim quod necessitas vite penalis  
<sup>M. 30</sup>debet dari in ultima necessitate, quantumcunque inimicis  
 ecclesie, quia Roman. 12 dicitur: *Si esurierit inimicus*  
*tuus, ciba illum; si sitit, potum da illi.* Quod intelligitur  
 de necessitate ultima, modo dicto; quoad illam partem  
 ecclesie que ad hoc sufficit.

Deeds contrary  
 to the life of  
 Christ and his  
 law, ought to  
 suffice for a  
 sentence; and  
 if any were  
 neither in  
 agreement with  
 nor contrary to  
 that, the  
 faithful should  
 suspend their  
 judgment.

No indulgence  
 is to be shown  
 to public  
 sinners, and  
 the clergy, if  
 heretic, should  
 be denied  
 subsistence  
 beyond the  
 barest needs of  
 penitential life.

<sup>35</sup>Sed difficultas perplexa videtur, quomodo laici mini-  
 strare debent cardinalibus et aliis clericis notorie  
 degenerantibus a Cristo in decimis et aliis elemosinis  
 in principio limitatis. Et videtur quod contraveniens  
 excommunicatur, incarceratur et diffamatur tamquam  
<sup>40</sup>hereticus. Et confirmari potest modus agendi, ex hoc quod

A difficulty:  
 whether the  
 faithful may  
 pay tithes, etc.  
 to bad priests  
 and prelates, on  
 account of the  
 consequences  
 of refusal;

9. quem B. 11. de pro et B. 18. illo omnes MSS.; ib. similitudinem A.  
 19. hā B. 20. omnino B. 25. dom; dominum A. 29. nccit<sup>o</sup> (sic) C.  
 29, 30. Videtur — quantumcunque deest AB. 31, 32. inimicus tuus  
 deest B.



secular  
superiors exact  
their dues,  
whether their  
life is good or  
not.  
Negatived; by  
doing so, they  
would incur  
excommuni-  
cation, and the  
cardinals, &c.  
have no civil  
dues to exact.

potentatus seculi exigit a suo subiecto servicium debitum, quantumcunque irregulariter vixerit, cum inferioris non interest de vita superioris discutere. Hic dicitur quod debent stare regule ewangelii in clericis modo dicto. Et quantum ad excommunicacionem debet populus et specia- 5 liter superiores constanter resistere, scientes quod propter huiusmodi desidiam incurrerent excommunicacionem a domino; et ista est una de maximis ruinis religionis quam per anticristum diabolus introduxit, ut sepe dictum est in materia de excommunicacione cecante populum. 10 Et quantum ad argumentum factum per locum *a simili*, patet, quod est *simialis* argucia, nisi doceatur quod cardinales et alii clerici super elimosinis secularium et bonis pauperum civiliter dominantur. Aliter enim omnem legem cassaret exaccio. Lex enim iniqua non est lex. 15 Conceditur tamen quod tirranni, exigendo redditus a subditis, peccant mortaliter, sicut faciunt quidquid aliud faciendo. Ideo nimis foret diabolicum quod clerus extorqueret sacrilege spolia a subditis per hunc locum *a simili*. Vulgus enim debet pati iniuriam a seculari potente, 20 et ab hypocrita elemosinas suas subtrahere.

Alms should  
not become the  
spoils of the  
greedy; and if  
a secular lord  
permits this,  
he weakens his  
own power, for  
the apostates  
no longer  
consider these  
as alms, but as  
a right, and set  
themselves  
above him;  
temporalities  
are called  
spiritual goods,  
that he may  
fear to take  
them back.

While abbots  
are multiplied,  
Christ our  
abbot's life is  
less esteemed;

Quod sic talis elemosina pervertitur in rapinam, ve seculari domino qui ex desidiam tam permittit invalescere istam rabiem anticristi! Ex hoc enim inperficet suam regaliā sive dominium, cum principalis sua servitus 25 deo sit potenter regere subditos secundum legem Cristi contra refugam. Ipse enim vendicat dominantes, abiecto titulo elemosine, tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus super omnes seculares dominos presidere. Et sic, sicut conquirendo de alio brachio temporalia, baptisat 30 ea spiritualia, ut eorum detencio plus a secularibus timeatur; sic cum eis sophisticat in sacramento eucaristie et qualicunque ministerio sacerdotis.

Causa autem, quare religio ista dissolvitur, quia multiplicatis abbatibus ad vitam et legem ablati Cristi 35 minus attenditur. Et cum iuxta conclusionem Augustini certissimam (in *de vera religione*, ubi narrat de passionibus quas Cristus exemplo nostri pertulit; notat enim quod

1. fbo A; subdito B; sibiecto C. 4. stare regle A. 5. excommuni-  
cacione C. 8. nimis pro ruinis C. 12. symcalis C. 14. enim  
secundum omnem C. 23. tm = tantum C. 25. reglam C. 26. pa-  
tenter B.



nullum peccatum committi potest, nisi dum appetuntur  
 ea que ipse contempsit, aut fugiuntur ea que ipse  
 sustinuit); ista igitur fides de vita Cristi et eius imita-  
 cione in moribus indubie per anticristum est extincta.  
 5 Cristus enim docuit suos mundum relinquere; et ideo  
 tam vita quam verbo possessionem terrenorum deseruit.  
 Anticristus autem econtra trahit ad infima, cum con-  
 nectit se cum illis, tam mente quam corpore. Intricat  
 autem se cum laicis, sic quod necessitati sunt per clerum  
 10 tam exemplo operis quam egencia corporalis sustenta-  
 tionis, nimis attendere ad terrena. Sic quod, ubi clerus  
 Cristi multipliciter traxit homines ad ascensum, clerus  
 anticristi traxit multiplicius ad descensum.

sin consists in  
 acting against  
 His example,  
 but Antichrist  
 reverses that  
 example in  
 every way.

2. ea *deest* AC. 7, 8. convertit B. 9. ad *pro* per B. 10. car-  
 nalis A. 13. ad descensum *do pekla in marg.* C.

## CAPITULUM SEXTUM.

The Bishop's  
yoke is the  
third torment  
of the Church:  
they have  
enlarged on the  
name of the  
priesthood, but  
narrowed its  
spirit. Affection  
for temporal  
things augments  
our esteem for  
them, and  
conversely: a  
wrong  
appreciation of  
these is at the  
root of all  
impiety.

The clergy,  
chiefly the  
Bishops, their  
leaders, require  
to be kept in  
the right way  
by the temporal  
lords resuming  
their  
endowments,

| Tercius tortor est iugum episcoporum, qui omnes, 44<sup>a</sup>  
sive vocentur patriarche, sive metropolitani, sive archi-  
episcopi, sive episcopi, querunt sua, et per consequens  
temporalia, non eterna. Omnes enim illi, dilatati in nomine, 5  
fuerunt per Christum astricti unitati simplici nomine  
sacerdotis, sive presbyteri; sic quod nomen quoad mun-  
dum dispergitur, sed affeccio instar inferni coarctatur.  
Necesse quidem est ut illud in quo fides et affeccio pro-  
prietarii spiritus preponderanter infigitur, in reputatione 10  
tanti nominis dilatatur. Ideo necesse est ut fides et affec-  
cio curtata et astricta circa temporalia propinqua sensui,  
magnificet illa in reputatione et affeccione; quia natu-  
raliter virtus agit forcius in obiectum, cui applicatur  
distinccius. Quo contra, colligata mente, fide et spe cum 15  
celestibus et eternis remotis a sensibus, necesse est ut  
vere magnificet et preponderet illa cum suis circum-  
stanciis, cum in tali obiecto vero naturaliter delectatur.  
Et hoc ratio quare Augustinus in *de vera religione*  
determinat quod tota irreligiositas vianis infigitur super 20  
fantasia falaci et falsa ymaginatione temporalium, celesti-  
bus condicionis opposite pretermisiss.

Cum autem episcopi debent ducere coream huius  
religionis ecclesie, patet quam necessarium est ipsos, con-  
temptis temporalibus, celestibus aspirare. Unde domini 25  
temporales tenentur errorem suum corrigere in dotando  
clerum in temporalibus et prius episcopos. Pro cuius  
supposito declarando, supponitur quod clerus ex secu-

1. Cap<sup>m</sup> 6<sup>m</sup> in black ink A; 6 red ink C. 2. Tortor tercius red ink in marg. C. 5. dilati C. 6. unico A. 8. curtatur A. 11. animi BC. 12. curlatur A. 21. figura pro falsa A. 22. condicione A; ib. apposite A. 24. necessarii A; est deest A. 25. conspirare B. 27. primo BC. 28. suppono C.

ritate affluentie temporalium turgescit superbia, torpescit accidia, et omnino nimis respicit temporalia cupiditate earum percussus, et sic ad spiritualiter lucrificandum sibi ac populo exemplando vitam Christi propterea retardatus.

which burden them in the discharge of their functions.

5 Istud est per se notum fidelibus, licet blasfemi dicant Christum melius egisse affluendo temporali dominio et preficiendo suos apostolos in gloriosissimo dominio quoad mundum. Sed solum infideles discipuli anticristi solemnisant istam sententiam.

This evident truth could be disputed only by an infidel.

B. 10 Supposito igitur hoc fundamento fidei, et supposita veritate facti, scilicet quod post Christi ascensionem clerici ex ceca pietate dominorum secularium sunt dotati; patet 3<sup>o</sup> quod domini temporales debent errorem istum satisfaciendo corrigere, cum ad delecionem peccati requiritur peccatorum satisfaccio. Persone igitur brachii  
15 secularis, a qua ablatum est iniuste, civile dominium debet restitui. Licet enim possibile sit omnem hominem meritorie renunciare civili dominio, tamen iniustum est omnino onerare clerum ipso, cum sit contra mandatum  
20 domini. Multa enim possunt licite pretermitti, quibus positis, oportet ipsa personis capacibus limitari; ut non uxorari est licitum, et tamen, supposito matrimonio seculari, illicitum est clericum abuti uxore; et multo magis seculari dominio, licet possessor hoc fatue concedat. Titulo tamen temporalis elemosine licet communi-  
25 care clerico indigenti.

Admitting this, and that the clergy did wrong in accepting temporalities, they must be compelled to restitution.

Nec obest, sed consonat caritatis regulis invite auferre iniuste possessa a clericis, licet furiose reclamantibus et excommunicantibus; quia talis exheredacio secularium  
30 est mala, ut docet Augustinus 179, in fine; et 23 9. 4 ca<sup>o</sup>.

This is not unjust, being for the good of their souls, as Augustine testifies.

*Nimium.* Ex testimonio Augustini docetur practica. Si, inquam, inimicum suum quisquam periculosis febribus freneticum factum currere videret in preceps, non tunc  
pocius malum pro malo redderet, si sic eum ire permitteret, quam si corrigendum curandumque ligaret? et  
35 tamen tunc ei molestissimus et adversissimus videretur, quando ei utilissimus et misericordissimus extitisset;

It is charity to restrain an enemy if sick and delirious, in spite of protestations; if he recovers, he will be grateful, and it is a duty in any case.

2. omnes A; omnino et C. 3. ad *deest* A. 4. hac pp<sup>o</sup> C; *ib.* exemplandum C. 6. melius *deest* C; *ib.* afficiendo B. 11. sancti spiritus *pro* facti scilicet AB. 14. deleccionem A. 15. peccatorem satisfacere AC; *ib.* autem *pro* igitur A. 17. impossibile A. 21. capaci<sup>8</sup> A; capitibus B. 30. X<sup>ti</sup> sic, 9 fi. B; 179 *deest* B; *ib.* 24 B. 31. Nota in *marg.* A; *ib.* Augustini *deest* B. 36. cum *omnes* MSS; *ib.* molestius B. 37. quando — extitisset *deest* B.

sed plane, salute reparata, tanto uberius ei gracias ageret quam minus ei pepercisce sensisset. Atque quia quibusdam ista non prosunt, numquid ideo negligenda medicina, quia non multorum est sanabilis pestilencia? Ideo, non omnis qui parcit amicus est, nec omnis qui vulnerat 5 inimicus. *Meliora enim sunt vulnere amici, quam oscula inimici.* Melius quidem est cum severitate diligere quam cum lenitate decipere. Utilius enim esurienti panis tollitur, si de cibo securus iusticiam negligat, quam esuriente panis frangitur, ut iniusticie seductus adquiescat. Putas 10 neminem debere cogi ad iusticiam, cum legas patrem familias dixisse servis: *Quoscunque inveneritis cogite intrare?* Prov. XXVII, 5  
Luc. XIV, 23

The present scandal of endowments is maintained only by fallacies, either assuming that it was the intention of the founders that things should be as they are, or that the fact of the gift disinterests the heirs.

Ex istis cum facto patet quam spissim lex Cristi et C. sic Cristus spernitur, et Anticristi tradicio exaltatur. Sed 15 psal. 20. scribitur: *Disrumpamus vincula eorum* Ad Ps. II, 3 tantum enim diabolus seduxit Cristi ecclesiam quod fideles timent sibi exequi legem Cristi propter fallacias anticristi: fallacias, dico, quia impossibile est arguere quod clero Cristi dominacio civilis sit debita, quin 20 argumentum deficiat in materia vel in forma; quia nunc falsum assumitur, quod mundi principes ordinarunt clerum Cristi taliter dominari, et nunc ex ordinatione elemosine perpetue informaliter concluditur quod licet clericis secularissime consumere elemosinas eis datas. 25 Primum quidem est falsum, cum mundi principes non ordinarunt, sed perturbarunt; non concesserunt 44<sup>b</sup> sed presumpserunt contra legem dei hec fieri; et ex titulo elemosine (quam oportet intelligi) manifeste infertur cum veris, quod seculares domini impedire 30 debent ne discoli suis elemosinis taliter abutantur. Licet autem eis de suis elemosinis iustificandis intrromittere, quia aliter non remanerent elemosine. Sed ad elacionem persone, que foret spiritualior et magis extranea, habent interesse, ut patet ex lege papali et facto; ergo multo 35 magis ad faciendum propriam elemosinam conformiter legi dei. Non enim est anticristus cum lege sua excelencior Jesu Cristo, sed cum ipse voluit bona secularium remanere sibi elemosinas in libera potestate eorum, eciam ad subtrahendum, ut innuitur Math. 21, manifestum 40

Which last is evidently false, since they appoint to benefices; and, if interested on one point, they are so on all.

1. ulterius A. 4. non nullorum AC. 8. nempe pro enim C.  
12. cogitare B. 16. et proiciamus etc. C. 20. quare C. 21. in  
before forma deest BC. 24. informat C. 30. ve's A; vis B. 33. elec-  
cionem BC. 31. pape pro persone C. 39. libertate A.

est quod anticristus non tolleret a secularibus illam carnalis elemosine libertatem.

Nec dubium quin sancte mulieres et viri, de quorum elemosinis sustentabatur Jesus Christus carnaliter, magis  
 5 exhinc meruerant quam si per impossibile Christum ac suos apostolos cum eorum seculari dominio occupassent: sic, inquam, dantes clero usum temporalium, deo dante dominium ewangelicum, ac exonerantes eos de imperfectione terreni domini secundum legem Cristi, bene-  
 10 faciunt elemosinando clerum de sorte domini. Quod si iniuriuntur illis, onerando eos dominio temporalium, subvertendo blasfeme legem dei, non dubium quin, ex iniuria facta deo et toti ecclesie, necesse est ut clerus sic dampnificatus retribuat secularibus sic dampnifi-  
 15 cantibus malicie recompensam. Invincibilis quidem lex dei exigit quod irrationabiliter offendens in alium virtute divina ex eo dampnificabitur porporcionaliter ut nocuit suo leso. Deus enim est in qualibet creatura, retribuens cuilibet quod est iustum.

D. 20 Unde hec est ratio quare *Jordanis conversus est*  
 Ps. *retrosum*, cum episcopi, qui solebant chatechizare et  
 CXIII, benedicere subiectos, iam infideliter subvertuntur ad  
 3 seculum et voce ac opere maledicunt; qui olim solebant obsecrare iam execrant, et qui olim solebant  
 25 gignere filios dei per ewangelium iam parturiunt filios diaboli per dogma contrarium. Ideo necesse est anticristum turbare populum. Ista, inquam, infidelitas, licet fides sibi contraria remaneat ceteris incognita, est causa totius perturbacionis in seculo. Et, quomodo-  
 30 cunque tortores isti sophisticent, dampnificatur populus insensibiliter in spiritualibus, et sensibiliter in temporalibus inequaliter distributis. Necesse quidem est ut episcopis occupantibus bona temporalia, que deus dat toti ecclesie in mensura, residuum ecclesie angariaretur  
 35 penuria. Nec cessabit diabolus ad hoc inconueniens, sed faciet quod tumultuabitur plebs contra nobiles, iuvenes contra senes, et breuiter unusquisque contra reliquum, cum duces sint contrarii deo, toti ecclesie ac eciam sibi ipsis. Et sic, nisi deus in brachio seculari adiuuerit,  
 40 sequetur dissipacio populi cristiani, quod demon prin-

The holy women who supplied Christ with alms did better than if they had given Him their property; so do all who act likewise.

But the harm done to the clergy by such endowments is amply punished by the harm done to those who made them, according to God's unchangeable law.

This is why we now see bishops giving curses for blessings, and begetting sons of the devil.

This is also the reason of the present troubles.

Worldly possessions are limited; if the clergy have too much, the other classes have too little,

and the devil will therefore cause a general revolt, everybody against everybody; and without God's help, all will be destroyed.

5. mēorat = memorant A. 20. Hic nota red ink in marg. A;  
 ib. quare deest A; ib. Yordanis C. 21. cathesifare C. 31. in — sensi-  
 biliter deest A. 33. bona deest C; ib. temporaliter A.

cialiter intendit. Ideo claret ex fide quodulare brachium, cum accusatur a deo in isto crimine, debet sub pena dampnationis, corrigendo errata, satisfacere.

The objections against this doctrine spring from false piety, wishing to honour religion; but Christ on earth rejected all such honour.

Nec decipiat ceca pietas qua diabolus suggerit quod ista mundana gloria Cristo tribuitur; quia, quando *5 cum hominibus conversatus est*, talem gloriam in se et suis discipulis non expecit, sed aufugit. Non enim potuit armoniam proporcionis mundanorum dissolvere, quam trinitas posuit in sua domo quoad distribucionem temporalium remanere; sed ita moderate vixit de ele- *10* mosinis secularium, quod conversacio sua, lex sua et educacio suorum discipulorum debuit esse cunctis fidelibus, et specialiter clericis, de sorte sua speculum et exemplum. Ideo dico cum apostolo seculari brachio corporis Cristi, illud Eph. 5. *Nemo vos seducat inanibus verbis*. Multi- *15* plicati sunt autem quidam fratres discipuli anticristi qui palliant sumptuosas basilicas ac alta edificia atque splendencia, tam in fratribus quam monachis; palliant eorum larga et lauta cibaria. Et primum, per locum *a maiori*, cum Salomon construxit templum, ac alia *20* edificia cum suis apparatibus sumptuosis. Ergo, inquit, per locum *a maiori* in lege maioris gracie, dum ecclesia est propinquior glorie beatitudinis, maiori gloria debet splendescere. Sed isti *insensati gallathe* volunt monstruose onerare Cristi ecclesiam cum cerimonia legis antique, dimissis Cristi consiliis; et sic, tamquam alter Sergius, seductor Machometi, volunt eligere carni placencia de lege utraque et displicencia transaltare. Sed infidelis, sic *duplex animo* secundum interiorem hominem cecatus, *inconstans est in omnibus viis suis*. Ignorat enim in- *Jac. 1, 8* fidelitate cecatus vim totam arguendi per locum *a maiori*; cum sequitur per locum *a maiori*, ut Cristus docuit, quod dimissa ista solempnitate sensibili, pascente | ad *45<sup>a</sup>* famem sensus extrinseci, intendat fidelis secundum interiorem hominem ornari et pasci virtutibus; cum con- *35* stat ex fide quod quelibet virtus moralis sit infinitum melior quam omnes divicie vel omnia inanimati corporis ornamenta. Ideo, cum via virtutum sit ad regnum pro-

Baruch. III, 38

Some Friars, disciples of Antichrist, excuse these things; their splendid churches, because Solomon built the Temple, and the new law giving greater grace, its churches should be more splendid;

but these foolish Galatians forget that the argument *a maiori* should rather make us follow Christ's example of contempt for external things.

E. Gal. III, 1

4. suggerit *deest* A. 5. tota ista C. 16. autem *deest* C. 24. insensato C. 31. a maiori per locum A. 34. saniam A; *ib.* extrinsecos omnes MSS. 37. in anima A. 38. regimen B.

27. Sergius and Mahomet are often alluded to in Wyclif's writings. See *De Apostasia*, p. 67, l. 23.



pinquior, ac vita expropriaria cum exclusione artificiorum sit innocencie statui similior, nec non et Cristus dei virtus sit in vita, verbo et opere huiusmodi sensui inclinacior: abiciamus ritus carnales legis veteris, et induamur virtutes illis operibus solemnibus factas.

Et ista est responsio Jeronimi, ut patet 12 cf. 2<sup>a</sup> cap. *Gloria episcopali*, ad istam arguciam anticristi. Oportet enim iuxta istam stulticiam onerare episcopos nostros cum 66 reginis et 100 concubinis et adolescentularum innumerabili comitiva: et sic blasfeme stultificare sapienciam incarnatam. Teneamus igitur fidem, et non scandalisemus nostros prelatos ex hoc quod non secuntur in isto ritus culpabiles Salomonis.

Quantum ad secundum, patet quod est *excusacio* anticristi in peccatis; non enim fit aliquid tam male ab aliquo homine quin cedat ad commodum, quia, ad rom. 8 dicit Cristus in suo apostolo, *Timentibus deum omnia cooperantur in bonum*. Ideo, si licet monachis habere tam ampla fercula, quia tot bona contingit ex illis fieri, nichil omnino foret illicitum, cum occasione cuiuscunque peccati luciferi eveniunt ecclesie maiora bona quam talis corporalis elemosina, si contingat. Oportet igitur attendere ad modum facti, ad auctorisationem domini, et ad occasionem mali datam, quod inde evenit; et tunc invenietur quod excessus modi a gula exigitur, auctorisacio facti a spiritu gule conficitur. Et fructus proveniens est pauperum spoliacio, fundatorum quoad elemosinas suas fraudacio, vescencium ingurgitacio et residuum furancium multiformis dissipacio. Et certum est quod talia cum ruptura religionis sunt fructus peccati.

F. Unde tales excusatores excedunt Scarioth in peccato. De ipso enim legitur, Mt. 14. quomodo Scarioth et alii indignabantur Magdalene, frementes in ipsam propter hoc quod effudit super Cristum moriturum in proximo *alabastrum unguenti nardi spicati preciosi*; poterat, inquit,

So let us lay the old Law aside, as St. Jerome says.

The argument if urged, would give each bishop a number of wives and concubines.

Those who excuse the sumptuous fare of the monks because they do good, should remember that this would excuse any excess just as well. Good has accompanied even the sin of Lucifer. All this is mere gluttony.

And it results in spoliation, fraud, greediness, and robbery.

Men who excuse such things are worse than Scarioth, indignant against Magdalen: they do not

1, 2. artificum omnes MSS. 5. corporalibus A; *ib.* solemnitatibus B; corporalibus solemnibus C. 9. centum pro 66 B; *ib.* concubinarum B;

*ib.* et de A. 10. coitua = coitiva A. 12. sequi C. 15. ad pro aliquid A. 16. homine deest C. 18. 90pan<sup>2</sup> C. 20. accione A. 24. ad deest C. 27. est deest C. 30 cum deest B. 33. magnitudine A.

6. Decr. Grat. 2<sup>a</sup> Pars, C<sup>a</sup> XII, qu. 2, c. 71. 14. The excuse itself is not given, but it must have been similar to that of a French monk who, rebuked for his high living, answered: *Je soutiens le religieux pour soutenir la religion*.

even think how  
many could be  
fed for the cost  
of one such  
feast.

*unguentum istud remundari plus quam trecentis denariis et dari pauperibus.* Isti autem non indignabantur pro quanto excessus sui cibarii superfluius posset vendi et dari pauperibus cibus grossior, utilius et levius preparatus. Sed querentes ex cibo superfluo mundanam gloriam post voluptuosam nauseam, non tam expresse paliant pro egenis; utrique tamen in isto conveniunt quod preciosum oleum caritatis, quod prope mortem debet effundi super caput ecclesie (hoc est sacerdotes) subtrahitur, et refrigerescente caritate multorum in os et carnes melancolicas commutatur.

They cry out:  
Heresy! when  
that poverty, to  
which they  
pretend  
themselves, is  
pointed out as  
a duty to the  
clergy; they  
say that the  
same man can  
be a member  
of Christ and  
of the devil;  
and thus, Christ  
being his  
members,  
Christ is the  
devil.

Et pseudofratres apostatantes cum Scarioth palliant partem anticristi, precipue ut hic: dicunt heresim fidelibus qui dicunt totum clerum debere vivere expropriarie sicut Cristus instituit, et ut fratres fingunt quod in hoc clericos possessionatos exsuperant, et tamen ex duplicitate vulpina dicunt quod quicumque predia cleri abstulerit, maledicatur eo facto. Illic autem sic miscent membra Cristi et principis huius mundi, quod dicunt eandem personam simul et semel esse membrum Cristi atque diaboli, ut secundum hanc duplicem sortem posset participare duplici participio horum patrum. Apostolus autem abhorret quod quis fiat *membrum Cristi et meretricis*, et multo magis Cristi et diaboli. *Que rogo communicacio Cristi ad Belial*, ut participet sic in membris, ut desponsent eandem feminam, et ut Cristus sit ipsemet diabolus? Cristus enim est quodammodo quodlibet membrum suum, et sic de diabolo et membris eius, ut patet de Scarioth: et sic infertur quod Cristus sit ipse diabolus. Sed quid magis abhorreret pietas cristiana?

2 Cor.  
VI, 15

It is impossible  
for a  
'foreknown' to  
be a member  
of Christ, or  
for an elect  
not to be so:  
though the one  
may be now in  
a state of grace,  
and the other  
in mortal sin.

Et quantum ad argucias quibus cece concluditur ista vesania, patet fidelibus quomodo impossibile est de membro diaboli fieri membrum Cristi, sicut non potest de predestinato prescitus fieri, nec econtra; sed licet predestinatus non potest esse prescitus et econtra, sicut prescitus potest esse in gracia secundum presentem

6. palliant C. 10. multos AC. 19. h<sup>o</sup>di = huiusmodi A. 21. et C.  
21, 22. participare C. 23. abhorruit B. 25. convencio A. 29. suis C.  
34. sed pro sicut A. 36. non deest omnes MSS. 36, 37. et — esse  
deest A.

28. *Quodlibet membrum suum.* Figuratively, but really on account of that very figure, according to Wyclif's doctrine of the reality of Universals.

iusticiam, et stat predestinatum esse in mortale secundum presentem iusticiam, impossibile est tamen primum talem esse membrum Cristi, sicut impossibile est secundum talem esse membrum diaboli, quia impossibile  
 5 est primum talem mereri merito finalis perseverancie; sicut impossibile est secundum talem peccare peccato

G. finalis impenitencie. Tales igitur ignari apostate infrigidant caritatem corporis Cristi secundum propheciam  
 Matth. XXIV, suam Matth. 24: *Refrigescet caritas multorum*. Testatur

12 enim naturalis experientia, quod positis duobus vasis  
 45<sup>b</sup> in aura | gelida, uno pleno aqua frigida et alio pleno aqua quantumcunque calida, illa aqua cicius congelatur. Cuius causa est, quia exalaciones gelide intrant spissim per poros fumositatum evaporantium, et spissim con-  
 15 gelant ad intra: quod deest aque que non sic bulitur. Sic mistice prescitus religiosus vane ardet caritate ad

tempus in populo, sed cupiditate temporalium gelidorum per yppocrisim facit conceptus et affectus gelidos subintrare in populo: et ita cicius caritas talis populi

20 congelatur, quam amor populi pure gentilis quem deus preservat pure lumine naturali. Et ista videtur sententia Cristi, Matth. 13. ubi ait: *Cum immundus spiritus exierit ab homine etc.* Sicut, inquam, sacerdotes, scribe et pharisei erant tempore viacionis Cristi pessimi, sic  
 25 videtur hodie quod generacio cleri, sparsa terrenis affectibus, expirata puritate religionis Cristi, sit pessima simpliciter; quia septem apostaticis simulacionibus dant introitum anticristo, qui sic congelat et immobilizat multum populum; quod in eis gravatur affectus ut non  
 30 currat sermo dei in eis et distillent opera caritatis.

Matth. XII, 43  
 Ps. CXXXII, 1  
 35 *Sicut unguentum in capite, quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron*. Aaron, inquam, figurat summum episcopum, qui supra mensuram habet unguentum gracie

These apostates resemble water that having been hot, freezes more quickly than cold water, the cold entering through its dilated pores; so they, having been fervent for a time, make the charity of the people to freeze.

They are like him into whom seven devils entered for once cast out; or like the priests in the time of Christ.

God grant that the whole people, saved from these bad influences, be united in charity, which like the ointment on Aaron's head, descends from Christ to the

3. ecclesie Cristi C. 5. est deest A. 7. ignari deest A. 8. per pro secundum B. 12. quatul3 C. 15. bullitur (sic) C. 16. arderet C. 22. parabat A; perambulabat struck out B; parabolat pro ait C. 27. septemplexiter apostatis dant simulacionibus B; septem apostasiis dant simulatoribus C. 29. in deest A; ib. affectio BC. 30. c<sup>r</sup>at (= currat) A; curat A; ib. et distillent in eis B. 31. populus deest AC. 32. elacionibus B. 33. illud C. 34. etc. pro et — unum A. 35. Nota in marg. A; ib. barba B; beati pro barbam A.

clergy, thence  
to the nobility,  
and thence to  
the common  
people.

And as for  
those who  
hinder this  
union, let them  
be stoned  
without the  
camp, i. e. lose  
their temporal  
possessions.  
If the spiritual  
salt lose its  
taste, form and  
preserving  
power, it should  
be cast out, as  
the blasphemer  
of old.

These excuses  
being worthless,  
men should not  
allow a friar to  
tempt them to  
give him aid,  
when the friar  
is more able to  
do the like for  
them.

et caritatis; *De cuius plenitudine nos omnes accepimus*,  
ut dicitur Joh. 1<sup>o</sup>. Ab isto, inquam, capite huius abbatis Jo. I, 16  
descendit gracia in clerum Cristi, ut apostolos et eorum  
discipulos, cum sit barba Aaron superior. Et iterum  
descendit hoc oleum ad barbam inferiorem, quia ad 5  
dominos seculares. Sed 3<sup>o</sup> descendit ad 3<sup>am</sup> partem  
ecclesie, scilicet populares, eciam ad abiectissimum  
genus vulgarium, cum subditur, quod *descendit in oram*  
*vestimenti eius*. Isti autem qui debent esse de barba  
superiori, impediunt predictum oleum distillare, dum 10  
propter longitudinem pilorum, inpedientes cibacionem  
ecclesie, depauperando calorem interioris hominis, non  
sufficiunt dissolvere oleum congelatum. Ideo non restat H.  
nisi educere blasphemum extra castra et omnino facere  
ut ippocrita lapidetur a toto populo; non materiali 15  
lapide, sed sententia verbi dei et subtraccione bonorum  
fortune, in quibus tantum blasfemiat; quia, iuxta Cristi  
testimonium Mt. 5. *Si sal evanuerit, ad nichilum valet* Matth.  
*ultra, nisi ut mittatur foras et conculcetur ab hominibus.* V, 13  
Sal indubie debent esse apostoli et cuncti presbiteri, 20  
quia calorem caritatis conceptum pro tempore sue  
spiritualis generacionis debent constanter in forma  
primeva servare, ut lapides virtutem; eciam cibos anime  
condiendi superflua ac putrida prescindendi, et per  
consequens vermes et impressiones extraneas excludendi. 25  
Quod si dissoluti fuerint a forma lapidis et virtute sic  
condiendi et aruerint, quid valent nisi ut obiective  
paciantur tamquam blasfemi, quos populus lapidat extra  
castra?

Et nota quoscunque huius secte; et vel ignorant 30  
(cecati a deo eorum) in cuius nomine blasfemant, vel  
stulte blaterant ad sui dispendium. Si enim excusacio  
fratrum in casu isto sit invalida, manifeste sequitur  
quod nulli cristiani debent opitulari fratribus ad con-  
struendum talia edificia vel ducendum talem vitam tam 35  
difformem a Cristo. Sic quod quilibet temptatus a  
fratre ad perpetrandum hoc facinus, potest pertinenter  
dicere temptatori illud Math. 16., ubi scriptum est de Math.  
Cristo: *vade post me sathana; non sapis ea que dei sunt.* XVI, 13  
Est enim talis apostata plus Cristo adversarius in vita 40

3-5. gracia — hoc oleum *deest* A. 6. duos C. 8. horam B.  
18. nichil C. 22. generacionis spiritualis C. 26. lapides AC. 27. et  
*struck out* B; *ib.* aruerunt C; *ib.* valet A; *ib.* abiective A. 31. interioris  
*pro* in cuius B. 32. blactrant A; blaterant C. 33. valida A.  
35. beneficia B. 40. adversans BC; *ib.* in vita *in marg.* A.

et legibus, quam tunc ex pietate ceca fuerat Petrus. Sunt etiam, sicut omnes peccatores, contrarii sibi ipsis; quia extorquent ippocrite temporalia a secularibus, de ipsis edoctis quod consonancius foret fratres retribuere  
 5 eis temporalia, quam e contra. Ipsi enim plus egent in seculo, quam fratres in clauastro. Fratres debent amplius habundare caritate; et undequaque est consonancius quod fratres egeant et quod in secularibus quorum officium est circa hec bona fortune in ipsis ex-  
 10 uberent. Ideo contra caritatem foret perfeccionem fratrum extinguere et se ipsos de sibi debito spoliare.

Si vero ultima necessitas simuletur, erit duplex remedium. Primo, vendendo bona residencia que ad hoc, secundum Ambrosium, ut recitatur 12 q. 2<sup>a</sup> ca<sup>o</sup> *Aurum*  
 15 *habet ecclesia*, remanent in thesauro. Secundum remedium est quod dissolvatur et subtilietur religio expropriaria; et sic vivant de laboricio, instar apostoli vel aliunde, ut persone ordinis nostri; tunc enim perficerentur, ut  
 I. patet ex dictis; et forent minus onerosi ecclesie. Unde  
 20 videntur peccare graviter qui foveant eos in discolia huiusmodi et retardant ab ordine quem Christus instituit et profectu ecclesie; sic quod improvida distribucio bonorum fortune ex ceco titulo elemosine facit nimis magnam perturbacionem ecclesie: ut patet tam in  
 25 possessionatis quam in mendicantibus. Ideo ista materia debet laciis explanari. |

46<sup>a</sup> Sed inventa est quedam ars nova diaboli quod, displicente tractatu cuiuscunque materie fidei, et deficientibus argumentis, procuretur excommunicacio ferenda  
 30 in omnes illam materiam pertractantes. Et ut factum sit coloracius, adducuntur 6 vel 7<sup>tem</sup> veritatis emuli in conclavi, et ipsi hereticant veritatem que eis displicet; et in testimonium sigilla sua aponunt: ut VII doctores dicuntur Oxonie non introisse *pretorium ut non contaminarentur, sed ut dampnarent corpus Christi non esse substantialiter in sacramento paschali*. Unde certum est quod corpus Christi accidentaliter est in illo,

If they should feign to be in absolute want, their goods should be sold, as they belong to the treasure of the Church; and, the Orders being abolished, they should be made to work.

Some, when they have no arguments against a doctrine, proceed to condemn it, like the 7 doctors at Oxford, who have denied that Christ is substantially in the Sacrament, not knowing what the Sacrament is.

Jo.  
XVIII,  
28

6. dicunt A. 8. quam *pro* quod *before* fratres A. 9. tota B;  
 ib. in ipsis *deest* A. 9, 10. exhiberent BC. 12. *c̄* *pro* erit C.  
 13. primum C; ib. vedendo A. 15. thāuro AC. 20. graviter *deest* AC.  
 22. p̄fem A; profectum B. 34. oxoniis C. 34, 35. non ut non BC.  
 35. dampnent C.

14. Decr. Grat. 2<sup>a</sup> Pars, C<sup>a</sup> XII, q. 2, c. 70.



et ipsum non esse substancialiter ibidem, nisi forte, ut quidam doctores locuntur equivocando in adverbio, vocando *substancialiter* "modo substancie". Sed, ut distinguitur contra *accidentaliter*, certum est quod corpus Christi non est substancialiter in illo, quia non secundum 5

What it is, is an article of faith about which many heresies abound; *how* it is, is not.

They do not know or they dare not speak of the one; they cry aloud about the other with lies.

But when asked what those appearances are, which are adored, they are mute.

se, ut dicit Jeron. Ideo longe melius esset hiis satrapis adiscere quid est hoc sacramentum, antequam tracterent quomodo corpus Christi est in illo. Circa primum enim pululant hereses; et, secundum, quoad fidem explicatum, est impertinens fidei cristiane. Unde licet in primo 10

(quod est fidei) pululent tot hereses, tamen dicti satrape in illo mutescant vecorditer, nec iuxtaponunt fidem suam cum fide ipsius contraria; vel ideo indubie quia nesciunt vel non audent. Peripsimata autem fidei ex-

posite non audent arguendo sed excommunicando corro- 15 dere; et tamen, cum tota ista vecordi ignorancia cervicem erigunt cum clamore, cum mendaciis, et aliis diverticulis anticristi, ac si defenderent sanam partem. Sed quando queritur utrum ille panis consecratus sit

corpus Christi necne, cum multi fideles adorant ipsum 20 ut corpus Christi, et illa fides ex testimonio scripture et expositione sanctorum dispergitur: ibidem stabat

Johanes, et verecunde obmutuit. Augustinus autem super Joh. omel. 26 vere dicit quod illud sacramentum est cibus corporalis, eciam quod Cristus dixit panem 25 esse corpus suum. Nam Joh. 6 dicit ipse qui mentiri K. non potest: *Panis quem ego dabo caro mea est pro mundi vita. Panem, inquam, fregit et dedit discipulis* Jo. VI, 52 suis, quem asseruit esse corpus suum, ut patet in ewangelio Math. 26 et Marc. 14, Luce 22 et Paulus 1<sup>a</sup> 30 cor. 10. Et tamen falsarii scripture sacre istam fidem

2. equivoce B. 7. addiscere C; *ib.* sit C. 8. quidem B. 9. pullulant C; *ib.* explicata B; explicitam C. 13. ipsis C. 14. peripsima B; pipima a C. 14, 15. exponite A. 16. ignoram C. 18. suam pro sanam A. 20. aut ne A. 23. obmutuit B; *ib.* Augustinus in marg. B. 25. et pro eciam C. 26. esse deest A. 29. esse deest A. 30. Pauli C. 31. Et c A; Et deest B; *ib.* cum pro tamen A; *ib.* et tamen falsam C; *ib.* falsarii — fidem deest B.

3. This is an allusion to St. Thomas, who employs that very expression in his *Summa Theologica*. Other doctors may also have used the same term. 23. The same expression occurs in *De Apostasia*, p. 58, l. 4; also in a Lollard poem, printed in *Monumenta Franciscana*, Ed. Brewer, p. 598. It would even seem to be a quotation from the poem, alluding to the discomfiture of a certain *Johannes Wellis: Wellis replicabat; — Sed postquam Nicol solverat, tunc Johannes stabat.*



- ecclesie parvipendunt. Talibus ergo conventiculis, qui  
 conspirant tam multipliciter contra legem domini non  
 debet quis fuco elemosine aliquid erogare; licet tamen  
 relevare personas egencium in casu quo signa fidelitatis  
 5 in ipsis appareant; quia, secundum fidem: *Si eciam*  
 Rom. *esurierit inimicus tuus*, concurrentibus rationis paribus,  
 XII, 20 *ciba illum*. Scola autem Cristi est consentanea; sed  
 scola sathane est semper contraria sibi ipsi, quia  
 finis prime est unitas et fructus secunde discordia.  
 10 Nostra autem religio appetit quoscunque esse de nostro  
 ordine et, exclusa quacunque novitate extranea, tenere  
 libere vitam Cristi. Religiones autem invente sunt sibi  
 ipsis contrarie; et una fovet partem alterius, que est sibi  
 opposita. Ideo oportet quod vir sic *duplex animo sit incon-*  
 15 *stans in omnibus viis suis*; licet enim fratres unius ordinis  
 odiunt fratres et religionem alterius, eciam possessionati  
 detestantur mendicacionem fratrum, et ipsi e contra  
 eorum dotacionem ac diviciarum accumulacionem  
 perpetuam; tamen tangente homine communiter eorum  
 I. uc. *versucias, facti sunt amici herodes et pilatus*, contra  
 XXIII, 12 *veritatis dominium*, eciam contra proprios ordines  
 conspirantes; ut fratres confitentur tacite quod ad  
 continuandum perfeccionem paupertatis Cristi, ad decorem  
 ecclesie sunt ipsi a domino introducti. Et tamen contra  
 25 tangentes errorem eorum blaterant quod est ad  
 magnam perfeccionem cleri talis dotacio, cum sit tam  
 necessaria sicut fuit potestas faciendi miracula in  
 ecclesia primitiva. Et isti parti consenciant in facto tam  
 fratres simplices exempti habundantes in proprio, quam  
 30 integra communitas eorum, que habet inproprie nequius  
 quam una persona simplex; et sunt tacite contradictorii  
 sibi ipsis. Et per consequens *non est conveniens eorum*  
 Marc. *testimonium* adjuvandum sese reciproce, cum sint tantum  
 XIV, 59 *contrarii sibi ipsis*.  
 35 Et in illo patet prima subversio ecclesie, in quibus  
 prima pateret conversacio: quod videtur figurari per  
 interpretacionem quam attribuit Jeron. phariseis. "Phari-  
 seus", inquit, "interpretatur divisus, vel dividens, seu

As for these  
schools of  
conspirators  
against Christ's  
law, they should  
be punished by  
all alms being  
cut off.

Our religion is  
the imitation of  
Christ's life:  
there is full of  
novelties and  
rivalries; friars  
hate friars;  
monks hate  
mendicants and  
*vice versa*: yet  
they all join  
against us when  
we wish to  
bring back the  
beauty of early  
Christianity.

But this very  
union is a fresh  
contradiction,  
and thus their  
testimony is of  
no value.

And in them  
we may thus  
see the decay  
of the Church:  
*Pharisee* means  
the *separated*,  
*dividing*,

1. igitur C. 9. primi C; *ib.* 2<sup>i</sup> = secundi A. 16. fratres *deest* A;  
 religionem B; et *deest omnes* MSS. 18. eorum *deest* C. 25. blaterant A;  
 blatarant C. 26. clericis A; talis *deest* A. 30. habent B; h3 C.  
 35. illis A. 36. primo C.

20. Same poem, three verses before: *Hic amici facti sunt  
 Herodes et Pilatus.*

*violent, or  
dissipating  
ones.*

The first monks  
were separated  
from the people  
by their  
holiness.

Afterwards,  
they divided  
that same  
people.

The first were  
violent against  
the flesh, and  
won Heaven.

Now they  
dissipate the  
goods of the  
poor and cast  
away Christ's  
law.

But offending  
against Christ,  
they strike the  
rock upon  
which they  
shall be broken.

As for the  
Bishops, they  
should be the  
overseers of the  
people, keeping  
them in proper  
purity, poverty  
and obedience;  
and set the  
example:

i. e. of spiritual  
chastity through  
love of Christ  
above all;

violentus aut dissipans''. Primo, inquam, fuerunt religiosi nostri pharisei, i. e. divisi a populo secundum excellenciam differencie sanctitatis vite. Sed posterius perverso ordine in declinacione ad seculum facti sunt dividentes populum Cristi ad deum huius seculi; quia Prov. 6 pro-5 phetatur de istis apostatis quod *omni tempore iurgia seminant*. Iterum primo violentando corpus suum pena l. voluntaria, rapuerunt regnum celorum cum baptista, secundum fidem ewangelii Matth. 11. *A tempore Johannis regnum celorum | vim patitur et violenti rapiunt illud*. Matth. XI, 12 10 46<sup>b</sup>

Modo autem decernendo effigies, nulli pascuntur delicacius; nec gravantur ineptius, ut per alleviacionem corporis sapiant regnum dei; sed perversi ad carnem et seculum dissipant legem Cristi; sic quod de cassacione consumpcionis bonorum pauperum et de spoliacione 15 ipsorum ab eis dicere potest devotus ecclesie illud psal. 118. *Tempus faciendi, domine; dissipaverunt legem tuam*. Ps. CXVIII, 126

Ad tantum quidem blasfemarunt in Cristum, quod iam est tempus impediendi eos ulterius insanire. Dicunt enim dicti pharisei quod secuntur Cristum in vita 20 similime: et cum ventris ingluvies, terrena cupiditas, et fastus mundane glorie contradicunt, patet quante in facto scandalisant Cristum humanitus et blasfemant ipsum divinitus. Nec dubium quin oportet eos offendentes in hunc lapidem immobilem precipitanter offen- 25 dere; et illa contrapaccio est pessima scandalisacio. Ideo dicit Cristus Mat. 11. *Beatus qui non fuerit scandalisatus in me*. Nam omnis nominetenus cristianus qui adversatur vie domini scandalisatur in Cristum; et beatus (sed rarus est ille) qui in isto amodo non blasfemat. 30

Episcopi autem debent esse superintendentes populo; ut, servata religione cristiana, teneant se in limitibus 35 legis religionis, scilicet castitatis, paupertatis et obediencie, que secundum dicta primo capitulo debent consequi quemlibet cristianum; nec circa aliud debet 35 versari episcopale officium. Sicut igitur *cepit facere et docere*, ita debent episcopi in se servare hec tria pre- Act. I, 1

cipue et facere ut in subditis observentur. Castitas autem spiritualis est maxime ponderanda, cum contrariatur

6. in omni A. 9. inquam pro secundum C. 12. alienacionem B;  
alleviacionem C. 13. corpus A. 21. silie A. 26. passiva BC.  
28. tene9 A; ib. cristianus deest B. 31. dicunt A. 33. lige AC.  
34. per B. 36. Sic pro sicut BC; ib. ergo B. 38. et deest AC.  
39. cui C.

spiritualis fornicacio, que fit quandocunque super  
 amorem Christi inducitur amor temporalium vel  
 hostis 3<sup>is</sup> plus amati. Et illam castitatem tenetur omnis  
 catholicus observare. Quantum ad paupertatem, patet  
 5 etiam quod omnis homo debet esse mendicus dei,  
 petendo panem cottidianum cottidie: et sic debet  
 recogitare se esse servum ballivum, dispensatorem domus  
 dei, et accommodarium eius, etiam imperator et  
 quantumcunque magnus dominus temporalis. Istam  
 10 autem fidem de paupertate cum suis appendiciis debet  
 M. cristianus tenere et docere, sed presul potissime. Quo  
 ad obedienciam, patet quod omnis cristianus tenetur  
 obedire domino nostro Jesu Cristo, cum sit caput  
 totius ecclesie. Obediencia vero sibi debita stat in imple-  
 15 cione illius quod ipse mandat et consulit. Illa autem  
 est summa obediencia, sine qua quecunque humana  
 foret superflua, cum iuxta dicta primo capitulo sit  
 precise de tanto laudabilis de quanto promovet ad  
 obedienciam Jesu nostri. Cum igitur totum episcopale  
 20 officium stat in observancia et doctrina huius religionis  
 triplicis, nec docetur efficaciter nisi primitus observetur;  
 patet quam necessarium est episcopum disponi ad  
 observanciam huius legis. Ad quod requiritur quod  
 instar Cristi et apostolorum sit quocunque sibi subdito  
 25 superior. Nam aliter foret ineptus ad docendum suos  
 subditos hanc doctrinam.

Unde videtur quod domini seculares sic dotantes  
 suos presbyteros stulte dampnificant se et ipsos.  
 Indisponunt enim ipsos ad observandum istam religionem  
 30 triplicem et populum efficaciter docendum; et sic  
 dampnificant multipliciter semetipsos. Primo in hoc  
 quod exhereditant se a seculari dominio quod presul  
 suus iniuste occupat. Secundo in hoc quod ex cecitate  
 perturbant rem publicam. Deus enim aptavit medie  
 35 parti ecclesie certam mensuram et numerum; et eis  
 appropriavit certam mensuram secularis domini. Ideo,  
 cum disrumpunt hunc ordinem, necesse est quod  
 seculares circumpalpitent, perturbando ecclesiam. Et  
 tercio in hoc potissime, quod tantum blasfeme cecatur  
 40 populus, quod credit inpugnando ordinacionem divinam

of poverty, we  
 all being  
 beggars of daily  
 bread from  
 God, and  
 temporal lords  
 only bailiffs;

and of  
 obedience to  
 Christ, and to  
 others in so far  
 as that is an aid  
 to the former.

To teach them  
 these virtues  
 the Bishop must  
 be better than  
 they.

Hence rulers  
 should not  
 endow, for they  
 render priests  
 unable to teach  
 by example.

They unjustly  
 detain what is  
 not theirs.

They trouble  
 the State,  
 usurping the  
 functions of  
 seculars.

And they blind  
 the people, so  
 that, fighting  
 against God,  
 they think to  
 do good.

6. quottidianum omni die C. 8. accomodacionem A. 9. magnus  
 deest C. 14. complecione C. 19. obediendum A; *ib.* Cristi *pro* nostri B;  
*ib.* ihu cristi domini nostri C. 21. ut *pro* nec C. 27. docentes B.  
 30. edocendum C. 31. Et prius B.

Yet the  
steward that  
resists his  
lord's will  
displeases him;  
and they are  
no more.

sibi meritorie obedire. Sed ballivus cum bonis domini  
et contra preceptum suum onerando et ligando, in-  
disponens servum alium ad perficiendum domini officium,  
per quod reciproce iuvaretur, displicet domino et se  
ipsum dampnificat ac conservos. Et hec creditur ratio 5  
quare clerus, sic repugnando secularibus (iusto dei  
iudicio), ipsos spiritualiter nocendo inpedit et e contra.  
Et ista est generalis perturbacio in illis que debent  
esse duo brachia matris ecclesie iuvancia se et matrem;  
ad tantum enim cecavit diabolus obturatione temporalium 10  
anticristi discipulos, quod defendunt blasfeme nec licere  
seculari brachio errorem suum in isto corrigere, nec  
dextrum brachium, quantumcunque infirmum fuerit,  
adiuvare. Sed tunc indubie utrumque brachium, et per  
consequens totum corpus illius ecclesie malignantium 15  
est irremissibiliter condempnatum.

2. onerans BC. 4. iuvarentur B. 14. brachium *deest* C.

## CAPITULUM SEPTIMUM.

A. Sequitur 4<sup>tus</sup> tortor, scilicet Archidiaconus, cuius  
 nomen contigit esse patri suo episcopo Scarioth correspon-  
 dens. Cum ergo ille, ex fide scripture, Joh. 12. sit mere  
 47<sup>a</sup> 5 diabolus, | patet quod inter omnes ministros talis  
 episcopi talis eius minister sit archidiabolus. In cuius  
 signum, dimisso ministrandi officio, circa bona minima  
 ipse et episcopus contendunt communiter.

Arch-deacons  
are arch-devils,  
their father  
being bishop  
Judas, a devil.

Debet enim archidiaconus, instar Stephani, Laurencii,  
 10 et diaconorum similium, ministrare in missa suo epi-  
 scopo, predicare in populo legem Cristi, et omnino  
 supplere vicem prelati sui, ut simplex religio cristiana  
 in subditis conservetur. Et idem est iudicium de  
 omnibus subordinatis membris cleri Cristi. Sed in  
 15 officio dicuntur perversi et consequenter membra hominis  
 peccati; utputa, dimissis istis officiis, contendunt pro  
 mamona ubi debent inserere verbum dei; in comparando  
 sibi ipsis ornamenta secularia, ubi debent sollicitari  
 circa cultum religiosum sui episcopi.

The Arch-  
deacon's duty  
is to serve his  
Bishop's Mass,  
preach, and see  
to Divine  
service; but  
many care only  
for money and  
ornaments.

20 Et multe sunt leges humane rationabiles, licet abro-  
 gentur hodie vel glosentur, que docent quod archidiaconus  
 non debet esse onerosus ecclesie in personis, in pedagiis,  
 nec in equis; ut VII<sup>em</sup> equos non debet excedere, nec  
 sine regis licencia subditos spoliare, ut patet 3<sup>o</sup> decre-  
 25 talium de censibus ca<sup>o</sup> *Cum apostolus* Et cap.<sup>o</sup> *Inno-*  
*vamus*. Sed cautela diaboli ex negligencia principum  
 contigit oppositum. Ideo non mirum, si hoc vergit ad  
 dissencionem atque destruccionem regnorum: fidelis enim  
 expectat consumacionem istorum, cum iniurie particulares

There are laws  
forbidding him  
to have a  
numerous  
retinue, more  
than seven  
horses,  
or to extort  
money without  
the king's leave.

But they are  
obsolete, and  
the abuses  
become  
gradually  
greater and  
greater.

- |                                     |                                   |                                     |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Cap. etc. <i>deest</i> .         | 2. Initial <i>S</i> in red ink A. | 5. t <sup>h</sup> s ( <i>sic</i> ). |
| 6. archidiaconus AB.                | 7. mī <sup>a</sup> A.             | 17. parando B; operando C.          |
| 27. 9 <sup>t</sup> A; contingit BC. |                                   |                                     |

25. The decree *Cum Apostolus* is not to be found. *Innovamus* is in Decr. Grat. 1<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. LX, c. 3.

guttatim fuerint congregare. Sicut enim aque rivales congregantur in fossa ad tantum quod demum fossa disrumpitur; sic est de particularibus peccatis regnorum ab episcopis incorrectis.

One point is the insufficiency of the fines, as a punishment of sin; the Church grows fat, but the evils are greater.

When the old severe laws were in force, sins were checked; now that it is allowed to offend God for money, they increase.

All seculars who do not oppose these abuses are responsible for them; and they may be likened to traitors;

for to permit such treason against God is to be a traitor to Him.

Instead of enquiring about profit, and particulars of worldly wealth,

Peccatum autem non corrigitur, sed gravatur, dum 5  
tortor, prelati aliis, spoliati sceleratissime sibi subiectos  
et animat eos ex parvipensione minuti amerciamenti ad  
frequencius delinquendum. Sic enim dicit diabolus in suis  
proverbiis quod levis spoliatio pingues facit raptores.  
Dimissa ergo est lex antiqua de suspensione, de deposicione 10  
et de temporalium comunicacione cum sacerdote fornicario  
vel aliter criminoso; et tunc emendabantur crimina  
sacerdotum et populi. Sed modo, dum per anticristos inducitur  
quod dei iniuria symoniace et proditorie sit venalis,  
peccatum non corrigitur, sed late extenditur et gravatur. 15

Extenditur, inquam, usque ad regem et totum populum,  
ad minimum ex consensu. Si, inquam, abhominabilis  
proditor regis terreni contra regalem regis et  
eius liberos conspirantiis foveretur et defenderetur in  
regno, nonne vere diceretur quod fovens atque con- 20  
senciens sit regis proditor, non solum extra regis protectionem  
ponendus, sed trahendus atrociter et finaliter occidendus?  
Multo magis anticristi, servi diaboli et regis Christi comixti,  
gignentes et defendentes Christi adversarios contra ipsum.  
Cum enim regalia deo propria 25  
sit incorrigibiliter vindicare iniurias, patet quod nitens  
tollere vel obfuscare istam vindictam procurat pro diabolo  
proditorie contra Christum. Seculares itaque, qui tales  
permittunt vel quomodocunque consenciant sunt in dampnacione  
consimili, et causa prodicionis regni; 30  
quia necesse est ut regnum, sic comixtum divisum  
anticristi tyronibus et Christi discipulis, desoletur. Debent  
enim prelati in suis visitacionibus prudenter predicare  
Christum, non segniter scrutari questum; mederi morbos

1. congregare A. 2. 3. de fosso disrumpuntur A. 7. amat A; *ib.* inimici AB. 8. d<sup>t</sup> A; docet B. 10. igitur C. 12. notorie criminoso C. 18. regulam C. 19. labores A. 20. nomine A. 23. et in *omnes* MSS. 30. perdicionis B. 31. commixtum C; *ib.* divisim B. 34. fructificari A.

10. Slight fines for offences committed brought, it would seem, more money, on the same principle on which the Penny Post brings an increase of revenue in the present day. 12. It is well to notice here that Wyclif was, according to Lingard, a priest of absolutely irreproachable life himself. No wonder therefore that he is indignant against the lenity with which 'sacerdotes fornicarii' were treated.



anime, non primo notare defectus ornamentorum codicum, domatis vel fenestre. Hoc enim subiaceret laicorum officio. Nec debet prelatus notare quomodo (per se vel per tortores subditos) predetur de subiectis plurem peccuniam; 5 sed quomodo et quante contra diabolum partem fortificet cristianam.

the Bishops ought in their visits to attend to the souls of their flocks.

Sunt autem duo funes rostrati quos diabolus complicit sub vicario anticristo. Primus enim funis demoniaci terroris, scilicet excommunicacio. Et 2<sup>us</sup> est funis ficti amoris, scilicet absolucio; cum istis duobus funibus 10 complicitis traxit anticristus cum membris suis pusillos et magnos, cautela diaboli tenebratos, ad magistrum suum Leviathan.

Two cords by which the Devil and Antichrist drag souls to Hell: that of false terror: excommunication; and that of false love: absolution.

De excommunicacione vero dictum est alibi, quomodo 15 sumitur nunc active, nunc passive communius; et hoc tripliciter; vel a deo, vel ab homine, vel utrinque. Omnis itaque prescitus est perpetuo excommunicatus a deo, quomodocunque benedictus fuerit ab homine. Quilibet eciam criminosus excommunicatur a deo secundum 20 presentem iusticiam. Et quandoque contigit hominem excommunicare deo conformiter; utputa, quando ex caritate

Excommunication, active or passive, may proceed from God, man or both.

Every 'fore-known' is excommunicated for ever, and many elect for a time, by God.

Man may excommunicate rightly, if his sentence agrees in cause and motive with that of God's, and proceeds from charity; if one of these requisites be absent, he only excommunicates himself.

Num. XXIII, 8  
excommunicat quem deus excommunicat; et quandoque deo difformiter, sive *maledixerit cui deus benedixerit*, sive 25 maledixerit maledicto a deo perverso animo. Oportet enim quod excommunicator concordet cum deo in causa et modo. In causa, ut excommunicet propter eandem causam propter quam deus prius excommunicat. In modo vero concordat cum deo, cum Deus caritas est, quando excommunicat eciam excommunicatum a deo iuxta 30 regulam caritatis. Si ergo a regula ista deviat, tunc se ipsum excommunicat; ut excommunicans propter vindictam habendam, vel propter peccuniam, vel possessionem proximi rapiendam. In hoc enim deficit a modo, quo prima caritas excommunicat. Excommunicacio autem 47<sup>b</sup> 35 passiva | sophisticatur multipliciter: ut dicit quandoque exclusionem a communione fidelium, ne quis participet eorum meritis: quod deo est proprium et datum homini fideliter promulgare. Quandoque autem dicit penam spiritualem vel subtraccionem spiritualis suffragii;

Passive excommunication means either separation from all share in the merits of the faithful, or a spiritual punishment, as being refused the sacraments;

1. ornamentorum *deest* A. 2. jacet B. 4. subditis *pro* subiectis BC. 7. rastrati B. 8. suo B; *ib.* est C. 11. trahit BC. 14. Nota de excommunicacione *in marg.* B. 16. utrique AB. 23. diforit' A. 27-29. In — excommunicat *deest* A. 30. igitur C. 32. passionem A. 36. ut *pro* ne omnes MSS. 38. enim B.

and banishment,  
v. g. of saints  
by tyrants, is  
also a sort of  
excommuni-  
cation.

quomodo Paulus excommunicavit corinthum fornicarium, tradendo ipsum sathane; et quomodo multi excluduntur a societate sanctorum et percepcione sacramentorum, quibus spiritualiter iuvarentur. Et in isto consistit magna sophisticacio: ut tyrannus, proscribendo suum legium,<sup>5</sup> quandoque excludit ab eo societatem in qua tam active quam passive amplius mereretur; et talis excommunicacio est maxime in regibus et mundi potentibus; ut patet de exulacione sanctorum.

By another sort  
of excommuni-  
cation, with  
vociferations,  
bells and  
candles, still  
more  
blasphemous  
and hurtful to  
those who  
employ it,

Sed alia excommunicacio fingitur qua prelatus, scribendo<sup>10</sup> et vociferando, cum candelis accensis et campanis sinistre pulsatis et aliis solempnibus adinventis. Et inter omnes adinventiones diaboli citissime blasphematur in hoc fune, cum sicut instrumentum rastratum ledit et lacerat abutentem, sic et rastratur et leditur ipse qui abutitur<sup>15</sup> isto funiculo. Et ista cautela est potissima inter discipulos anticristi contra cristicolas; sicut Judicum<sup>4<sup>o</sup></sup> Judic. IV, 3 legitur chananeos pugnasse contra israelitas falcatis

they claim to  
lay a ban even  
on the land and  
the elements  
near the  
accursed, with  
the power of  
Christ who, as  
God, blasted  
the fig-tree for  
a sign.

curribus. Excecarunt autem populum, hortantes eos credere ut ewangelium quod, eo ipso quo post incantaciones suas sic excommunicaverint quemquam, maledicitur totum adiacens ad multa miliaria undique. Et in hoc magnificantur supra Cristum; ipse enim maledixit ficui in figuram, licet non demeruit, ut patet Matth. 21; quia est plenus dominus cuilibet creature; ideo iustum est quod quelibet creatura ad nutum sibi subserviat. Anticristus autem pretendit se maledicere elementis propter causam Cristi, quia cristicola non wult parere, in causa diaboli, anticristo. Talis, inquam, maledicitur cum tota creatura adiacente per<sup>7<sup>em</sup></sup> miliaria<sup>30</sup> circumquaque.

They say that  
this power,  
belonging to the  
patriarchs and  
still more to the  
Apostles, has  
come down to  
them as their  
successors.

But all power is  
Christ's; and  
he will give no  
power, save

Et ad hoc finguntur evidencie ex lege veteri, ubi legitur tam benedictio quam maledictio patriarchis concessa et amplius concessa apostolis: quare ergo non presentibus prelati, qui in potestate parificantur eciam<sup>35</sup> sancto Petro, cum deus semper meliorando procedit? Sed dicitur huic stulte demencie anticristi, quod ipse D. non habet potestatem nisi a Cristo; nec Cristus dat cuiquam potestatem, nisi ad sequendum ipsum et

Judic.  
IV, 3

Matth.  
XXI, 19

1. excommunicat A. 3. participacione C. 7. meretur AB. 8. est e A.  
9. exclusionem B. 14. rostratum A. 15. sicut A; *ib.* in se ipso A.  
18. pugnare C. 10. Excecant C. 23. magnificatur A. 26. ut quem-  
libet A; ut quelibet C. 28. electis AB. 29. cum anticristo B;  
cum *deest* C.

faciendum sibi et legi sue conformiter. Ideo debet in primis Christum recognoscere et secundum voluntatem suam facere; a quo si deviat, sciat quod potestatem blasfeme vendicat. Ideo faciat patribus antiquis plene  
 5 similiter; et tunc potest de tanto potestatem consimilem vendicare. Sed simeales argucie anticristi excecant plurimos, credentes quod Christus deficeret sue ecclesie, nisi daret istis prelatis tantam huiusmodi potestatem. Ideo, cum deest tam ratio quam operatio quibus  
 10 potestas ista doceretur, mandant subiectis ut fidem hoc credere.

Et sic illuduntur ydiote perfidia potestatis, sicut illuditur de sacramento altaris. Ibidem enim fingunt sine ratione vel auctoritate infinita miracula, ad que  
 15 non necessitat ratio vel auctoritas vel experientia; quia ponunt perverse quod illud sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto. Et sicut blasphemant deum tantum maledicere sine causa, sic blasphemant quod deus omnino destruit materialem substanciam panis et vini, remanente  
 20 sine causa nuda essentia accidentis. Et sicut fingunt quod panis non potest remanere et fieri corpus Christi, sic fingunt quod quis non potest fieri prelatus sub tali nomine, nisi habuerit tam fictam diabolicam potestatem.

Utrobique ergo rimandi sunt limites ad quos stat  
 25 finaliter excommunicacio huiusmodi; scilicet, quid mali ad maximum excommunicato ingeritur. Et cum non quietantur in expulsione corporali a basilica vel conversancium comitiva (quia hoc posset secularis facere), fingunt quod deus eo ipso odit quem excommunicant in  
 30 subtrahendo gratiam, comunicat rebus vicinis potestatem

to follow his law; which they must first know and follow, before setting forward such pretensions, by which many are blinded.

Parallel between these practices and the doctrine of the Eucharist.

Both imply endless miracles without motive, authority or proof; both imply an evil action of God upon corporeal elements; and as bread cannot become Christ's body if it remains, neither can a man become a prelate without having this power.

As they claim not only the power of expelling from the Church, but also of withdrawing grace and inflicting

4. plane A. 9. tanta A. 10. mandat C. 15. vel *deest* after ratio C.  
 17. sic C. 20. sic C. 21. 22. remanere — potest *deest* C. 26. ex-  
 communicatus AB. 29. adicit A.

24. It is well known that many abuses accompanied the practice of excommunication by bishops, which is, I believe, no longer allowed. In the *Life of Saint Louis*, by Joinville, there is a striking passage that illustrates the abuse and at the same time the independence of mind of the saintly King. A certain Bishop was urging him, for conscience' sake, to oblige all such as were excommunicated to submit and receive absolution. But the King at once pointed out the case of a man who, having a lawsuit against a Bishop, was excommunicated by him, appealed to Rome, and after seven years, gained his suit. "If I had compelled him to submit", said Saint Louis, "I should evidently in this case have acted unjustly".

bodily harm by their curse, we must note that one power — that of slaying or delivering to Satan — is no more theirs than the raising of the dead. Act. 1—9  
1 Cor. V, 5

Another — that of separating the offender, lest he do harm — can be exercised by the flock better than by the priest, if he be perverse; 10

and it were well if a bad worldly priest were thus excommunicated; for he is hurtful in all that he does. 15 E.

And some indeed hold themselves aloof from such hypocrites, whom a dread judgment awaits. 25

Another sort of excommunication may take place when it is revealed that such a one does much evil to the Church, being a castaway; 30

but great prudence ought to be exercised here, and (unless the contrary is revealed) we

vindicandi; et ista est maniaca blasfemia. Habet autem sacerdos 3<sup>cem</sup> potenciam excommunicandi. Primo occidendo vel tradendo sathane personam quam deus precipit taliter cruciari; ut patet de Petro et Paulo, Act. 5 et prima Cor. 5. Talis autem potestas deficit prelati nostris hodie, sicut deficit potestas suscitandi mortuos, et sanandi demoniacos. Secundum genus excommunicationis est, dum patet notorie infectiva malicia peccatoris notorii, interdicitur (pro cavendo periculo), quod comunicet cum grege domini. Et licet sacerdotes debeant ex maiori prudentia exercere illud officium, tamen videtur michi quod, ipsis perversis, hoc magis pertinet ad seculares prudentes; cum illud sacramentum non requirit in excommunicante tantam virtutem vel vim numinis. Immo, videtur hortandum per modum consilii quod secularis vel fidelis non comunicet cum presbitero vel prelato cesareo, qui vivit symoniace vel seculariter; cum, sive excommunicando, sive sacramenta ministrando, vel orando, vel quidquam aliud faciendo, inficit se et suos. Ideo, nisi deus ordinasset fidelibus suis sacerdotem in eternum dominum Jesum Cristum, olym per istam venenosam duodenam destructa fuisset ecclesia. Tales enim prelati, sive sint pape, cardinales vel episcopi, vel eorum ministri, plus officiunt quam proficiunt; cum directe officiunt, sed non proficiunt, nisi forsitan indirecte. Quidam enim ex gracia dei, cum vident quod isti qui fingunt se Cristi vicarios tantum exorbitant, et quanta pena pro ippocritis qui nec dicunt nec faciunt, sed obligantur ad utrumque, sit divino iudicio preparata, nituntur istos meritorie conculcare et per viam contrariam transmeare. 30

3<sup>m</sup> genus excommunicandi ex speciali revelacione ostenditur, quando deus revelat fideli vel intoxicacionem vel reprobacionem quam prescitus infert ecclesie, et ex illo prenosticat talem esse a fidelibus ut excommunicatum fugiendum. Et istud in generali docetur 35

Matth. 18, quod quilibet fidelis fugiat peccantem in eum post ternam correpcionem *sicut ethnicum et publicanum*. Matth. XVIII, 17

Nec videtur michi quod aliquis presigeret terminum crimini excommunicationis huiusmodi, nisi sibi fuerit specialiter revelatum; quia notum est quod licet comunicare cum sceleratissimo, gracia convertendi; cavendo 40

2. 3<sup>plex</sup> genus excommunicationis in marg. B: ib. potestatem C.  
5. et prima Cor. 5 deest AB. 23. vel deest C. 33. inferret BC.  
36. ecclesia pro cum A. 40, 41. excomca'e C.

semper de consensu sextuplici et intendendo promovere ad obedienciam legis Cristi. Sic enim fideles servi stant cum sceleratis dominis, sperando quod eorum ministerio convertentur; quia aliter videtur quod scientes dominorum suorum nequiciam forent dampnabiles ex consensu.

may communicate with the worst, but only for their good.

Quis, inquam, scit si deus convertat quantumcunque sceleratum, ut comunicacio cum eo prosit ecclesie?

We can never be sure that a man is a castaway, and have no right to fix a time for his conversion.

Sic enim Paulus blasfemus conversus est ad magnam utilitatem ecclesie, Act. 9<sup>o</sup>. Unde videtur quod tempus

10 prefigere ad talem conversionem sit deum temptare; cum Judith 8., scribitur: *Quid est verbum, in quo consensit*

VIII, 10 *Ozias, ut tradat civitatem Assiriis, si infra quinque dies non venerit adiutorium nobis? Et qui estis vos, qui temptatis dominum? Non est iste sermo qui misericordiam*

15 *provocet, sed potius qui iram excitet et furorem accendat. Posuistis vos tempus miseracionis domini, et in arbitrio vestro diem constituistis ei.*

Cum igitur prescitus ignorat tempus conversionis scelerati ad dominum, patet quam blasfemum foret legem

20 statuere sive defendere quod quicunque fuerit excommunicatus a satrapa, censeatur excommunicatus quousque a tali fuerit absolutus. Non enim timuerunt fideles post instruccionem spiritus sancti communicare cum Paulo;

cum opera sua, sine absolucione huiusmodi, ostenderant conversionem prius notorie blasfemie et ecclesiam per-

25 sequentis. Sic enim contingeret secundum hanc legem diabolicam auffugere quantumcunque sanctum per quem deus ordinavit edificare ecclesiam, tanquam scelestum apostotam: sicut dicitur cardinales horruisse Robertum

30 lyncolniensem tamquam diabolum. Et sic contingeret romanam curiam dampnatos diabolos canonisare et adorandos mandare; sed sanctos in celo excommunicare et dampnatos reputare, quia plus credunt perverso satraparum iudicio, quam vivis operibus Jesu Cristi.

35 Nec mirum; quia eorum absolutio et excommunicacio

A 'foreknown' cannot know if a sinner will be converted; why then accept the excommunication of one who may be foreknown?

The faithful communicated with Paul before he was absolved: which, according to the law, they should not have done. Saints are excommunicated, devils canonized; and this because of venality.

3. d'mis dn̄s pro dominis A. 6. sit B. 8. Sicut pro sic omnes MSS.  
11. Quod AB. 13-15. temptatis — furorem in marg. A.  
15. accendant A. 22. plus A. 31. Romam AB. 32. adorantes A.  
33. repugnare B.

29. Grosseteste, whose independence of character and resistance to certain arrangements made by the Pope, is well known, must have been looked upon with scant favour in Rome. Wyclif however, possibly exaggerates this feeling, when he describes him as being very near excommunication.



A robber can force them to absolve him, and what they would do for fear of losing, they would do for the hope of getting money; yet a perfect man should be ready to die rather than commit such deceitful and scandalous sacrilege.

est ita venalis ut asinus; ymmo predones pessimi possunt ab eis extorquere absolucionem et a pena et a culpa, pro timore servili; sicut beneficiorum collaciones, sacramentorum ministraciones, et quantumcunque spiritualia opera pretenderent se facere pro edificacione ecclesie; 5 quia quando basis officii est venalis, omnia ad illam consequencia esse venalia implicatur. Nec finget homo quod talis absolucio non est vendibilis, licet pro violencia poterit extorqueri; quia ille qui dat absolucionem huiusmodi, cuius blasphemiam posset pro mille marcis 10 evadere, vellet eandem vendere pro tantumdem pecunie, cum fides flagitat quod pro nulla amissione temporalium, nec pro pena corporis inferenda, consentiret perfectus tali dacioni absolucionis; cum deus exhinc blasphematur, absolutus periculose decipitur, et per consequens auctori- 15 sans hoc facinus dampnabiliter scandalisatur.

Such venality is a proof that absolutions are of no value; so excommunication can do no harm. And their blessings are like that with which they make the sacramental bread of infinitely worse nature than it was.

Talis ergo venalitas beneficiorum et absolucionum et privilegiorum indicat quod non valent, et per consequens excommunicaciones et alie censure fite non nocent passis, nisi ut pro spolianda peccunia terreant ydiotas. 20 Ymmo, sicut benedicunt panem sacramentalem et faciunt virtute benediccionis sue ipsum infinitum esse peiorem naturaliter quam panis non consecratus qui prefuit; sic G. est de benediccionibus, absolucionibus et privilegialibus, quibus illudunt hominibus. Dicunt enim quod panis 25 sacramentalis virtute benediccionis sit sacramentum; et ille, cum sit accidens, est pane qui prefuit infinitum imperfeccior in natura. Nec sunt commendandi ex hoc quod faciunt corpus Cristi esse in illo, quia natura divina prius essentialiter fuit in illo accidente. Et si 30 corpus Cristi sit in tali accidente noviter ad sustentandum ipsum et faciendum miracula, hoc est accione sue benediccionis perverse, sicut deus assistit servo suo roborando ipsum graciosius, dum sibi irronice benedicunt! In omnibus autem istis per patrem mendacii sophisti- 35 catur ecclesia.

A few rules laid down:  
1. Excommunication ought to proceed from a spirit of love;

Sed redeundo ad materiam de excommunicacione, ut caucius caveatur anticristi decepcio, pono aliquas conclusiones, | quarum sentencias sepe asserui. Prima: 48<sup>b</sup>

1. est *deest* A; *ib.* ita *deest* omnes MSS. 7. 9<sup>a</sup> *pro* consequencia A.  
11. vel licet *pro* vellet A; *ib.* evadere B; *ib.* tantumdem B. 12. flagittat AC.  
17. igitur C; *ib.* et *deest* C. 21. benedictum A. 24. privilegiacionibus C.  
30, 31. et si — sit *deest* B. 34. yronice C. 35. matrem A.  
37. reddendo A.



Nemo debet excommunicare aliquem, nisi propter amorem quem habet ad illum; patet ex fide. Nam nemo debet excommunicare aliquem, nisi ex caritate et in caritate,

1 Cor.  
XVI, 14

5 *Omnia vestra in caritate fiant.* Item, nemo debet ex-

communicare aliquem nisi sibi subditum et nisi gracia medicine. Sed nemo debet talem medicinam apponere, nisi gracia caritatis: ergo nemo, debet excommunicare alium, nisi gracia caritatis. Unde signum est quod

10 prelatus specialiter diligit subiectum quem sic excommunicat; vel aliter illum non excommunicat, sed se ipsum.

Unde quidam solent regraciari suis excommunicantibus, quod dignabantur, tam laboriose, tam assidue et tam specialiter opponere illis medicinam tam validam. Et

Rom.  
VIII, 28

cum sciunt ex fide apostoli ad Rom. 8. *Quod timentibus deum omnia cooperantur in bonum* sperant quod medicina apposita illis proficiet. Item, si quis debet excommunicatum suum non diligere, potissime foret verum de illo qui excommunicat inimicum. Sed iuxta fidem omnis

20 cristianus debet diligere generaliter inimicos, et sic omnis excommunicans suum excommunicatum. Nam ingratus foret medicus carnalis, qui non diligeret suum patientem; multo magis de spirituali medico, qui debet de cura vel diligencia plus premii reportare. Minor autem argumenti patet ex diffinitione Christi Matth. 5°.

Math.  
V, 43

*Audistis quia dictum est antiquis: "diliges amicum tuum et odio habebis inimicum tuum:" Ego autem dico vobis: diligite inimicos vestros:* quod opere conplevit, in Scarioth et aliis inimicis. Unde, quia medicina excommunicationis

30 per virtutem paciencie successive proficit, stultum foret nimis cito emplastrum excommunicationis seiungere. Sic enim Cristus et sui ad eorum meritum et profectum

H. ecclesie passi sunt excommunicationem Iudeorum. Et Urbanus noster cum suis: utinam meritorie excomuni-

35 cacionem patiatur gilbonensis! Causa enim spiritualis morbi debet sanari ab intrinseco, si sanetur, ad quod excommunicatus accelerare debet, et deficiente morbo debet sufferre longanimitate medicinam, dum conservat pacienciam et alias virtutes consolidat.

40 Secunda conclusio. Nemo debet excommunicare alium, principaliter propter peccuniam vel aliud sibi proprium,

to be exercised only on those that belong to the jurisdiction, and as spiritual medicine; for which medicine some are wont to thank their physicians.

Even in excommunicating a personal enemy, we ought to love him, as the physician does his patient. These are Christ's precepts and examples too.

But if such medicine is good, we should not wish to have it soon removed, but bear it with patience, as let us hope that Pope Urban bears the excommunications of Robert of Geneva.

2 It is not right to excommunicate

8. igitur C.  
ib. gibbonensis B.  
40. condicio AB.

29. excommunicantis AB.  
38. longanimitatis A.

35. patitur omnes MSS.;  
39. pacivam A.

chiefly on  
account of any  
temporal  
matter; for if  
we love all  
men as God  
loves them, we  
shall not prefer  
this to their  
spiritual  
welfare.

All who act  
against this  
rule of love are  
criminal: v. g.  
slanderers,  
murderers, etc.  
God's will  
ought to be  
ours.

Besides, God  
only has the  
right to take  
vengeance, and  
to usurp this  
right is to  
blaspheme; for  
God alone is  
the chief Lord  
of all, and the  
offences done  
to others are as  
nothing.

General should  
be before  
private good;  
now the honour  
of God is the  
most universal  
good of all;  
and all things  
were created to  
that end alone.

aut propter iniuriam propriam vindicandam. Et ista est conclusio beati Gregorii 23 q. 4 ca°. *Inter querelas.* Probatur sic: Omnis excommunicans debet diligere suum excommunicatum caritate perfecta secundum conclusionem proximam. Sed eo ipso quod sic, debet non diligere 5 peccuniam aut aliquid temporale, vel vindictam sue iniurie, plus quam personam quam excommunicat; ergo, conclusio vera. Nichil enim est magis contra legem caritatis quam plus diligere temporalia (que homini inexistunt) quam ipsum hominem; quia, cum deus caritas 10 est, et habet ordinem diligendi contrarium, manifestum est quod diligens secundum ordinem duplicem perversum cum diabolo odit deum; et tales sunt detractores, homicide, vel quomodolibet criminosi. Primi enim plus diligunt famam vel voluptatem propriam quam personam cui 15 detrahunt. Homicide plus diligunt bona que occiso adiacent quam vitam persone occise. Et generaliter omne peccatum consistit in perversione amoris ordinati; quia creatura adversatur divine voluntati. Cum igitur non posset ostendi potencius perversio caritatis diligendi 20 proximum quam sic excommunicando, manifestum est quod excommunicatione tali caritas est extincta.

Item, blasphemum est usurpare quod deo est proprium; sed proprium est deo et incommunicabile creature principaliter vindicare suam iniuriam; ergo blasphemum est 25 sic facere. Et cum omnis sic excommunicans ita facit, manifestum est quod omnis sic excommunicans blasfemat. Minor argumenti patet, ex hoc quod cum deus sit summus dominus omnium, omnis creatura debet plus ponderare dei iniuriam, quam iniuriam hominum. Et confirmacio 30 istius est quod generaliter bonum commune est prestantius quam suum privatum. Sed honor dei est bonum communissimum. Sed quilibet honor creature proprius est bonum respectu illius privatum: ergo, honor dei est bonum potius diligendum. In omni enim creatura servante 35 ordinem quem deus instituit, relucet principaliter honor dei; et cum non habet ex se aliunde honorem, mani-

1. vindicandum C. 4. secundum *deest omnes* MSS. 5. quod *deest* B. 6. aut *deest* BC. 12. ordinem secundum C: *ib.* duplicem *deest* AC. 15. quam *pro* cui BC. 19. quo *pro* quia BC. 20. patencius C: *ib.* perverso *omnes* MSS. 23. blasfemie C. 28. quod *deest* C: *ib.* cum *deest* B. 33. commissum AB; *ib.* proprius creature BC. 37. non *deest omnes* MSS.

- festum est quod honor dei est undique principalior et generalior quam honor debitus creature. Plus ergo debet excommunicans zelare pro honore dei quam proprio; ymmo in nullo honorem suum attendere, nisi de quanto
1. 5 honorem dei sonuerit. Item, de lege et natura eleccionis, magis bonum est preferendum et diligentius observandum; sed magis bonum est quicquid deus preponit precepto vel natura: ergo illud est ab homine preferendum. Sed Deus docet tam natura quam precepto quod bonum
- 10 communius et divinius amplius diligatur: ergo homo debet illi legi intendere. Unde propter rationem istius sentencie, omnes excommunicantes dicunt ypocritice quod
- 49<sup>a</sup> bonum intentum | ab eis pro deo principaliter est intentum; cum sciunt quod, sicut veritas sequitur ad sui
- 15 ipsius destruccionem, sic honor dei sequitur ad sui ipsius extinccionis pretensionem, eo quod presumptor talis quicumque punitur proportionaliter ad peccatum, et per consequens in iusta punicione rutilat honor dei. Ideo quicquid vendicant vel excommunicatione puniunt, ideo
- 20 hoc faciunt principaliter, ut honor dei plus luceat. Sed examinemus, rogo, tales yppocritas, cum (secundum eorum principia) plus peccati plus ponderant. Videamus insuper si habita peccunia vel sue proprietati placencius
- 25 plus quietat quam illud quod honori dei foret honorificencius, quia maioris iniurie extinccius. Et factum clamat oppositum, cum, excommunicato quolibet, quantumcunque atrociter, per accumulacionem peccunie potest faciliter emendari, eciam ipso continuante in priori iniuria. Ideo manifestum est quod affeccio per-
- 30 sonalis, amore dei postposito, est in causa. Et ista blasfemia laborat comuniter in excommunicatione qualibet hodierna; quia aliter plus peccantem in legem dei generaliter plus puniret, et per consequens excommunicarent sepe se ipsos. Nec lucrum suum saperet sua
- 35 excommunicacio, posito quod sua vita legi dei amplius contrariet. Non enim est excommunicacio tantum sacramentum, quin possunt ipsam ferre in se ipsis; cum nemo excommunicatur vel leditur, nisi hoc fuerit originaliter a se ipso. Ymmo, sese sacerdos excommunicat

And we ought  
always to prefer  
the greater  
good, which is  
what God  
commands.

And therefore  
they all say  
hypocritically  
that what they  
do is done by  
zeal for God's  
law; but as  
truth is proved  
by its own  
contradiction,  
so God's  
honour is but  
increased by  
the attempt to  
take it away.

But what as a  
fact pleases  
them most is to  
get money or  
property rather  
than satisfy  
God's honour;  
for if a man  
offers a large  
sum, he will be  
absolved, even  
though he  
should continue  
to sin.

They ought to  
lay their curses  
on the chiefest  
sinners, and so  
excommunicate  
themselves first.

As would  
happen if they

7. quicquid C. 8, 9. ergo — quam deest AC. 10. communis A.  
11. rationem deest A. 12. dictum A; ib. yppocrite A. 14. cum deest A.  
18. ista pro iusta C. 22. poderatur C. 23. igitur pro insuper C;  
ib. sue deest B; ib. proprietate A. 25. extinccio A. 26. quo pro cum A.  
32. in lege AB. 34. sepe deest A. 35. dei deest A. 36. Nemo A;  
ib. blank space for tantum B; deest C.

excommuni-  
cated all  
blasphemers  
and all who ex-  
communicated  
for their own  
worldly gain.

pro furto vel alio crimine, cuius ipse singulariter est reus;  
ut excommunicando quoscunque qui blasfemant in deum  
vel qui preponderanter excommunicant pro suo lucro  
proprio temporali. Hoc enim foret apud deum legitimum,  
et excommunicatores forent talis malediccionis capaces. 5  
Et forte a papa usque ad excommunicatorem infimum  
omnes primo se ipsis inficiunt; cum, ablata causa que  
lucrum vel fastum eis saperet, cessat excommunicacio  
illorum; et illa causa posita, malediccio diabolica com-  
mittitur. Ideo non dubium quin malediccio ista excedit 10 K.  
in malicia malediccionem gentilium; cum Numeri 24 Num.  
scribitur de Balaam, gentili ariolo: *Si dederit michi XXIV,*  
*Balach domum suam plenam argenti et auri, non potero 13*  
*preter sermonem domini dei mei ut vel boni quid vel*  
*mali proferam ex corde meo; sed quicquid dixerit michi 15*  
*dominus loquar.* Ideo indubie, iuxta ewangelium (Matth. 12). Matth.  
Balaam surget in iudicio et condempnabit generacionem XII, 42  
istam, que blasfeme maledicit cui deus benedicit, et e  
contra; quia non dubium quin *extollitur super omne*  
*quod dicitur deus*, sicut generacio pessime anticristi. 20

3. God's law  
ought not to be  
forsaken on  
account of  
man's curses;  
on the contrary,  
such curses  
bringing a  
blessing and  
falling back on  
those that utter  
them, we should  
bear them with  
patience and  
even with joy.

3<sup>a</sup> conclusio. Nemo debet propter excommunicacionem  
huiusmodi declinare ab observancia legis dei. Scimus  
enim quod deus est omnipotens, et anticristus sophista  
dampnabilis. Ideo, propter suam excommunicacionem, est  
nobis evidens quod deus e contrario benedicit; et sic 25  
propter excommunicacionem anticristi exasperantur fideles  
ad exequendum vigorosius causam dei. *Sic enim ob-* I. Petr.  
*mutescere facerent imprudencium hominum ignoranciam,* 11, 15  
cum sciunt quod preter hoc quod excommunicantes cor-  
poraliter letificat et spiritualiter dampnificat, meritum 30  
accumulant constanter agenti et humiliter patienti. Cum  
act. 5 scribitur: *Ibant apostoli gaudentes a conspectu*  
*concilii, quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Jesu con-* Acl.  
*tumeliam pati.* Unde signum est quod fides extinguitur V, 41  
et frigescit caritas multorum, dum propter fulmen 35  
sophisticum diaboli, dimissa causa Cristi, consentitur  
tam facilliter anticristi. Est enim fides ecclesie quod  
omnes anticristi sive diaboli non dampnificant fidelem,

It is want of  
faith that  
causes men to  
submit so  
easily to these  
false  
thunderbolts;  
our faith teaches  
that nothing can  
harm him that  
keeps Christ's  
law; and to

9, 10. comittatur BC. 19. quin deest AB. 27. sicut omnes MSS.  
30. dampnificat BC. 35. refrigescit B.

29. A few words are probably wanting here; though the sense is clear enough, the grammatical construction is very faulty. Perhaps, after *cum sciunt quod*, the word *excommunicacio* might be supplied; and *accumulant* (l. 31) put into the singular.

dum constanter in lege domini perseverat. Est iterum fides ecclesie, quod declinans a lege Cristi vel peccato consensuens, propter traditiones vel puniciones infundabiles in scriptura ut sic excommunicatur a deo, et fit Cristi proditor et sic infidelissimus anticristus. Ex quibus fidelis connectit quod nemo debet propter excommunicationes huiusmodi dimittere, sed constancius perficere opus Cristi; quia faciendo contrarium diffidit de Cristo, et plus timens malediccionem diaboli quam dei, annectitur anticristo; quia diabolum cum lege sua preponderat, et infideliter credit anticristum posse fideliter adherentem Cristo rapere et nocere. Si, inquam, fideles in primitiva ecclesia rapinam bonorum suorum cum gaudio susceperunt, et si usque ad mortem sustulerunt omnia genera tormentorum pro defensione legis Cristi, quanto magis defenderent hanc legem hodie, non obstante terrore excommunicationis quintuplici adinvento per regem superbie?

submit is to be a backslider and an Antichrist.

It follows that the duty of the faithful is to remain steadfast and go on, like those of the early Church, notwithstanding the five sorts of intimidation employed:

Clericos quidem exterrent tripliciter; ut quosdam simplices inhabilitant, et per consequens privant stipendio pro officio ministrandi; alios autem inhabilitant ad recipiendum ecclesiasticam dignitatem. Et 3<sup>o</sup> beneficiatos privant, quia recipiunt ab eis subdolum medicinam. Quo ad seculares, terrent eos dupliciter; quosdam, fingendo quod privant eos fidelium comunicacione, sacramentorum percepcione et suffragiorum ecclesie participacione. Et alios seculares terrent per bonorum fortune perdicionem, per proditoriam incarcerationem, et per crucis expugnationum elevacionem. Et omnia ista fiunt se | ductione diaboli, qua infatuat infideles qui non credunt quod omnes maledicciones diaboli vel censure anticristi non potuerunt nocere fideli, dum credit in Jesum; ymmo quod sibi est proprium maledicere nunquam, nisi quis demerendo declinaverit divinatorum observancia preceptorum. Ista fides moveret fideles ad credendum non esse danda eis propter excommunicationem huiusmodi bona pauperum, sed potius abstrahenda et neganda eis comunicacio ac favor fidelium, propter signa notoria anticristi, et fidem qua credi debet quod constanter pugnando pro Cristo, destruendo anticristum cum suis legibus, cristicola meretur.

1. against the clergy: degrading some, disqualifying others for advancement, and depriving of their benefices those that have any;

2. against the laity; by threats, either of spiritual or of temporal penalties.

But if we are faithful, we shall believe that no curses nor censures can hurt him who believes in Jesus;

and that, rather than give them what belongs to the poor because they curse, we ought rather to take all away from them.

4. et *pro* ut A. 5. sic *pro* lit AB. 6. convertit B. 8. proficere A. 12. vel *pro* et B; sive C. 27. percepcione B. 29. *pro* A. 35. observanciam A; *ib.* fideles *deest* A. 39. quid *pro* quod omnes MSS. 41. mereretur C.



And to their  
arguments in  
favour of  
obedience due  
to them,  
I answer:

1. That we have faith in the Gospel, and follow the counsels of Christ.
2. That except in so far as they agree with these, we should not obey even an Angel's commands.
3. And that if they come, greedy and worldly, pretending to stand in Christ's place, they are Antichrists, and ought to get nothing. Christ's followers do good and receive as alms a little food and raiment: Antichrist's extort by excommunications what is not due to them; they should be resisted in patience. One law in England is very unjust: that a man, excommunicated during 40 days by a bishop, should be imprisoned and despoiled. For as a bishop may be

Et quantum ad commenta sua, quibus seducit populum, quod quidquid ipse precepit subiectus debet ut fidem credere et implere; quod non excommunicat propter pecuniam, sed propter mortalem inobedienciam ex eius negacione sequentem; et quod Cristus pepigit secum 5 quidquid ille sentenciaverit, quod implebit: Primo, fidem ewangelii habent fideles alii, et observant ut illi Cristi consilia. Sciunt secundo, quod nec sibi nec *angelo de celo* obedire debeant, nisi in quantum debet obedire Cristo in observancia sui consilii vel precepti. Et sciunt 10 30, quod si veniunt *in vestimentis orium*, fingentes de Cristo mendacium, quod sunt spirituales sui vicarii, dum conversacio sua sit secularis et confabulacio sua questum sapiens, nullus est detestabilior anticristus; et per consequens non debet dari eis pro excommunicatione sua 15 peccunia vel sibi equivalens, sed potius subtrahi; cum, ut sic, non illis, sed Cristi pauperibus sunt illa debita. Nam de scola Cristi est, titulo elemosine, post opus meritorium edificatorium ecclesie, alimenta et tegumenta parce recipere. Scola vero anticristi extorquet 20 M. per excommunicationes et alias censuras terrificas discipulis suis indebitum; et contra illos debet totus cristianismus insurgere, negando eis bona pauperum, et suas excommunicationes equanimiter tollerando. Sic enim fecit Cristus cum suis discipulis paciendocius 25 excommunicationes sophisticas sacerdotum; quia, ut tactum est, censura iniuste illata prodest humiliter paciendi, et sic toti ecclesie, dum non eo minus consequitur illud quod debet, domino mandante. Et omnino debet detegi secularibus istud sophisma diaboli, quo dampnabiliter 30 peccant in excommunicatione huiusmodi ex consensu. Currit enim ut lex in anglia, quod si episcopus signavit quemquam excommunicari per 40 dies continuos, tunc debet incarcerari et punitus multipliciter spoliari. Cum igitur prelati non sunt tantum confirmati quin contingat eos 35

1. coniuncta A; commenta *corr.* ex coniuncta C. 2. preceperit C.  
4. propter *deest* C. 6. Nam *pro* primo *omnes* MSS. 8. angelis B.  
9. quanto C. 10. precepto A. 16. et per consequens *pro* sed potius A.  
18. de *deest* *omnes* MSS. 19. edificacionem B. 21. per *deest* A.  
28. prosequitur B. 31. excommunicatione huiusmodi *deest* A. 31. cur  
*pro* currit A. 31, 32. enim currit BC. 33. debet *deest* C. 35. sint C.

6. This substitution — *primo* for *nam* — makes sense. If not admitted, we must suppose that at least one sentence, probably beginning with *primo*, is wanting before *nam*.



multociens excommunicare insontes, patet quod auctori-  
santes implicantur scelere oppressionis iniuste proximi  
ex consensu. Item, secundum leges ecclesie, debet meritorie  
sufferre excomunicacionem ut medicinalem pro suo pro-  
fectu. Si igitur debet exhinc incarcerationi post 40 dies,  
manifeste implicatur quod debet sic incarcerationi quia  
meritorie servit Cristo; et talis indubie est tradicio  
anticristi. Item, cum Robertus gilbonensis excommunicat  
papam nostrum cum suis complicitibus et econtra, sicut  
Iudei excommunicant Cristum cum suis filiis, et econtra;  
nec est notum ex fide de primis excommunicatoribus que  
pars tenet iusticiam; igitur secularis neutram partem  
debet defendere, sed permittere utrumque contententes  
sese confundere; et per idem nusquam excomunicacionem  
talem, nisi revelacione habita, confirmare, cum peccat  
graviter contra Cristum consensiendo iniuste, vel parti  
false. Satis multe sunt igitur leges civiles viciose, licet  
non sint legibus anticristi nequioribus onerate.

Sed unum videtur michi manifestum, quod licet ad  
reges ab iniuriis excommunicancium appellare. Nam apo-  
stolus appellavit Cesarem (act. 23) existentem de pro-  
pinqiori superstite tam beato Petro papa ecclesie Cristi,  
quam eciam summis sacerdotibus synagoge. Cum igitur  
illa appellacio, ex fide scripture, fuit magis autentica  
quam aliqua alia secundam legem cesaream vel papalem,  
quia ex instinctu spiritus sancti facta, videtur quod licet  
fidelibus secundum hanc formam potissime appellare.  
Et certum est quod causa potissima huius apellationis  
fuit observancia legis Cristi. Causa autem accessoria  
fuit protelacio vite Pauli; et secundum talem intencionem  
duplicem consimilem debet fidelis ad regem in ex-  
comunicacionis iniuria appellare. Item, in nulla causa  
licet appellare, nisi ad iudicem superiorem, qui in illa  
causa debet cognoscere et errata corrigere; sed licet  
in causa excomunicacionis ad regem appellare: ergo  
ad regem pertinet ista discutere: consequens inconveniens  
adversariis. Ideo, petendo subsidium | a secularibus pro  
excomunicacionis confirmacione, confundunt iurisdicciones  
et subiciunt clericos: quod evitant. Finis enim legis et  
eius complecio est forma ultima perfeccior precedenti.

mistaken, this  
is oppression  
on the part of  
those who  
allow it.

And since such  
a sentence may  
be borne  
meritoriously, a  
man may be  
imprisoned for  
doing a good  
deed.

Again, when  
Pope Urban  
and Robert of  
Geneva  
anathematize  
each other, and  
we cannot know  
which side is in  
the right, the  
secular powers  
should stand by  
and not  
interfere.

One point is  
certain: that we  
may appeal to  
the King, as  
Paul did to  
Caesar.

This appeal,  
inspired by the  
Holy Ghost for  
the observance  
of Christ's law  
and St. Paul's  
protection, may  
serve as a  
model for us.

And the fact  
that we may  
thus appeal  
proves against  
our adversaries  
the kingly  
authority in  
such matters.

They  
themselves do  
so, by appealing  
to the secular  
arm; if the  
State were not

1. iniuste excommunicare insontes BC; *ib.* patet *deest* C. 4, 5. perpetuo pro profectu *omnes* MSS. 5. per A. 8. Gibbonensis B.  
15. cum peccat *twice* A. 21. cesarem, ut patet BC; *ib.* existente B.  
22. quam pro papa A. 26. dē t<sup>2</sup> pro videtur C; *ib.* quod quidem licet C.  
30. proelacio AC. 35. igitur C.

above the  
Church, they  
should not  
recur to it.

The King, God's  
vicar, should  
have his power;  
the Pope,  
Christ's vicar,  
his patience.

It were  
monstrous, if  
the King were  
compelled to  
imprison a man  
without  
knowing why.

Thus they must  
know what they  
do, or they  
would judge  
blindly; and  
their duty is to  
give peace to  
the Church. It  
follows that they  
are our  
superiors,

and should  
judge the  
Bishops and  
condemn them  
if guilty of  
spiritual,  
which is far  
worse than  
temporal  
treason.

Cum enim omnis appellacio sapit civilitatem, non foret fugiendum ecclesie ad brachium seculare, nisi ipsum, ut sic, foret superius ut ostensum est in materia *de rege*. Rex enim debet esse dei vicarius, et papa Cristi vicarius, secundum Augustinum, in signum quod rex debet procedere secundum divinam potenciam, et papa secundum humanitatis Cristi pacienciam; et sic petitur forum superius, cuius est per ministros causam dei cognoscere.

Item, diabolus nimis cecaret reges, si vicarius suus anticristus necessitaret eos ad incarcerationum servum Cristi, nisi debeant causam cognoscere, si causa sit legitima: quia aliter supponendum esset eos in hoc esse inpeccabiles, et magistrum suum extolli supra Cristum, dum licenciant ad ducendum fideles per aliam viam, quam Cristus principiat. Oportet ergo ex fide quod cognoscant causam pro qua debeant sic punire, quia aliter cece sine noticia veritatis (que Cristus est), deberent ledere matrem suam: quod est manifesta blasfemia; debent ergo secundum legem Cristi cognoscere quid est utile matri sue, dicente Augustino, sup. Joh. omelia 11: "Intendat caritas vestra quid dicam; quia pertinet ad reges seculi cristianos, ut temporibus suis pacatam faciant suam ecclesiam unde spiritualiter nati sunt." Ideo, ut sepe dixi, per secularem potenciam secundum causam civilem debent secundum legem Cristi regere matrem suam, et sunt ut superiores, subditis eciam quibuscunque presbiteris sic adiutis.

Ad illos igitur debent episcopi appellare; et si in hoc inventi fuerint proditores regis et regni, debent accucius quam pro alia prodicione temporalium castigari; quia produnt nedum corpus a temporalis regno, sed corpus et animam, quantum in eis est, dampnant evidencius ad infernum. Sed defectus fidei est causa quare patenciam istius periculi non attendunt.

35

4. Vicarius dei et Cristi qui sunt *in marg.* A. 6. precedere AB.  
8. pars *pro* per AB. 8, 9. cognoscere tñ dei C. 9. *T in red ink* A.  
15. licenciat C. 16. igitur C. 20. igitur C. 21. sup. Joh. *deest* A.  
23. pacatam C. 27. ut *deest* A; ut sic C. 30. regimini A.  
34, 35. potenciam A.

21. Aug. In Jo. Tract. XI, c. 14 (Migne, t. 35, p. 1483).

## CAPITULUM OCTAVUM.

A. Quintus tortor est officialis, sive episcopi, sive archidiaconi, qui precipue preeligitur ad congregandum magistro suo peccuniam. Et sic est comuniter de decano  
5 et aliis officiariis in ista yerarchia diaboli ordinatis. Et quia secundus funis ficti amoris est penitencia, in qua includitur oris confessio, cordis contricio et operis satisfaccio: ideo de illa est paululum disserendum.

The fifth 'tormentor' is the official employed to get money chiefly by penance:

Arguunt enim naturales comuniter, quod hoc non  
10 est unum sacramentum. Primo quia, ex defectu unitatis subiecti, non est aliquid unius generis, cum primum subiectatur in anima, secundum corporale et sensibile subiectatur in organo elloquentis, et tertium, diu post succedens, est indeterminate in potestate presbiteri, de  
15 quocumque opere quod voluerit limitare, et comuniter non perficitur in hac vita; quando ergo foret talis penitencia? vel quomodo foret sensibile sacramentum?

which, it may be argued is not a sacrament, for it wants unity of parts: contrition being in the soul, confession on the lips, and satisfaction, coming long after, and dependent on the will of the priest.

Sed dimissa logicis hac controversia, cum officialis, de quo nobis sermo, dicitur de *officiare*, videndum est  
20 de huius comunis funis origine. Supponitur ergo quod penitencia dicatur equivoce, nunc pro displicencia animi de peccato, nunc pro continuacione penalis propositi non iterandi; 3<sup>o</sup> vero sumitur aggregative pro multis: et tunc sumitur famosius pro voce con-  
25 fitentis et rite absolventis cum contricione, penitencia et satisfaccione confessi; et nunc sumitur tam in sua quidditate quam in sua proprietate pro una istarum parcium, et nunc pro reliqua; et nunc dicitur quod, deficiente una parte a suo ordine, non est nisi falsa  
30 penitencia, ut dicitur de successivis aliis aggregatis; nec debemus sollicitari de forma verborum confitentis

But the word 'penance' has many different meanings,

which are apt to be confused together.

There is no true penance if one of its parts are wanting: i. e. essential parts and not mere ceremonies.

1. Cap. VIII in red ink A. 2. 5<sup>th</sup> tortor in red ink C; ib. officinalis A.  
4. est *deest* B. 6. finis C. 7. omnis A. 10. quia *deest* A.  
11. principium AB. 12. in corpore C. 13. subiectatur *deest* A.  
19. officere C. 20. funeris AC. 24. facciosius *omnes* MSS. 25. previa C.  
27. quid *pro* quam A. 28. *pro deest* B.

It is a sacrament by which sins are blotted out of the heart and made satisfaction for; thus differing from Baptism, which does not require satisfaction.

Objection: This definition would denote equally well the general confession made at Mass; thus there need be no auricular confession.

Now this is against the Decretal, which says that every faithful must confess once a year to his appointed priest (or any other whom he may allow) and take Holy Communion at Easter, under pain of exclusion from church during life and of denial of Christian burial after death.

Here it is clear that auricular confession is obligatory;

We ought therefore to add to the definition confession and all its rites.

vel absolventis, nec de sollicitudine eorum vel auriculacione formali aut manus inpositione. Omnia, inquam, talia relinquo cultoribus signorum, qui quidditates et modos sacramentorum tanquam articulos fidei solempnissant. Sic ergo penitencia potest dici *sacramentum*, per <sup>5</sup> *quod in mente fit peccati delecio et pro ipso peccato satisfaccio*; et sic distinguitur a Baptismo; quia, licet peccatum originale ac actuale deleat, tamen non implicat de sua ratione formali quod ille baptizatus, quin potius Cristus pro peccato baptismo deleto satisfaciat. <sup>10</sup>

Sed contra istam descriptionem arguitur. Videtur enim quod convenit cuicumque qui, audiendo missam, confitetur in eius inicio generaliter sacerdoti. Nam tali confessioni competit comunius dicta descriptio quam solitarie confitenti: ergo et ratio diffiniti; et per con- <sup>15</sup> sequens non oportet aliter confiteri proprio sacerdoti. Consequens contra decretalem in quinto, qua ex consilio generali sic dicitur: "Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discrecionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus <sup>B.</sup> peccata saltem semel in anno fideliter confiteatur proprio <sup>20</sup> sacerdoti et iniunctam penitenciam pro suis viribus studeat adimplere, suscipiens reverenter | ad minus in <sup>50<sup>b</sup></sup> pascha eukaristie sacramentum; nisi forte ex proprii sacerdotis consilio ob aliquam rationabilem causam ad tempus ab eius percepcione duxerit abstinendum. <sup>25</sup> Alioquin et vivens ab ecclesie ingressu arceatur, et moriens cristiana careat sepultura. Unde hoc salutare statutum frequenter in ecclesiis publicetur, ne quisquam ex ignorancie cecitate velamen excusacionis assumat. Si quis autem alieno sacerdoti voluerit iusta de causa <sup>30</sup> confiteri peccata, licenciam prius postulat et obtineat a proprio sacerdoti, cum aliter ipse illum non posset absolvere vel ligare." Ex isto videtur cunctos cristianos discretos astringi ex decreto ecclesie ad confitendum singulariter annuatim singula peccata sua proprio sacer- <sup>35</sup> doti. Ideo videtur quod oportet superaddere ad sacramentum privatam auriculacionem et manu sacerdotis capitis taccionem, cum aliis ritibus adinventis.

2. formali aut *omnes* MSS. 4. fidei *deest* A. 5. Sicut igitur C. 6. dilecio B. 7. apmo *pro* Baptismo A; *ib.* qui *pro* quia BC. 8. vel *pro* ac B; aut C. 15. igitur C. 17. contra AB. 21. ob *above* ad A; ob causam aliquam C. 28. quisque A. 32. ipse *deest* A. 33. solvere B; *ib.* istis BC. 34. discretos *deest* A. 37. penitencie B; privatam *deest* C. 38. et taccionem B.

Quod quia difficile est fundare vel credere, ideo foret  
fundamentum necessarium in ista materia cognoscere  
quid descriptive est penitencia, et quid vocalis confessio,  
que dicitur secundum speciem ad salutem anime requi-  
5 sita. Nec est dignus lucrum pro hoc sacramento exigere,  
qui nescit penitenciam quam requirit a comuni distin-  
guere. Nam verba sanctorum doctorum non convincunt  
penitenciam quam requirunt. Recitat enim magister 4<sup>o</sup>  
sentenciarum, dist. 14. quomodo beatus Ambrosius dicit  
10 quod penitencia est peccata preterita plangere, et plan-  
genda iterum non comittere. Et beatus Gregorius dicit  
quod penitere est peccata anteacta deffere et flenda  
iterum non comittere. Patet primo quod utraque istarum  
descripcionum sanctorum implicat penitenciam non esse  
15 sacramentum; quia planctum insensibilem in mente  
absconditum. Videtur 2<sup>o</sup> quod non est penitencia, dum  
confitens recidivat. Et per consequens non est in potestate  
cristiani complere penitenciam fratris sui, cum sit extra  
potestatem suam facere quod confitens peccatum con-  
20 fessum amplius non committat. Et iterum, manifestum  
est quod talis penitencia potest perfecte impleri sine  
confessione generali vel speciali facta proprio sacerdote.  
Non enim valet sophisticacio qua dicitur quod nemo  
iterum committit peccata preterita sed alia, quia nimis  
25 est quod committat eadem in specie.

Cum igitur tam sancti doctores et tam excellentes  
capitales ecclesie sic descripserunt penitenciam (ex qua  
descripcione sequitur quod fideles non teneantur virtute  
sacramenti penitencie confiteri peccata sua proprio sacer-  
C. 30 doti), videtur quod lex predicta sit corruptela symoniace  
introducenda. Nec repugnat diffinicio penitencie quam dat  
magister ibidem, scilicet quod penitencia est virtus vel  
gracia qua comissa mala cum emendacionis proposito  
plangimus et odimus, et plangenda iterum comittere  
35 nolumus. Sic enim, inquam, iuxta genus penitencia  
foret unum insensibile et non sacramentum, et per con-

This being inadmissible, we must see what the sacrament really is, for according to the Fathers, this confession is not penance.

Ambrose calls penance "to be sorry for past sins and not to commit them again".

Gregory uses like expressions. Penance, being in the soul, is not an outward sign; it has not existed if the sin is repeated; no one can do penance for another; and confession is unnecessary. To say that a past sin, being past, cannot be repeated, is sophistry. What is meant is the same sort of sin.

So the above mentioned law is corrupt. To say that penance is a virtue by which we weep for our sins, still leaves it in the number of things invisible, and not a sacrament given by the priest.

1. et *pro* vel C. 11. committere C. 12. quod *deest* C. 14. sanc-  
torum *deest* C. 22. vel speciali *deest* C. 24. que *pro* quia BC.

9. Petr. Lombardus. IV Sentenciarum, c. 14, 1 Migne t. 192, p. 869).  
30. *Corruptela*. The exact drift of Wyclif's argument is as follows. He takes the order to confess once a year, and proves that confession is not a sacrament: *therefore* the law is unjust. To understand the connexion, we must remember his general principle: no law is binding, unless grounded upon Scripture.



sequens sacerdos non dat sacramentum penitencie suo  
 confitenti, quia nec dat virtutem nec gratiam, nec  
 sanctum propositum voluntatis; sed hoc sepe impletur  
 And to say that the details of  
 and ceremony  
 connected with  
 confession, are  
 necessary,  
 would be  
 blasphemy.  
 complete in absentia sacerdotis. Quid ergo sibi et  
 sacramento penitencie? Et dicere quod requiritur, sacer- 5  
 dote sedenti in alto, genuflexio, omnium peccatorum  
 suorum singularis depromcio, et secundum formam ad-  
 inventam cum inposicione manus in caput confessi cum  
 cinere signatum sacerdotis absolucio, foret nimis blasfema  
 ficticia. Omnia ergo ista videntur ad onus ecclesie in- 10  
 fundabiliter adinventum: et sic lex pape in 5<sup>o</sup> decretalium  
 supradicta.

No one can be  
 obliged to do  
 what is not  
 reasonable.  
 Item, papa non potest obligare fidelem ad aliquid,  
 nisi ad illud quod ipse potest docere vel facere esse  
 rationale et meritorium obligato; sed hoc non potest 15  
 respectu mandati huius legis: ergo nec fideles taliter  
 obligari. Papa enim non habet potestatem ordinandi  
 cuilibet fidei laico sacerdotem sciolum et discretum,  
 cui expedit laico sic confiteri, ut patet inferius. Quo-  
 modo ergo ordinaret sub tanta pena quod quilibet laicus 20  
 confiteatur sic peccata sua proprio sacerdoti? Blasfema,  
 inquam, est obligacio ad impossibile, cuius impossibilitas  
 per obligantem efficitur: ut obligare me ad confitendum  
 ydoneo sacerdoti.

And the Sects  
 introduced have  
 rendered it  
 impossible to  
 find such a one:  
 the knowledge  
 of God's law,  
 now neglected,  
 is necessary  
 for that.  
 Let the Pope  
 first give us  
 proper priests,  
 and then oblige  
 us to confess.  
 But the way to  
 this is not by  
 corrupt  
 patronage,  
 appropriation  
 of parish  
 churches, and  
 eager collection  
 of first  
 fruits, &c.  
 Et introducere scolam per quam est impossibile in- 25  
 venire talem, foret summa blasfemia. Sacerdos autem  
 non fit ad hoc ydoneus, nisi et noticia et observancia  
 legis dei. Et illam scolam papa diminuit, faciens ydo-  
 latras sitire mundana plus quam beatitudinem ani-  
 marum. Faciat igitur quemlibet fidelem habere pro- 30  
 prium sacerdotem ydoneum ad illud officium, et tunc  
 obliget, dum ratio et utilitas ad hoc movent. Sed  
 non vadunt ad hoc ydiote promocio, ecclesiarum paro-  
 chialium appropriacio, primorum fructuum, qui forent  
 instrumenta disponendi presbiterum, candens collectio, 35  
 et a doctrina scripture per traditiones humanas multi-  
 plicatas sacerdotum abstraccio. Infinita sunt talia, ut  
 cardinalium et alienigenarum | promocio ac indigenarum 51<sup>a</sup>  
 aliunde habiliu[m] ad officium illud distraccio. Obligans  
 itaque fideles tam contrarie est sathanas in abstracto. 40

5. requirit *omnes* MSS. 6. flexo C. 7. depromcio A. 9. signatum  
 et B. 10. ficta A; *ib.* Omnia enim ista BC. 13. aliud *in full* A.  
 15. obligare C. 21. sua *deest* C. 23. obligacionem A. 26. sen-  
 tencia A; summe B. 35. a *deest* C. 39. humilium A.



- D. Item non est ratio, quare homo ad minimum semel in anno debet taliter confiteri, quin per idem multociens, in casu quo delinquat multociens. Et sic irrationale sompnium videtur diffinire quod sufficit et requiritur  
 5 ad salutem cuiuscumque semel in anno taliter confiteri; quocienscumque eget medico tam necessario, debet, propter infinitum maius periculum quam aliquid corporale, ad medelam sanitatis, omnibus aliis omissis, indilate transcurrere. Quis ergo sacerdos inponeret deo  
 10 terminum miserendi, ut patet Judith 8: *Qui, inquit, estis vos, qui temptatis dominum? Non est iste sermo qui misericordiam provocet, sed potius qui iram excitet et furorem accendat. Posuistis vos tempus miseracionis Domini, et in arbitrio vestro diem constituistis ei.* Et  
 15 sequitur: *In hoc peccato peniteamus.* Si igitur fidelis per annum preservat se a mortali, quis cogeret eum de necessitate salutis confiteri, ut ipsemet instituit? Si autem de necessitate salutis magis indigeat, quis diffidit minus deo sufficere? Per hoc enim quod limitatur  
 20 peccantem semel in anno taliter confiteri, intelligitur quod hoc requiritur et sufficit cuicunque; et utrumque istorum est falsum. Debuit igitur mandasse quod omnis fidelis debet, quocienscumque eguerit, taliter confiteri. Sic quod papa nec potest facere quod quilibet sic egeat  
 25 quo ad deum, nec excusare quoscunque qui sic faciunt, si plus egent. Supra vires itaque foret blasphemi constituere talem legem.

- Nam, ut instant logici, multi habent discrecionem ad conterendum, et tamen sunt naturaliter surdi et muti.  
 30 Multi etiam statim post discrecionem sunt subito mortui. Multi etiam vagantes per patrias non habent proprios sacerdotes, et cum huiusmodi legis obligacio non obligat quemcunque cristianum pro semper, quia sic teneretur quilibet pro semper confiteri proprio sacerdoti; et si  
 35 semper obligat, non pro semper; satis est, ut arguunt logici, quod semel in quocunque anno confiteatur proprio sacerdoti; et sic multiplicantur mille logicales instancie, quod hec lex fuit false et inprovidè promulgata. Nam fideli confitente pro anno in comunitate cum reliquo  
 40 et post statim decedente in gracia, non imputabitur sibi

Again, if a man ought to confess once a year, he should confess as often as he falls into sin and not wait. It is therefore unreasonable to make that term suffice for salvation;

besides, it is fixing a time for God's mercy.

If a man can keep for one year from mortal sin, why confess? And if he falls oftener, once a year will not suffice for God: 'It is required to confess once a year' implies that 'It is sufficient'. Both are false; the right order would have been, 'Confess according to your need'.

Exceptional cases: some cannot confess, being deaf and dumb; some die suddenly at the age of discretion; some are wanderers, and have no 'proper priests'. And there are endless difficulties about the perpetual obligation of this law;

3. multo<sup>o</sup> (= multociens) A. 6. enim BC. 9. igitur C. 15. iterum pro igitur C. 20. totaliter C. 21. cuicunque A. 25. quocienscumque A. 29. convertendum AB. 34. quilibet deest A. 35. non twice A. 37. multipliciter C. 40. et deest AC.

if v. g. a man should die *just* a year after his last confession, he would not have confessed the year of his death; a year is always beginning; so we ought to be always confessing: The Decree does not say whether the confession must be general or particular. If the first, there can be no suitable penance given. If the second, we cannot remember all circumstances after the lapse of a month; and the penitent will be damned for not remembering them after a year!

Both priests and prelates are now unable to distinguish what sins and what virtues are;

they are blinded, thinking that sins are not sins, or that they even render God service by persecuting the godly. Thus they are unable to

quod pro anno mortis non est taliter confessus. Et si loquitur de annis in communitatibus, debet confiteri continue, cum pro quolibet instanti unus annus incipit, et alius terminatur. Item, quod omnis fidelis debet sic E. confiteri omnia peccata sua videtur mirabile, quia nec <sup>5</sup> in generali, nec in speciali. Nam per generalem confessionem non innotescit absolventi quomodo penitentiam iniungeret, et de remedio provideret; et si dicta lex exigit confessionem specialem, videtur irrationabilis propter multa. Primo, quia quantumcunque memorati ad <sup>10</sup> minus infra mensem perderent circumstantias agravantes: quomodo igitur datur sibi licencia expectandi per undecim menses? Non enim valet quod habet licenciam a lege ecclesie sic expectare, et tamen pro mora illa dampnabitur lege dei. Tunc enim forent ille leges con- <sup>15</sup> trarie, et statutum Romani episcopi lex iniqua, cum ipsam implens dampnabitur; oportet igitur ad iustificationem huius legis statuere ut non diucius expectet confessionem, quam plene recolit de circumstantia aggravante; ergo non taxaretur licencia durandi exclusive <sup>20</sup> per annum.

Similiter tam prelati quam subditi sic abducuntur per scolam aliquam quod ignorant ut plurimum tam crimina quam virtutes. Ex quo videtur quod comunitas cristianorum ratione legis huius necessitatur incidere <sup>25</sup> in mortale. Nam ab infimo laico usque ad Romanum pontificem, nec scitur quando generaliter peccatur mortaliter, nec quomodo mortalia et venialia distinguuntur: cum ex fide scripture patet quod multa sunt peccata et hereses, que prelati cecati non ponderant; ymmo, <sup>30</sup> proseguendo putant se obsequium prestare deo, cum alios ewangelicos persecuntur tamquam hereticos. Papa igitur, statuens quod omnes adulti confiteantur sic discrete omnia peccata, ordinaret vel promoveret quod ipsa peccata cognoscent; ad quod non promovet, sed <sup>35</sup>

2. loquens A: loquimur C; *ib.* comunicantibus A; comitantibus C.  
4. determinatur B. 5. omnia *deest* B. 7. absolventem B. 10, 11. memorativus infra C. 12. sibi *deest* A. 14. et *deest* B; *ib.* proniora A.  
18. quod *pro* ut AC. 20. igitur C. 23. aliam AC. 25. huius legis C.  
26. Nota *in marg.* A. 31. obsequia C. 32. persequentur A. 33. sic *deest* A. 35. cognoscerent C.

11. Some Catholic catechisms admit the necessity of giving the 'aggravating circumstances': which is, I believe, denied by many theologians; but all say that a sin forgotten is a sin forgiven.

- impedit se et suos; et sic statuens implicite ut cognoscant ista, implicat in contradiccione more diaboli scolam suam. Similiter prelati ligantur precipue vinculis diaboli, et sunt expertes potestatis clavium. Quomodo ergo statueret papa legem, quod subditi a talibus absolvantur? Omnia enim talia statuta tacite includunt
- 51<sup>b</sup> blasphemiam, | quia auctor eorum dicit se posse in contradictoria, supra deum. Quomodo ergo obligaret me ut confitear prelato, qui est plenus discipulus anticristi?
- 10 Item, non sciunt aut nolunt in propria persona servare legem predictam, cum vix unquam vere peniteant, dicente decreto sub auctoritate Crisostomi de penitencia dist. 1<sup>a</sup> "Quis aliquando vidit clericum cito penitenciam agentem? Et si deprehensus humiliaverit se, non ideo
- 15 dolet quia peccavit, sed confunditur quia perdidit gloriam suam." Notemus ergo omnes prelatos symoniacos in penitencia induratos, et consideremus ex fide quod non prodest, sed obest sic talibus confiteri. Et patet quod lex predicta cum facto auctoris reddidit subiectos
- 20 perplexos. Non enim est vera penitencia, ut patet ex dictis sanctorum, dum confitens recidivat, vel ad minimum
- F. dum confitens non conteritur. Cum ergo hoc sit solius dei concedere, videtur quod ordinans talem legem ut quilibet sic confiteatur, nedum blasfemat, sed extol-
- 25 litur super omne quod dicitur deus, negociando de populo: blasphemum itaque est quemquam non deum statuere ut aliquis vere confiteatur. Esset ergo bonum, quod sic presumens de propria blasfemia conteratur et curreret lex Cristi de penitencia, sicut olim.
- 30 Item, tam ex parte insufficiencie, quam ex parte infundabilis oneris sacerdotis, videtur quod auricularis confessio sit temere introducta. Nam sacerdos nescit discrete aptare penitenciam ad delictum, nec limitare medicinale penitenciam ad cavendum culpam hominis
- 35 in futurum: sed iuxta decretalem predictam, hoc requiritur ad discrecionem sacerdotis; ergo ex defectu sacerdotis ydonei est lex predicta irrationalis. Assumptum videtur ex hoc quod, cum delictum sit commissum in deum, omnis pena quam peccator posset hic sufferre

confess, for the Pope cannot make them know what is and what is not sin.

The faithful cannot be forced to confess to Antichrist's disciples.

They themselves ignore or disobey the law: Chrysostom alludes to the infrequency of penance in the clergy.

It is of no use, and is even hurtful, to confess to a simoniacal priest.

And unless the penitent never falls again (which God alone can know) this confession is no true penance.

The law is therefore blasphemous.

Christ's doctrine of penance should be reverted to.

The priest is besides excessively burdened by this unreasonable law.

No penance can be sufficient to punish an offence against God.

5. igitur C. 6. *In marg.*: In nomine domini A. 10. volunt B.  
16. igitur C. 22. revertitur AB. 25. quo A; *ib.* deus deest A. 28. sua  
pro de B. 31. omnis. *corr. in marg.* oneris C; *ib.* auricularis = auricularis AC. 36. igitur C. 39. sufficere AB.

foret nimis modica, cum propter contemptum terreni regis inferunt legitime gravem mortem. Nec valet dicere quod misericordia dei supplet et acceptat quamcunque penitenciam quam sacerdos iniunxit. Primo, quia tunc ad hoc non requiritur discrecio sacerdotis, quod est 5 contra legem predictam; 2<sup>o</sup> quia, cum deus multis non miseretur ad eorum salutem propter parvitatem attricionis et penitencie, nec subiacet humane noticie taxare proportionem istorum ad voluntatem dei. Nam videtur quod temerarium sit sacerdotem de talibus sibi in- 10 cognitis iudicare. Tercio, quia diversi sacerdotes diversos gradus penitencie pro eodem peccato iniungunt; sicut quondam iniungebatur penitencia de culpa pro minori peccato, ut patet de penitencia. Oportet igitur quod aliquis vel singulus talis confessor erret in penitenciam 15 iniungendo. Cum enim penitencie sint opposite, implicantes contradiccionem, oportet quod aliqua deo displiceat; quia aliter contradictoria placerent deo: ut, quod isti peccatori iniungatur tanta penitencia, et non amplior. Sicut ergo iustum est secundum taxationem divinam, 20 quod peccator subeat tantam penam diu antequam sacerdos absolverit; sic eque iustum est, postquam penitenciam iniunxerit, cum deus non mutat voluntatem vel liberacionem iusticie propter opus errabile sacerdotis. Et ex isto videtur quod, sacerdotibus variantibus in 25 penitencia eiusdem pro eodem peccato, alter eorum erraret, vel uterque; cum non sit fingenda ratio quare iustum esset Petrum iniungere Paulo tantam penitenciam et Linum iniungere sibi tam variam, maiorem aut minorem, pro eodem crimine. Oportet igitur quod alter eorum erret 30 a iusticia voluntatis divine; nec est ratio, quin uterque. Nec valet secunda ficcio, quod sufficit ad deleccionem G. peccati per sacramentum penitencie cuiuscunque pene iniuncio, cum homo solvet residuum pene in purgatorio; quia sic sacerdos stultissimus posset eque iuste 35 penitenciam iniungere, cum iusticie domini tam varie maius et minus susciperent. Item, ex tali dubio, ex indiscreta iniuncione penitencie confessus tuus dampnabitur et nunquam veniet ad purgatorium; ergo iniuncio fatua. Sicut enim confessor ex prudencia et caritate 40 potest mereri confesso suo beatitudinem, ita ex stulticia

God's mercy accepts any penance, there is no necessity for the priest to be prudent. Some lose their souls for want of penance, a want that no man can estimate. For the same sin, different priests command different penances; it follows that one or the other must err, or all of them;

for it is not just that two men should be punished differently for the same sin.

To say that any penance is sufficient, because the rest will be done in Purgatory, puts the least and the most intelligent priest on the same level; besides, on account of the penance wrongly imposed, the penitent may

9. divinam *pro* dei nam AC.  
penitencia, a *gap* C. 19. pena B.  
27. sint A. 37. duo B. 39. igitur.

11. diversos *deest* C. 14. *after*  
20. igitur C. 21. penam *deest* A.

sua et peccato potest causare in eo dampnationem. Ideo temerarium videtur iniungere confesso penitentiam indiscrete. Similiter iuxta loquentes, penitentia in purgatorio erit diuturnior et infinitum gravior quam penitentia hic in via: ex quo sequitur quod stultissimum et periculosissimum est sacerdotem iniungere penitentiam indiscrete. Nam infinitum gravius foret ex errore facere quod confessus duret diucius in purgatorio per unum diem, quam foret ex errore vel dolo tollere totam confessioni substantiam. Sed secundum foret manifesta iniusticia; ergo evidencius primum. Studiosissime itaque studeat confessor artem penitentiam iniungendi; et cum illa ars nullibi docetur, et specialiter in scriptura, que est lex per se sufficiens ad regimen cuiuslibet cristiani, evidens est | quod preter fidem scripture fingitur confessio introducta. Quomodo igitur manet caritas, que non querit que sua sunt in ipso confessore, cum non curat ex sua stulticia causare confesso suo penam purgatorii quantumcunque longam, sive perpetuam in inferno; et cum curat sollicite quod confessus suus solvat sibi decimas? Ymmo alia bona indebita nititur symoniace extorquere. Papa igitur statuens talem legem traderet artem taxandi penitencias ad peccata et iniungeret scolam noscendi hanc artem sacerdotibus, cum nullibi exprimitur in scriptura.

Nec valet dicere quod penitencie sunt modo arbitrarie, et ita a quocunque sacerdote confessore cognite: nam ad arbitrandum illas requiritur summa discrecio. Illam autem artem non curant superiores ecclesie, nec penitenciarum; et variacio iniunctionis penitencie docet confessos quod penitenciarum sepe errat. Et quantum ad studium artis date in *De penitentia* per distinciones, patet quod modice aut nichil student in illis. Ideo parvipensio istius scole reddidit prelatos suspectos quod non credunt istam sententiam quam docent laicos; quia tunc curarent diligencius salutem propriam. Unde creditur quod non iniungunt penitencias taxatas in canone; quia pauci vel nulli ad eas accederent confitendi. Ydeo, ut alliciant propter subieccionem et questum, fingunt

go to Hell, thus missing Purgatory.

And the pains of Purgatory being so much greater than any in this life, it is a greater injustice to expose a penitent to one day there, than to take away all his fortune.

This art of imposing right penances ought to be learnt with great care; but no rules for it are to be found in Scripture.

If the confessor is more particular about tithes than about the state of the man's soul, he is without charity.

The law of confession implies the art of enjoining penances proportionate to sins.

If it be said that penances now depend on the priest's will, this very fact renders a good choice more difficult.

It is certain that very little trouble is taken that way, and that consequently prelates themselves do not believe what they teach the laity. They do not follow the ancient Canons, because no one would then confess.

9. forte C. 10. manifeste C. 10, 11. iniustum BC. 11. igitur C; ib. studiosissimi A. 12. confessor deest AC. 14. regnum AB. 18. in B. 19. in deest B. 21. bona A. 27. confessore B. 31. se pro sepe A. 33. modicum BC. 34. reddid BC. 38. accedunt C. 39. ad A.



And they  
therefore give  
out that any  
penance is  
enough.  
Either the  
Canons were,  
or the priests  
are wrong.  
If the priests  
old were able  
to apply  
penances  
with, prudence  
the same ought  
now to be done.

The reason the  
old laws are  
not followed is  
not because  
priests are able  
to do without  
them, or  
wanting in  
authority or  
knowledge; but  
that they are  
worldly, and  
prefer imposing  
fines to any  
other penance.  
As for penance  
as a cure for  
the soul, it  
exists no  
longer; the  
prelates &c.  
ought to be  
hung for the  
harm they do  
to souls (as bad  
physicians, to  
bodies);  
and the Church  
should keep a  
strict watch  
over the  
medicines that  
they give.

This law is  
besides  
suspected of  
heresy; because  
it requires the  
penitent to be  
alone, which  
excludes public  
penance, and;  
the use of an  
interpreter, and  
(blasphemy!)  
the presence  
and aid of God.

ut satis est de quacunque penitencia quam ipsi voluerint arbitrari; et tamen, vel sequitur quod antique penitencie fuerunt colecte improvide, vel temere sunt dimisse. Nam in multis esset hodie tam necessarium iniungere gravem penitenciam ut tunc erat, et aptare 5 peccatis manifestis penitenciam regulariter collectam, ut tunc fecerant. Nec est ratio quod taxantes illam penitenciam sciverunt proporcionare illam ad fortitudinem persone, ad longevitatem vite, ad conformitatem voluntatis divine, quin per idem et modo scirent; quia aliter forent 10 penitenciarum nimis stulti.

Nec valet dicere quod ideo non dant hodie regulas sicut olim, quia sacerdotes sunt hodie discreiores arbitrii, vel deficit eis auctoritas, vel sciencia taxandi: et sic de aliis ficticiis. Quin potius sunt dediti circa 15 mundum, et negligunt ac nesciunt talia statuere vel discere; quia tunc convinceretur eorum ignorancia, et destrueretur eorum penitencia pecuniaria, qua taxant subditos nunc ad votum. Et quantum ad artem aptandi medicinam de cavendo peccatum in futurum, patet quod 20 ex toto periit. Et tamen, supposita tanta necessitate eius, ut modo fingitur, prelati et penitenciarum proditores pessimi suspendendi. Si enim medicus corporalis ex negligencia artis occideret magnatem vel simplicem, ipse foret apud deum et homines dignus morte. Quanto 25 magis, cum quis obligat se habere artem et medicinas salvandi animas, et tamen propter stulticiam suam dampnantur perpetuo! Illam igitur medicinam debet ecclesia examinare assidue, cum nova ingrediencia nimis sophisticantur hodie; et sic periculum et temeritas 30 sacerdotis cogerent examinare istam materiam et excutere falsitatem putridam coram deo.

Item, videtur legem predictam et novitates adiectas esse suspectas de heresi propter multa. Primo, quia statuit quod omnis fidelis discretus debet confiteri solus 35 omnia peccata sua semel in anno proprio sacerdoti. Stat enim hominem confiteri in penitencia multorum, et per interpretem, multis audientibus atque iuvantibus: ergo non est ratio nec ad necessitatem salutis requisicio

1. quod C. 3. colecte C. 5. tam gravem B. 6. matris *pro* manifestis *omnes* MSS. 8. proportionaliter A. 9. longitudinem B. 10. quando *pro* quin C; *ib.* alter A. 15. quando C. 23. suspendendi A. 26. medicinam C. 27. cum C; *ib.* suam *deest* C. 28. dampnatur *omnes* MSS. 29. nova *deest* A. 31–35. examinare — predictam *deest* A. 31. extrudere C. 39. igitur C.



Joh. quod confiteatur sic solus, cum oportet deum inspirando  
XVI,32 assistere. Ipse autem excludit solitudinem in Cristo

1. ut patet Joh. Et confirmatur eo quod blasphemum est  
dicere quod solus confitens facit opus. Si dicatur quod

It also implies  
that the  
confession is  
not valid, if  
overheard;  
which often  
happens  
without either  
penitent or  
priest knowing  
of it.

5 intelligitur quod confitens sit solus vel sola quantum  
ad audicionem vel noticiam, patet quod hoc non oportet;  
quia, multis noscentibus culpam vel tunc vel ante, non  
minus (ceteris paribus) stat remissio apud deum. Quis,

inquam, dubitat quin ignorante utraque persona stat  
10 multos latenter audire confessionem que non minus eo  
erit valida confessio? nec est talis confessio magis meri-  
toria quam illa publica et gloriosa confessio latronis,

Luce 23. *Nos, inquit, iuste, nam digna factis recipimus;*  
*hic vero nichil mali gessit. Et dicebat ad Jesum: Domine,*

15 *memento mei, cum veneris in regnum tuum. Et dixit illi*  
*Jesus: Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso.*

And no private  
confession can  
equal that of  
the good thief;  
which was  
public, not  
auricular; of  
which latter no  
mention is to  
be found in  
Scripture.

Tam vero autenticam et solempnem confessionem auri-  
cularem nemo inveniet in scriptura. Similiter, illa soli-  
taria et infundabilis confessio dat occasionem effreni

20 in voluptatibus abscondite volutandi. Nam, occasione  
istius legis, frequenter sacerdos intrat cum femina in  
cameras vel in alia loca abscondita et serata, et ibi  
instinctu diaboli perpetrant multa facinora; ut novit  
ecclesia. Ideo videtur melius statuuisse quod confiteatur

The privacy of  
confession, as is  
well known,  
also gives  
occasion to  
many sins of  
lust.

25 in ecclesia in multorum presencia. Unde sophiste dicunt

52<sup>b</sup> Oxonie, quod lex ista solum pro hermofroditis | sit valida,  
vel aliter ex ipsa sequitur conclusio incongrua, scilicet  
quod femina discreta debet confiteri sic solus. Sic enim  
dicunt quod hec locutio est falsa vel incongrua, *omnis*

*Solus* cannot  
apply to a  
person of the  
feminine sex.

30 *homo est solus.* Nec videtur quod habet auctoritatem  
a scriptura, nisi forte dictum sapientis Ecclesiasticis 4,  
*Ve soli.*

"Woe to him  
that is alone!"  
says Scripture.

Similiter hec adinvencio excitat penitenciariorum ad  
depromendum peccata, et ut insontes postmodum pu-

Confessors are  
thereby urged  
to tell the sins of  
their penitents.

2. enim B; *ib.* sollicitudinem A. 5. sic C. 8. minis B. 11. con-  
fessio *deest* AC; *ib.* plus *pro* nec est talis confessio magis B; nec est  
talis privata B; *ib.* *after* talis, privata C; *ib.* magis *deest* A. 17. et *deest* B.  
22. abdita AC. 26. est BC. 28. sola A. 33. vel *pro* hec B.  
34. depromendum A; *ib.* per *corr.* in post C.

25. Such an order exists at present; confessions (at least of  
women) are never heard unless in church and in a confessional;  
in some countries this rule extends to all penitents. 28. *Solus.*  
This is a logical quibble, of which many examples are to be  
found in *Logica*, now publishing. If both sexes must confess,  
women must; but in order to be, according to the law, *solus*,  
she would require to be masculine.

It is in many cases lawful and right to do so; yet a most cruel law condemns to degradation and perpetual prison in a monastery him that reveals the secrets of confession; such a punishment could not be given even by God, much less by Antichrist. By the clause relating to confession *proprio sacerdote*, he is no longer the rector or curate,

but only the priest chosen by Rome.

No priest is allowed to confess another's penitent without the confessor's permission, unless in case of ignorance.

So now, instead of every Christian being free, as in Christ's time, to confess to any priest,

niantur. Nam nedum diabolus est pronus ad inclinandum facere tam irrationabiliter iniunctum, sed foret in casu ad honorem dei et utilitatem ecclesie depromere confessum, ut patet posterius. Et crudelitas legis patet 11 decretalium, ubi supra: ubi dicitur quod sacerdos 5 confessionem detegens, non solum a sacerdotali officio deponatur, sed ad agendum perpetuam penitentiam in monasterio detrudatur. Et constituere tales penas pro tali transgressione videtur deo non posse competere; quanto magis non debet competere anticristo, licet ex- 10 tollitur super omne quod dicitur deus!

Quantum ad secundum verbum, quod debet confiteri *proprio sacerdote*, videtur suspectum, cum subiungit: "Si quis autem alieno sacerdote voluerit iusta de causa confiteri peccata, licenciam prius postulet et obtineat 15 a proprio sacerdote, cum aliter ipse illum non posset solvere vel ligare." Hic patet restrictio ultra rationem que K. fuit in primitiva ecclesia. Unde, quamvis proprius sacerdos videatur esse curatus vel rector vel parrochialis sacerdos, tamen hodie ad tantum variatus est terminus quod ille 20 censetur proprius sacerdos, quemcunque voluerit papa symoniace limitare. Sed Urbanus secundus, de penitencia dist. 2<sup>a</sup> sic loquitur: "placuit, ut deinceps nulli sacerdotum liceat quemlibet commissum alteri sacerdoti ad penitentiam suscipere sine eius consensu, cui se prius 25 comisit, nisi per ignoranciam illius cuius penitens prius confessus est." Sic igitur secundum variaciones temporis fiunt varia confessionis comercia, et multiplicantur adinventiones blasfemie. Cristus enim nescivit legem contrariam isti quod quicumque cristianus teneatur 30 libere confiteri cuicumque sacerdoti quem sciverit vel probabiliter crediderit sanius consulere. Sed post *effeminati* tantum *dominantur eis* quod vendunt blasfeme animas, quia ducatum earum ad tarthara, sicut si quis venderet bovem aut asinum. Sed non est conveniens 35

Isa. III, 4

2. fo na<sup>2</sup> C. 5. 5<sup>o</sup> BC. 8. Mo<sup>m</sup> A; monasterium C. 14. autem *deest* B. 19. *after* curatus, ut *corr.* ex vel A. 20. est *deest* A. 23. 6<sup>th</sup> B. 26. pro B. 28. commercio B. 30. istam AC. 34. eorum A; *ib.* tarth'a A; *ib.* sicut *deest* B; *ib.* si *deest* AC.

5. Decr. Greg. (as in note, p. 112). 17. We may note that, whatever may have been the custom in Wyclif's time, parish priests at present either give public leave to choose any confessor, or are understood to do so by their silence. This clause therefore, like many other canons of discipline, seems practically to have fallen into disuse. 23. Decr. Grat. De Penit. dist. VI, c. 3.

eorum testimonium, cum subiungit, quod volens ex iusta causa confiteri sacerdoti alteri licenciam postulet et obtineat, cum aliter alienus sacerdos non posset eum solvere vel ligare. Ecce misera captivatio laici, quem  
 5 oportet contra ius poli petere et habere licenciam a sacerdote captivante, quantumcunque stultus et invidus fuerit, ad faciendum voluntatem dei, quia salutarem iusticiam! Talis, inquam, in maiori parte preficitur et ydonei presubtrahuntur. Quomodo ergo oportet petere  
 10 licenciam a papa, ab episcopo vel curato, quando scitur quod lex Cristi licenciatur? Non est ratio, si non ut ficta obediencia faciat anticristi discipulos superbiere.

he is obliged to beg leave, even when he has good reasons for wishing to go to another priest, or the latter has no jurisdiction!

Thus he must beg leave of a man to do what is allowed by Christ's law.

Similiter blasphemum et contrarium legi papali est quod sine sacerdotis proprii licencia alius non poterit  
 15 datum subditum solvere vel ligare, quia sic episcopus non posset licenciare subditum ad confitendum alii discreto presbitero, nisi malivulus curatus consenciat. Sed, sicut non licet alieno tractare uxorem alterius, eciam licet ipse consenserit, ita videtur de ecclesia cui  
 L. 20 ydiota symoniace desponsatur. Unde dicunt satrape quod sicut papa potest licenciare spiritualem filiam vel uxorem tractari ab extero, invito curato sive marito, similiter deus habilitans et potestatem conferens cuicunque sacerdoti ad audiendum confessiones cuiuscunque alterius, eo ipso  
 25 illud licenciatur. Si igitur papa vel quicunque alius hoc impedit, est manifeste Cristo contrarius. Grave itaque est in tam excellenti officio spiritui sancto resistere.

Besides, this is contrary to Church discipline; if the 'proper priest' alone can give jurisdiction to another, his Bishop has then no power to do so.

But if God confers the priesthood, He also confers on him the right to hear any confessions.

Sed tertium verbum sacerdotale, in quo ponitur vis totius sacramenti, est illud: *absolve te*, cuius fundacionem,  
 30 sicut penitencie descripcionem, est difficile reperire; et blasphemum est reponere deo negligenciam vel ignoranciam quo ad illud, quin, sicut docuit formam verborum baptismi, sic doceret ecclesiam formam verborum sacramenti penitencie, si vellet illud sacramentum esse tam

The words "I absolve thee" are not to be found in Scripture; so either this sacrament is not so necessary as Baptism, or God was neglectful.

4. quem *deest* B. 6. *Im*undus = immundus C. 11. ut *deest* A.  
 21. vel uxorem *deest* B; *in marg. erasum* C. 22. curato sive *deest* AB;  
 sive *deletum* C. 28. *fac*<sup>m</sup>*le* AC. 29. absolvente A; absolvo te C.  
 31. inponere deo C.

22. *Similiter* etc. I think some words must be wanting here, as Wyclif makes his adversaries say just what they absolutely deny. If, however, the reader ventures to transpose the order of the first words in the sentence thus: *Unde sicut dicunt satrape quod papa, etc.* — the sense is restored without supposing anything to be wanting.

necessarium ecclesie, ut modo fingitur. Sed sicut prelati cecantur in materia de quidditate eukaristie, sic cecantur in materia de quidditate penitencie. Forma igitur istorum verborum potest ex hoc inpugnari, quod apostoli non sunt usi secundum talem formam, *absolvere*. Et iterum 5 est inductum blasfeme, ex errore sensus catholici, dicere quod presbiter sic absolvit. Sicut enim sacerdos dimittit vel remittit peccata populi, ita debet quilibet cristianus, ut patet Matth. 16 et Matth. 18. Et iterum incertum est penitenciariorum, si sit verum vel mendacium quod ipse absolvit penitentem. Et cum non debet mentiri pro toto mundo, videtur quod non debet sine revelacione | verbum illud ut sacramentale asserere. Sic enim 53<sup>a</sup> ex sibi dubio imponeret deo auctorisationem mendacii. Quod autem ex sibi dubio hoc verbum sit falsum, patet 15 tam ex parte penitentis, quam absolventis. Ex parte penitentis, cum ignorat si ipsemet sit contritus: et evidencius, qui absolvit. Absolvens autem, eciam sicut penitens, ignorat si in penam peccati finalis inpenitencie aliquod crimen dimiserit, vel ex aliqua alia negligencia 20 false penituerit. Ex parte vero absolventis, ignoratur si sit prescitus vel membrum ecclesie; si sit hereticus ex symonia, quam defendit opere vel consensu; cum quot-quot similibus, ex quibus impediretur vera absolucio apud deum. 25

Nec valet dicere quod absolucio sit solum condicionata et quatenus deus acceptaverit; tum quia tolleretur certitudo absolucionis ab ipso confesso, cum scit, quod non sequitur: "Absolvo te, si deus voluerit," ergo, "absolvo te vel do tibi aliquod remedium spirituale;" tum 30 eciam quia sic nedum sacerdos extraneus, sed eciam laicus posset a peccato quocunque absolvere. Unde tam sacerdos quam confitens notaret indisposicionem presbiteri absolventis, docente decreto de penitencia dist. 6<sup>a</sup> ex

This form was not used by the Apostles; the words are besides wrong, as implying a power of forgiveness which all Christians exercise. And the Confessor, whilst uttering the words, does not know whether they are true. The penitent himself does not know if he is contrite; much more his confessor. He may have forgotten some crime through negligence; he may be a castaway and no true member of the Church; or a heretic, &c.

It will not do to say that the absolution is conditioned, because then there would be no more certainty of pardon, and anybody could absolve in that way.

Matth.  
XVI, 19;  
XVIII, 18

2. 3. eukaristie — quidditate *deest* C. 5. nisi AB. 9. 6<sup>th</sup> B;  
*ib.* 8 C; *ib.* Et *deest* B. 15. fit A. 17. si A. 18. eciam *deest* A.  
19. penitenciam AB. 27. *zfi*<sup>ms</sup> *qts* (= et si in quatenus) A; si et *qts* C.  
29. igitur C. 34. dicentis docente A.

10. *Verum vel mendacium*. We should note that the formula of absolution contains the restriction: *in quantum possum et tu indiges*. 27, 28. *Certitudo*. What Wyclif supposes absolution should give is absolute certitude of forgiveness; which is a very rare thing indeed. St. Bernard used to apply this passage to himself: *nescit homo utrum amore an odio dignus sit*. 34. Decr. Grat. De Penit. D. VI, c. 1.

testimonio Augustini: "Qui vult confiteri peccata sua, ut inveniat gratiam, querat sacerdotem scientem solvere et ligare, ne cum negligens circa se extiterit, negligatur a deo." Et sequitur "Quicumque confitetur omnino confiteatur sacerdoti meliori quem potest habere". "Non petat," inquit, "sacerdotes per aliquam culpam ab unitate ecclesie divisos; Judas enim qui penitens ivit ad phariseos, relinquens apostolos, nichil invenit auxilii, nisi augmentum desperacionis. Dixerunt enim: *quid ad nos? tu videris*". Ita declarat sanctus esse de sacerdotibus absolventibus qui symonia vel aliquo crimine sunt fedati. Et forte a summo pontifice usque ad infimum fratrem. omnes sunt symoniaci voluntate, opere vel consensu; et artem medendi ignorant, et per consequens carent clavium potestate. Et in talibus casibus, secundum doctrinam Augustini (ibidem) debet homo confiteri fidei laico, dimissis sacerdotibus sic suspectis; quia, si non secuntur Christum in moribus et pretendunt se esse eius vicarios, habentes potestatem mediandi inter deum et populum, nulli sunt magis extranei a sacerdotali potestate vel vero nomine sacerdotis.

Et patet quod error accidit in ministerio ecclesiasticorum ex defectu ordinatorum, ex defectu ordinariorum et suorum officiariorum, et utrumque. Ex errore ordinariorum, qui ignorantes legem et ordinationem Christi ab ipsa exorbitant. Unde 25<sup>a</sup>, q. Ult. sub auctoritate Leonis pape sic scribitur. "Si qui episcopi talem consecraverint sacerdotem qualem esse non liceat, eciam si aliquo modo dampnum proprii honoris evaserint, ordinationis ius amplius non habebunt. Nec umquam eidem sacramento intersint, quod, neglecto divino iudicio, inmerito prestituerunt generaliter: veluti dum civitati episcopalis dignitas perpetuo subtrahitur, que suos episcopos interimere consuevit." Ex ista lege papali, preponderantiori multis evangelium observatis, patet primo quod nullus episcopus debet ordinare quemquam presbiterum, nisi habuerit revelacionem vel evidentem noticiam, per strictam examinacionem tam in moribus per testificacionem quam in noticia fidei per prudentem

And the qualities of the confessor are also to be remarked: Augustine says that we must not confess to a priest separated from the Church, or tainted by simony.

And it may well be that from the Pope downwards, all priests are in such a case: we ought then to prefer to confess to one of the faithful laity.

Priests may be wrongly ordained through the fault of the Ordinaries and their officials, of the candidates, or of both. By Canon law any Bishop, ordaining to the priesthood one that is not worthy, should no longer ordain.

Therefore no Bishop can ordain unless the worthiness of the priest is evident to him.

3. tamen C; *ib.* se *deest* A. 4. qui ergo B; qui igitur C; *ib.* animo A.  
7. diversos A. 13. volente A; *ib.* consensum A. 28. sacerdocio B.  
30. ulterius C. 33. qui A. 37. habeat C. 38. iam *deest* A.



opinionem; quia ordinando inhabiles perdunt ius quemquam ulterius ordinandi.

Priests, if their Bishop have no power to ordain them, are mere laymen; it were therefore better if there were none such, as the sacraments which they dispense are worthless. The same is true of any Church dignitary ordained by the Pope, if incapable; and their ordination is an act of perversity. As spiritual is worse than bodily homicide, any king or community perverting Bishops by endowments deserves to have none. The like holds good of any archdeacons, deans or officials instituted by the prelates for the sake of lucre: the Church ought to be purified of all such, and also of all rulers who draw the clergy to their own service. The law obliging all to confess once a year is unjust;

Et patet quod presbiteri ex defectu potestatis episcopi sunt, ut prius, laici; nisi forte deus ex gracia nobis ignota ante evidenciam operis virtuosi suppleat. Nec oportet timere de defectu numeri sacerdotum, quia melius esset habere paucos vel nullos huiusmodi quam quantumcunque multitudinem onerosam, cum non in illis vel sacramentis eorum consistat salus populi. Patet secundo quod, si papa ordinet ineptum episcopum vel quemcunque ecclesie officarium, incidit in idem periculum; tum quia papa est episcopus, et sui episcopi sacerdotes; tum etiam quia forcior est ratio in superiori prelato et subiecto diligencius ordinando. Et patet de papis quod sunt discoli, ordinando pseudo-cardinales et pseudo-episcopos. Ideo, nisi affuerit potestas episcopi animarum, olim fuisset vinea Cristi sicut Sodoma et Gomora. Et patet tercio, quomodo civitates multe, sicut et prelati, merentur carere suis episcopis et subiectis. Maius est enim spiritualiter occidere corpus prelati vel animam, quam corporaliter corpus occidere, cum hoc potest esse meritorium utrobique, sed propter occisionem corporalem communitas prelato privabitur; igitur evidencius propter aliquam maiorem. Et per consequens rex vel communitas, dotando suum episcopum qui exhinc dissipaverit legem Cristi, meretur prelato vero destitui, cum deus iustissime illud facit. Et utinam communitates usque ad non gradum ex ista lege privarentur prelatis cesareis! Et pari evidenciam carerent episcopi et archidiaconi officialibus et decanis, cum aliis ministris, principaliter pro questu temporalium introductis; et purgaretur ecclesie Cristi a fecibus, posita in ordinacione Cristi primeva. Et idem est iudicium de rege vel domino, episcopum vel curatum dei servicio proditorie distrahente, et in perdicionem regni celorum suo servicio mancipante. Et patet irrationabilitas legis "Omnis utriusque sexus" iuxta sentenciam rationis secunde.

Ex istis colligitur quod homo extolleretur super omne quod dicitur deus, qui pro lege statueret quod deficiens

1. oppositionem A. 15. qui A; quot B. 16. non pro nisi AB.  
17. vera A. 18. quasi B; *ib.* quod AC. 21. corporis A; *ib.* carnaliter BC. 23. occasionem C; *ib.* carnalem C. 31. ministerijs AB.  
34. domino deest C. 35. distrahentem omnes MSS.; *ib.* regis B.

sic confiteri semel in anno, eo ipso taliter puniatur;  
 tum quia ex lege dei non sit fundabile, nec deus  
 requirit talem coercionem, ut insons (sicut fuit beata  
 5 sit confessus. Ymmo, sicut obediencia facta deo sufficit  
 ad salutem sine obediencia humanitus adinventā, sic  
 videtur de confessione dum caret fructu fundabili ne-  
 cessario ad salutem, sine obediencia humanitus adinventā;  
 Ymmo, per idem posset statui quod confitens solvat  
 10 annuatim confessori suo pecuniam aut sibi equivalens  
 plus vel minus. Sic enim non minus laborat meridiana  
 seduccio. In cuius evidenciam tolle lucrum, oblacionem  
 decimarum, et questum qui ex confessione insurgeret,  
 et confessio non curatur. Ideo videtur quod pater mendacii  
 15 adinvenit hos modos nephandos ad sacerdocium in-  
 viscandum, cum undique melius exhortacione publica  
 subiectis proficerent.

Unde glosari posset lex predicta: quod omnis homo  
 debet confiteri deo continue (qui est sacerdos proprius  
 20 cuicunque) et de quanto confessio ex maiori caritativa peni-  
 tencia fuerit sive generalior sive particularior, de tanto est  
 melior. Sed verisimile est quod declinantes in obligationes  
 ad tradiciones accidentales que fastum et questum sapiunt,  
 fuerunt remoti ab ista sententia. Ideo videtur melius  
 25 fidelem exuere duplicitatem et oleum adulacionis, et  
 pure secundum legem Cristi levem et mundam fideles  
 instruere. Nec iustificat legem predictam quod in ipsa  
 multa bona et rationabilia sunt comixta; quia sic est  
 in mandatis et tota vita diaboli, cum deus non aliter  
 30 ipsum permetteret sic regnare. Lex autem cristiana debet  
 esse solum *lex domini immaculata convertens animas*, et  
 Ps. XVIII, 8 per consequens recusari debet a cunctis fidelibus propter  
 comixcionem cuiuscunque atomi anticristi.

it is not  
 founded on  
 Holy Writ; and  
 God does not  
 require that an  
 innocent person  
 should confess.  
 Obedience to  
 God suffices;  
 obedience to a  
 human law is  
 superfluous.

And as the  
 effect of the  
 law is to give  
 profits to the  
 clergy, it might  
 as well be  
 enacted that all  
 the faithful  
 should pay so  
 much a year.

The law might  
 be explained  
 thus: all men  
 must  
 continually  
 confess to God,  
 who is then  
 proper Priest;  
 but this was  
 probably not  
 what was  
 originally  
 meant.

So it is better  
 not to exercise  
 duplicity, but  
 follow and  
 teach the pure  
 law of Christ.

There is good  
 mixed with evil  
 in this Church  
 canon, but only  
 Christ's law is  
 immaculate.

8. sive A; sine obia A. 6—8. sic — salutem twice B. 18. gloriari A.  
 20, 21. penitencia — sive deest A. 21. principalior C. 33. atomi AC.

4. It is a tradition to be found in Catholic mystical works,  
 that the B. V. Mary, after the Church was founded, used to  
 confess and take Holy Communion every day. This practice  
 is also recommended to priests in several religious orders.  
 23. *Verisimile* is a very mild expression indeed.

## CAPITULUM NONUM.

The necessity of confession to a priest examined.

Habita invaliditudine legis predictæ, licet faciat multa A. bona, superest rimari alia testimonia, quod necesse est confiteri presbitero. Recitat enim glossa ordinaria super principio dist. 5<sup>o</sup> in de penitentiis 5. opiniones in ista materia.

Some say this sacrament was instituted after Adam's sin; but no priest was there.

Prima dicit quod institutum fuit sacramentum penitentie et iniuncta vocalis confessio sacerdoti statim in paradiso post peccatum, dicente domino ad Adam, gen. 3<sup>o</sup>, *Ubi es?* quasi diceret: "penitens, considera statum tuum!" Sed illud non moneret, nisi ad penitentiam mentis domino revelandam, cum non fuit tunc supra Adam sacerdos aliquis preter deum. Secunda via dicit quod confessio cepit a Caym fratricida, quando, gen. 4<sup>o</sup>, dixit dominus ad eum: *Ubi est Abel frater tuus?* Gen. III, 9

Others that it was after the sin of Cain; which opinion implies that the first confession was a bad one.

Sed tunc sacramentum haberet malam et inanem originem; nec innueret nisi confessionem fiendam deo. 3<sup>a</sup> dicit quod incepit tempore legis date Josue 7<sup>o</sup>, Jos. IV, 9

Others make it begin with Achan's confession; this supposes public penance.

quando Josue dixit Achan: *da, inquit, gloriam deo et confitere michi quid feceris.* Sed istud videtur concludere quod penitencia publica sit populo facienda. 4<sup>a</sup> via dicit quod penitencia cepit tempore legis gracie, dicente Jacobo 5<sup>o</sup>. *Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra, et orate pro invicem ut salvemini.* Sed illud non videtur sonare nisi in confessionem generalem reciproce fiendam a populo. 25 Jacob. V, 16

Others quote St. James, who advises only a general confession.

The last opinion derives it rather from tradition than Scripture; in which case it would not be binding.

Ideo, 5<sup>a</sup> opinio glossantis est quod melius dicitur confessionem institutam a quadam universalis ecclesie traditione, potius quam ex scripture auctoritate; et illa est obligatoria ut mandatum. Sed videtur quod deus non dedit hoc mandatum in lege completissima quod 30

1. Cap. *deest omnes MSS.* 2. *Initial H in red ink C.* 3. bona *deest AB.* 11. movet B. 15. deus dixit B. 18. Yozue C. 19. Achor A; Achar C. 25. in *pro a A.* 27. universalis *deest AB.* 29. obligata A; *ib.* ut mandant A. 30. debet A.

- non obligat cristianum. Item, ecclesia eciam triumphans  
 nichil precipit nisi auctoritate sponsi Cristi; et per  
 consequens, si tradicio ecclesie sit licita, potissime fieret  
 auctoritate scripture, que est verbum domini; nec videtur  
 5 ecclesiam universalem istud statuuisse, nisi secundum  
 parvam partem vocate ecclesie. Ymmo religiosius viavit  
 ecclesia, antequam introducta fuit ista consuetudo de  
 confessione privata fienda proprio sacerdoti; ymmo, cum  
 ecclesia instituit multa mala que religionem Cristi  
 10 debilitant, videtur nimis levis evidenciam, si ecclesia  
 illud instituit, ergo bene. Instituit multas leges de  
 54<sup>a</sup> dotacione ecclesie quas fuisset melius non fuisse; | et  
 multas bonas leges instituit de prelatiis et clericis, et  
 ille in contemptum domini dei sunt plurimum suspense.  
 15 Ideo oportet rimari aliud fundamentum quam consue-  
 tudinem ecclesie. Item, talis confessio adinventata dat  
 occasionem presbitero symoniace perquirendi pecuniam;  
 quod foret malum periculum. Et consequencia patet, eo  
 quod sophisticari potest ex iniunctione penitencie quod  
 20 pecunia sit sic lucrativa presbitero, ut patet ex experiencia  
 comuni; ymmo sic posset sacerdos, subiciendo sibi totum  
 populum, subvertere legem Cristi. Cum ergo caret fun-  
 damento dei, ut alia mandata, licet contempnere:  
 videtur quod superfluit ista statuere. Et ad hoc vadunt  
 25 rationes facte superius. Sequitur enim: non fundatur  
 in scriptura; ergo non est verum vel credendum.
- Videtur itaque quod oris confessio sit de lege nature,  
 supposita fide. Nam naturale est omne animal inniti  
 iuvamini, si indigeat; sed maxima indigencia animali  
 30 rationali peccanti foret liberari a peccato: ergo debet  
 inniti iuvamini, illo supposito. Et cum impossibile sit  
 liberari a peccato, nisi mediante confessione, patet quod  
 omnis criminosus debet de lege nature humiliter con-  
 fiteri. Assumptum patet ex hoc quod corpora inanimata  
 35 iuvantur a suis potestatibus, tam agendo quam resistendo;  
 et evidencius de lege nature patet illud de homine.  
 Nam homo persecutus fugit naturaliter ad locum refugii,  
 sicut naturaliter exponit manum pro capite; quia, cum

Even the Church triumphant commands but by Christ's authority; such a tradition could not else be lawful. Only a small part of the whole Church has made this a law; and before it existed, things went better.

Many bad laws have been made by the Church, and many good ones allowed to fall into disuse.

This confession besides gives occasion to much simoniacal extortion.

It ought therefore to be considered as superfluous.

Yet vocal confession belongs to the law of nature, if we admit revelation. The greatest need of man is to be delivered from sin; now this implies vocal confession, as a necessary means thereto.

Every natural want supposes recourse to the means of satisfying it.

1. It'm C; *ib.* triumphans eciam C. 2. scripture sponsi B. 6. vict<sup>a</sup> A.  
 11. enim BC. 14. domini *deest* BC. 16. diligenter inquire *in marg.* A.  
 18. co *deest* AC. 19. h'riech o dron g<sup>p</sup> r're i'ty'n rc' *in marg. probably abbreviated Bohemian words* A. 21. a gap after sacerdos A. 23. ac  
*pro ut* B. 24. idem *pro hoc* B. 26. igitur C; *ib.* verum *deest* BC.  
 27. probans quod quis naturaliter debet confiteri *in marg.* B. 31. cum  
*deest* B. 35. partibus AC.

But sin,  
separating man  
from God, is  
infinitely worse  
than its  
punishment;

for the  
blindness  
ensuing there-  
fore causes us  
to make small  
account of  
virtue and  
holiness.

God alone frees  
from sin; and  
He does not,  
unless the  
sinner makes  
an effort: which  
is penance,  
according to the  
Fathers.

It follows that  
vocal confession  
of one to  
another is  
necessary, since  
as any man  
ought to help  
his brother in  
bodily danger,  
he ought to do  
so in spiritual  
peril too.

omnis substantia appetit naturaliter esse, necesse est  
ut appetat media necessaria ipsi esse. Et secunda pro-  
positio patet ex fide, cum peccatum, dividens hominem  
a deo, sit maxime deo odibile; in tantum quod per  
peccatum fit homo infinitum peior quam bestia vel  
aliquod malum pene vel aliud pure malum pro ma-  
licia pene. Nam iusticia dei infinitum plus per se  
punit pro crimine, quam punit bestiam vel aliud pure  
pro malicia pene. Ideo omnis pene est deus auctor,  
sed non culpe. Et patet quod infinitum plus et optacius  
foret hominem liberari a crimine, quam a pena; quia  
in priori stat perpetua salvacio tam corporis quam  
anime. Sed secundum non respicit tale nisi per accidens.  
Et patet quod discrasia et cecitas ex peccato faciunt  
quod tantum parvipendimus virtutum mundicias et pur-  
gacionem a crimine. Et quantum ad terciam proposi-  
cionem, patet quod nemo mundatur a crimine nisi per  
deum; nec deus iuvat nolentem aut invitum ad gracionem.  
Ideo necesse est quod iustificando de peccato displiceat,  
et auxilium in mente a deo postulet. Et hoc est penitere:  
ut patet de penitencia dist. 3<sup>a</sup>, ex auctoritate Ambrosii,  
Augustini, et Gregorii.  
Et hec ratio quare peccatores secundum scripturam  
nec in mente penitent, sed in vocem prorumpunt,  
petentes auxilium a deo. Et ex eadem lege patet, licet  
non ex tanta inclinacione nature, quod peccator debet  
confiteri fratri suo. Nam naturale [est] secundum fidem  
communione sanctorum, quod unumquodque membrum  
ecclesie iuvet aliud quo ad salutem anime consequendam.  
Ideo, sicut est naturale hominem inniti adiutorio alterius  
in periculo corporali, sic evidencius est hominem inniti  
suffragio alterius in periculo anime criminalis. Et sicut  
natura movet ad antecedens, sic ad consequens; ut  
videlicet apciori modo infirmus petat fratris sui suffra-  
gium, detegendo sibi morbum spirituale cum eius

3.  $\widehat{ho}$  (= hominem) A. 7, 8. vel aliud — pene *deest* AB. 10. quod  
*deest* B; *ib.* optacius A; optacius B. 15.  $\widehat{pui}pedig$  A. 19. nota quid  
est penitere *in marg.* B; *ib.* iustificandus B. 24. voce C. 27.  $\widehat{Na}$   $\widehat{n}^2$ ale  
f, m A; *ib.* est *deest omnes* MSS. 28. unumquidque A; unum quod  
que C. 31. hominem *deest* C. 32. alterius *deest* C. 34. valet *pro*  
videlicet A; *ib.* peccat A.



circumstanciis, ut medicinam et suffragium meriti apcius consequatur.

Unde tempore ante legem fiebat communiter confessio soli deo, 2<sup>o</sup> tempore legis fiebat communiter confessio 5 deo et homini; deo omnino, quia impossibile est quod sine illo facta confessio homini valeat. Unde coram populo, coram prelato et coram sacerdotibus fiebat publice talis confessio. Coram populo et coram principe Jos. populi: patet Josue 7<sup>o</sup>, de Achor, facinus suum publice Josue et populo confitenti. Et nota quod Josue VII, 19 non fuit sacerdos vel de tribu Levi, ut deduxi alias ex scriptura; ut patet in decretis. Et patet quod lex dei mandat confiteri publice principi et eius populo coram Lev. XIII, sacerdotibus: patet Leviticus, 13 et 14<sup>o</sup>, de leprosis. Et XIV *passim* meminit Cristis Luc. 17. *Ite, inquit, et ostendite ros sacer-* Luc. XVII, *dotibus.* Et illa confessio ac eius iudicium debuerunt 14 fieri publice, sine tali auriculacione; ymmo semel in anno debuit populus in summo sacerdote publice confiteri et crimina imprecata capiti hirci emissarii in desertum ipsum emittere, ut patet Levit. 16 and also once a year, when the High Priest chased the scapegoat into the wilderness.

In novo vero testamento, quo apparuit gracia salvatoris, fuit diu confessio facta deo et domino Jesu Christo Under the New Law, confessions were first made to God and Jesus Christ, but there was no private confession to men; as appears from Scripture, Tit. In novo vero testamento, quo apparuit gracia salvatoris, fuit diu confessio facta deo et domino Jesu Christo tanquam capiti, sine hoc quod fiebat privatim homini: ut patet de conversione Petri et Pauli, et fidelium in 25 primitiva ecclesia conversorum; ut patet Matth. 26; Acta 2<sup>o</sup>, 3<sup>o</sup>, 4<sup>o</sup>, 5<sup>o</sup> et 9<sup>o</sup>; ubi patet quod dicti apostoli et multa milia post peccata gravissima sine tali confessione privata sunt conversa ad dominum. Unde decretum de penitencia, dist. prima: *Magna pietas; Petrus in Act. II, actibus apostolorum legitur dixisse penitenciam agite et 38 baptisetur unusquisque vestrum;* quod de interiori penitencia, non | exteriori, dictum accipitur. Item Ambrosius 54<sup>b</sup> super isto Luce 23<sup>o</sup>, ubi dicitur quod Petrus post negacionem Cristi *flevit amare*, "lacrimae," inquit, "lavant 35 delictum quod voce pudor est confiteri: lacrimas petri

3. communiter *deest* B. 4. soli — confessio *deest* C. 8. illa pro illo BC. 7. et *deest* A. 9, 10. Yozue C. 11. dixi A; *ib.* in pro ex C. 12. after decretis, a blank space A; *ib.* Et pro ut A. 15. ondite (*sic*) C. 18. in *deest* B; *ib.* sacerdoti B. 22. Cristo *deest* BC. 23. privatum C. 26. 5<sup>o</sup> *deest* BC. 33. 22<sup>o</sup> BC.

18. In summo. I have preferred this reading, taking it to mean: in the person of. 31. Decr. Grat. De Poenitentia, dist. 1, c. 5.

lego, satisfaccionem non lego''. Et idem ascribitur Crisostomo de penitencia, dist. 1. *Lavat.*

Afterwards, when the Holy Spirit no longer visibly assisted the Church, it became necessary to consult holy priests in confession; but this was long before the time of the Lateran Council, and was done freely.

Ex post, inquam, quando defecerunt miracula et spiritus sancti accepcio in signo sensibili, necessitata fuit ecclesia ex religione legis nature sacerdotes sanctos consulere confitendo; ut patet tempore Augustini, et diu post. Unde lex predicta, quam dicitur Innocencius tercius constituisse in Lateranensi consilio, fuit per multos centenos annorum post Augustinum. Et ita confessio que debuit esse summe voluntaria, perversa est ex arte principis huius mundi in exaccionem servilem; ut vel sic pateat luciferina potencia in papa, nedum seducendo vel captivando corpora, sed animas subditorum.

There are therefore three sorts of penance: one made to God alone,

with true fruits of repentance

and emendation of life, which is necessary for salvation;

another made to a man, in order to receive a spiritual remedy, which proceeds from the law of nature,

Et ita est triplex penitencia sive confessio peccatoris: prima est devote facta deo, quam Cristus precipit, Matth. 3°. Et Baptista cum eodem themate exorsus est: *penitentiam*, inquit, *agite; appropinquat enim regnum celorum.* Et Matth. 3° precipit phariseis *facere dignos fructus penitencie.* Cum enim penitencia sit displicencia de priori vita mala cum sancto proposito convertendi, patet quod sicut fructus arboris, herbe, vel terre est illud carius fruibile quod procedit de fructificante, sic fructus penitencie est virtus fruibilis et operacio virtuosa. Ideo dicunt sancti quod non sufficit displicere de malo preterito; sed cum emendacione vite oportet deo satisfacere pro commisso, et niti per medelas scripture cavere posterius de lapsu. Isti ergo sunt digni fructus penitencie. Et istud oportet omnem peccatorem sub pena dampnationis servare.

Matth. III, 2

Sed secunda penitencia et confessio fit recte homini ad recipiendum ex parte dei spiritualement medicinam, criminis sanativam. Et de tali penitencia et confessione locuntur sancti doctores et leges ecclesie. Et illam dixi esse de lege nature, licet inclinacio in penam peccati plurimum sit sopita. Omnis enim lex dei est lex prime et multe leges dei sunt leges nature secunde. Omnis vero lex iniqua vel rationi contraria est lex diaboli et lex vicii, non nature; quia autem alii restrin-

1, 2. Crisostomus A; *ib.* lavant B. 4. sensibili *deest* C. 7. Innocencium 3<sup>m</sup> *omnes MSS.* 13. vel *pro* sed A. 22. fruibile A. 34. lex nature *in marg.* B. 37. ergo A. 38. Et *pro* quia autem A; Et quod alii C.

Decr. Grat. De Poenitentia, dist. 1, cap. 2. But no chapter begins with *lavat.*

gunt legem nature per descripciones infundabiles, est labor inutilis. Et ista confessio instituta est per deum ante legem datam Moysi, et roborata est per Cristum cum Joh. 20 dicat apostolis: *Accipite spiritum sanctum*, 5 *et quorum remiseritis peccata remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt*. Superflue autem dedisset apostolis istam potenciam, nisi subditi eorum tenerentur rite E. confitendo peccata sua illis detegere. Ideo beatus Jacobus 5<sup>o</sup> c. dicit communiter: *Confitemini alterutrum* Jac. V, 16 *peccata vestra*. Et notat Hugo, libro 2<sup>o</sup> de sacramentis, parte 14<sup>a</sup>, causam quare Cristus non dedit aliis preceptum confitendi peccata apostolis, sicut dedit eis potenciam remittendi. "Audi," inquit, "quare voluit Cristus ut a semetipso surgat confessio, ne quasi extorta vel coacta 15 videretur, cum egrorum sit diligenter salutem querere, et deum de sufficientibus medicis providere." Et hinc, ne contra legem nature cogatur populus adire imperitum medicum vel inertem, dicit Jacobus tam sacerdotibus quam secularibus in confuso quod *confiteantur alterutrum* 20 *peccata sua*, non quilibet cuilibet, sed quilibet alteri ydoneo.

In 3<sup>o</sup> autem signo magi pharaonis defecerant, exigentes ut cuicunque voluerint limitare, ut audiat confessiones alterius secundum formam et tempus quod ipsi limitare voluerint, oporteat de necessitate salutis confiteri 25 taliter; ut patet in lege predicta. Et talem legem non reor Cristum posse statuuisse. Et illam terciam confessionem quam nescitur describere vocant quidam coactam; que, quamvis sit nude limitata humanitus, tamen tantam vim ponunt in ipsa, quod solum illa sit 30 sacramentum et nemo possit salvari, nisi ipsam acceperit secundum formam quam papa limitat. Et in ipsa sunt plena indulgentia et innominata carismata: sic tamen quod confessus faciat quidquid sacerdos mandaverit, licet fuerit summus hereticus et maximus ydiota. Sed isti 35 parum notant quomodo Cristus, antequam istam pote-

confirmed by Christ's institution, giving His apostles power to forgive sins; which power would be useless, unless they knew those sins by confession.

Hugo of St. Victor points out why Christ does not speak of confession; because He wished it to come spontaneously, not by force.

But the third sort is the sort referred to by the Lateran Decree;

and though merely human, it is exalted into a necessary instrument of salvation, and a source of endless indulgence and grace; provided only the priest be obeyed, whoever he may be.

4. Nota in marg. A. 11. causam deest B. 10. hugo in marg. B.  
17. populus deest C. 18. inertem C. 20. sua deest C. 22. audiant C.  
26. statuere BC.

8. It here appears that Wyclif, though most opposed to the canon "Omnis utriusque sexus", would go much farther than the very general advice to confess, given in the Book of Common Prayer. He says *tenerentur*, and admits an obligation in conscience to confess, not once a year, but as often as necessary. His difficulty is to find a priest not *prescitus*, and not actually in mortal sin. Cf. p. 140, l. 20.

Yet Christ  
before he gave  
this power to  
the Apostles,  
said: Receive  
the Holy Ghost;  
without that  
gift, no priest  
has power.

In such a  
confession, it  
may happen  
that the  
confessor shall  
commit mortal  
sin, and yet  
the penitent be  
absolved by  
God;  
or that the  
penitent may  
not be absolved,  
for want of  
contrition;

or that both  
confessor and  
penitent may  
please God by  
the confession.

As a rule,  
unless the  
parish priest is  
reasonably  
suspected of  
grievous sin, a  
parishioner  
should confess  
as often as he  
needs it.

This is an  
answer to all  
allegations of  
Canon law; and  
Innocent's  
decree is to be  
set aside, partly  
on account of  
his secular  
ambition, which  
moved God to  
give two poor  
orders to His  
Church.

But these turned  
aside quickly;  
and now they  
think nothing of

statem dedit apostolis, dixit eis: *Accipite spiritum sanctum*.  
quasi doceret quod solum viris apostolicis, habentibus  
spiritum sanctum, conferat talem vicariam potestatem.  
Quicumque ergo antistes, romanus vel alius, non habuerit  
spiritum sanctum, sequendo Cristum iuste vivendo, sciat  
se esse alienum a vicaria potestate huiusmodi, sicut  
est alienus a numero eorum quibus hoc verbum domini  
fuit dictum.

Et patet quod peccator quandoque confitetur vocaliter  
presbitero in hoc peccanti mortaliter, licet ipse nichil  
indulgentie vel carismatis conferat confitenti, tamen deus  
cui confitetur contritus, dat gratiam et absolucionem  
a crimine. Et istud contingit communiter ratione cri-  
minis penitenciarum. 2<sup>o</sup> contingit peccatorem fecte con-  
fiteri deo et cuicumque | sacerdote bono aut malo, et  
non absolvi propter defectum contricionis, sine qua non  
absolvitur a deo, et qua posita, a deo absolvitur eo  
ipso. Et 3<sup>o</sup> contingit peccatorem absolvi a penitenciario  
utroque promerente ex legitimo officio; et hoc raro  
hodie contingit, sicut contigit in ecclesia primitiva: cuius  
magna causa est sacerdotem cupiditas.

Et patet ex istis quod parochianus debet confiteri  
sacerdoti proprio quocienscunque egerit, dum modo  
non sit sibi probabiliter suspectus de symonia, de for-  
nicacione vel alio crimine, propter quod debet scire  
sacerdotis comunicacionem magis sibi officere, quam  
prodesse. Et sic possunt intelligi omnes leges in op-  
positum allegande. Illa autem monstruosa lex "omnis utrius-  
que sexus," que dicitur per Innocencium 3<sup>m</sup> edita, quia  
non fundatur ex fide scripture, eadem facilitate con-  
tempnitur qua proditur. Et revera suspecta est lex  
ratione persone, que quia tamquam anticristus aspiravit  
ad summum gradum dominii secularis necessitavit ut  
deus mitteret ad consolacionem ecclesie duos ordines  
paupertatis. Sed illi, quia non pure fundabantur  
in lege domini, sed nimis in tradicionibus hu-  
manis: ideo, cito relicto itinere Cristi, lapsi sunt late  
in devium anticristi. Jam enim qui negaverit fidem

4. igitur C.

6. vicario potestatis omnes MSS.

9. patet deest B.

10. et licet A.

13. contigit A.

14. contigit A.

18. contigit A.

20. contigit A; *ib. before* in contigit B.

31. probatur omnes MSS.

32. aspicerat B.

22. If the Lollards followed this rule of Wyclif, they must  
have counted amongst the most devout of the parish, in the  
eyes of many a priest.

scripture tamquam summe hereticam censetur catholicus et subtilis. Sed qui negaverit tradiciones pape, licet fidei scripture contrarias, dampnatur et punitur tamquam hereticus; ut ubi Paulus fidem accepit a domino quam 5 tradebat ecclesie, vocat regulariter sacramentum altaris, quo ad naturam suam, panem, ut patet Cor. 10 et 11<sup>o</sup>: statuit sibi hec secta ex auctoritate huius capituli, quod quicumque vocaverit sacramentum illud in natura panem, et in figura corpus domini, tamquam hereticus iudicetur. 10 Sed debet vocari ex baptisatione eorum infundabili accidens de genere quantitatis. Et hii glosant fidem scripture, sanctos doctores, et leges ecclesie per suum contrarium. Et sicut fecte secuntur Cristum in paupertate voluntaria; sic fingunt sibi tunicam in hostia, per 15 quam vident eum oculo corporali. Et illa tunica, ut inquiunt, est infinitum invalidior et abiectior quam vestis qua superinduimur. Et ubi Urbanus quintus, tante auctoritatis ut Innocentius III<sup>us</sup>, dampnavit ut heresim asserentem quod homo videt corpus Cristi in 20 hostia oculo corporali, ut noverunt multi modo superstitēs: hii, contra decretum pape et libros proprios, clamant quod vident sic corpus Cristi in hostia; et, cum ipsa sit infinitum subtilior quam tela aranee (quia nullam habet opacitatem materie quam vident eius quantitas 25 vel qualitas), esse ibidem. Et hii infringunt auctoritatem pape, et faciunt quod quidquid dixerit preter fidem scripture sit propter suum dicere plus suspectum.

G. Sed obicitur per hoc quod ad omne opus meritorium viatoris potest ipse cogi, supposita desidia. Sed iuxta 30 dicta meritorium est laico confiteri omnia peccata sua proprio sacerdoti; ergo ad hoc potest cogi. Sed per quem, nisi per papam, qui statuatur ad hoc legem? Sic enim coegit Cristus Paulum Act. 9, et precepit ministris tempore legis gracie ut intrarent ad cenam novissimam, 35 ut patet, Luce 14. Et idem confirmatur ex dictis beati Augustini epistola . . . . Et concordant multe leges, ut patet 23 q. 6, *Scismatici*; et alibi. Hic oportet videre super quibus cadit coaccio. Et constat iuxta philosophos,

denying God's word, and everything of withstanding Papal traditions: As in the case of the Eucharist. Here they condemn as a heretic any one calling it Christ's body in figure; yet they name it an accident, wresting Scripture, the Fathers and ecclesiastical law. They imagine a garment covering Christ in the Host, through which they see Him with the bodily eye (a doctrine condemned by Urban V); and this garment, thinner than a cobweb, is, they say, the indication of Christ's local presence there.

*Objections* (1). It is lawful to compel any one to do a good deed, if he be slothful: confession is allowed to be meritorious, and none but the Pope has power thus to compel. This doctrine is founded on Scripture, words of St. Augustine, and many canons.

7. statuunt AB. 17. superinduitur B; super *deest* C. 24. mediate A; *ib.* quam *deest* BC; *ib.* cuius BC. 25. est C. 30. sua *deest* BC. 31. igitur C. 34. ad *deest* B. 36. a blank space after epistola omnes MSS.

25. I think that *corpus Christi* ought to be understood after *qualitas*. 37. Decr. Grat. 2<sup>a</sup> Pars, C<sup>a</sup> XXIII, qu. 6, c. 1.



*Answer.*  
Coercion only  
applies to  
exterior acts,  
whereas  
confession is  
more an act of  
the will than  
faith.  
Faith must be  
free: *a fortiori*  
confession.

Men should be  
induced, not  
forced, to  
confess.

As regards  
exterior acts,  
force may be  
employed, but  
this is the duty  
of temporal  
lords,  
not of the Pope.

This law  
reduces many  
to despair, and  
many of the  
elect are  
hindered in  
their way.  
The Man of  
Sin, as he  
contradicts the  
Holy Ghost  
about the  
Sacrament,

contradicts him  
also as to the  
liberty which  
the faithful  
should enjoy.

quod solum super operibus corporalibus vel extrinsecis  
ab actibus voluntatis. Confiteri autem est actus vo-  
luntis magis quam credere. Sed de ipso credere dicit  
Augustinus, super Joh. omilie 26, quod nemo potest  
credere, nisi volens: ergo multo magis nec meritorie 5  
confiteri. Et quamvis apostolus dicit, Romanorum: *Corde* Rom.  
*credetur ad iusticiam. ore autem fit confessio ad salutem,* X, 10  
tamen [ir]religiosum foret cogere hominem vocaliter con-  
fiteri. Confessio igitur debet induci per sanctam predi-  
cationem, sicut fecerunt apostoli, et non per stultam 10  
coaccionem, sicut fecerunt posterii fidei scripture ignari.

Habito itaque super quibus operibus cadit coaccio. quia  
super operibus extra voluntatem, que sunt inductiva ad  
vitam meritoriam: videndum est ulterius, qui debent  
sic cogere. Et constat quod domini temporales, ut patet 15  
ex decreto Ysidori 23 q. 5. *Principes*. Quid ergo pape  
et legi mandanti quod quilibet confiteatur sub gravi  
pena proprio sacerdoti? Nam multa milia cristianorum  
credunt quod sine hoc non possunt salvari; et sic,  
propter sacerdotis maliciam et legis iniquitatem, despe-  
rant, non deo penitencia salutifera confitentes; et multi  
predestinati ex ista lege pestifera sunt tardati. Que  
igitur ratio ad captivandum populum prius liberum  
ut sic contagiose comunicet cum membro diaboli? Sed  
sicut homo peccati contrariabatur spiritui sancto in suo 25  
apostolo, docente quod *panis quem frangimus* | sit sacra- 55<sup>b</sup>  
mentum eukaristie; ipse autem, sub pena dampnacionis  
heretice, mandat scole sue confiteri oppositum (scilicet  
quod illud sacramentum non sit panis sed accidens, ut  
fingunt, de genere quantitatis); sic spiritus sanctus mandat 30  
in comuni apostolorum consilio, Act. 15, quod religiosi  
sui observent libertatem et facilitatem in qua ipse eos in-  
stituit. Sed anticristus captivat eos per legem contrariam,  
ut verificet dictum apostoli, Thessal. 2<sup>o</sup>, de anticristo  
prophetatum, quod extollitur super omne quod dicitur 35  
deus. Condant igitur leges veras implicitas in sacra scrip-  
tura, vel melius leges vitales in ipsa explicitas exequantur.

1. operibus *twice* A. 2. aut A. 8. religiosum *omnes* MSS. 9. Con-  
fessor A. 12, 13. cadit — operibus *deest* C. 17. lege B. 23. capticiuā A.  
34. 2 Thess. B. 36. Condat C.

8—10. Note these two lines: they contain the chief ground  
for Wyclif's objection to the canon *omnis utriusque*. 16. Decr.  
Grat. 2<sup>a</sup> Pars, C<sup>a</sup> XXIII, qu. 5, c. 20.

H. Sed secundo obicitur per hoc quod Augustinus, Hugo, Linconiensis et alii sancti videntur dicere quod oris confessio sit de necessitate salutis, ut 2<sup>o</sup> de visitacione infirmorum: "Non," inquit, "deducat te illa sompniancium  
 5 supersticio, que musitando confirmat quia salvat, inconsulto sacerdote, ad deum peccatorum confessio". Et sequitur: "coram sacerdote confiteri habes ipsius quod iudicium subire debes". Item Hugo de sacramentis, libro 2<sup>o</sup> parte 14<sup>a</sup>. "Hii," inquit, "qui confiteri nolunt peccata  
 10 sua, salvari non possunt". Augustinus dicit, "non potest quis iustificari a peccata, nisi confessus fuerit ante". Item Beda in epistola Jacobi: "Sine confessione," inquit, "peccata dimitti nequeunt." Et multa sunt dicta similia, que inculcat. Item, Linconiensis in tractatu suo de con-  
 15 fessione probat multipliciter quod confessio est necessaria ad salutem. Quamvis enim in lege veteri, quando deus non fuit homo, non fuit taliter confitendum, tamen in lege nova, quando verbum est simul deus et homo, confitendum est simul deo et homini. Et videtur, cum  
 20 homo peccando offendit in deum et proximum, quod confiteri debet utrique et satisfacere. iuxta doctrinam Cristi Matth. 5. *Si offers munus tuum ante altare*, et cetera. Et idem dictum dicunt sancti concorditer plus quam de eukaristia. Sacramentum itaque tam utile  
 25 ecclesie est servandum. Hic teneo tamquam fidem quod cristianus adultus potest in casu salvari sine confessione vocali facta proprio sacerdote. Nam eque misericors et viam facilitans veniendi ad beatitudinem est deus in lege nova sicut fuit in lege veteri. Sed in lege veteri  
 30 fidelis salvari potuit sine tali: ergo et in lege nova. Nam toto tempore legis nature non fuit hoc observatum; sed sine sacerdote salvando facta est sepe generalis confessio. Eciam tempore legis date non legitur iniuncta vel facta talis confessio. Sed multi in bellis et in sacer-  
 35 dotum absencia creduntur probabiliter sancte obiisse.

*Objections (2).*  
 According to many Doctors, oral confession is necessary for salvation.

Hugo of St. Victor says that without confession of sins none can be saved; so does Augustine, and Bede.

Grosseteste holds the same view. Under the Old Law, it was necessary to confess to God alone; now that God is man, we must confess to God and to man.

*Answer.* It is an article of faith that a man can be saved without confession. God is not less merciful now than under the Old Law; but both before the Law and under it men were saved without confession made to a priest.

1. Obieccio *in marg.* B. 13. in causa *pro dicta* A. 18. simul *deest* B. 20. homo *deest* A; *ib.* in *deest* B. 21. ac BC. 23. dictum *deest* BC. 25. ecclesie *deest* C. 32. fuit sacerdoti AC; *ib.* est *deest* AC.

25. This is an article of faith not only for Wyclif but for Catholics too. But they understand it in this way. Any man that has perfect contrition, proceeding from the love of God, is restored to grace without confession; yet he is obliged to confess, *if possible*. On the other hand, attrition, or sorrow for sin proceeding merely from the fear of Hell, absolutely requires confession.

If the Apostles had confessed, the Holy Ghost would surely have let us know of it. Scripture in many places asserts that God pardons the contrite sinner.

And Christ healed sinners without their confessing.

Again, if a man should spend his whole life virtuously without confession, he will be saved on that account.

God can give His grace without using the priest's ministry; if so, He can also save without it, as in the case of Cornelius. We do not hear that Peter received absolution.

Lazarus coming forth from the grave bound, is a figure of such spiritual resurrection, performed by God directly. And when priests are bad, God does not deprive Himself of his power because of that. Ambrose says that unless the priest has the Holy Ghost, and prays

Et idem creditur de apostolis et aliis sanctis de tempore legis Cristi, qui se confessi fuissent, spiritus sanctus non fuisset immemor explanasse. Et confirmatur ex fide scripture. Nam psalm. 31 dicitur: *Dixi: confitebor adversum me iniusticiam meam domino; et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei.* Et Ezech. 18 dicitur: *Si autem egerit impius penitenciam ab omnibus peccatis suis que operatus est, et custodiret omnia precepta mea, et fecerit iudicium et iusticiam, vita vivet et non morietur. Omnium iniquitatum eius quas operatus est non recordabor.* Et idem patet de Cristo sanante peccatores, licet non sibi vel apostolis sint taliter confessi. Et concordant glosse sanctorum et leges ecclesie: ut patet de penitencia dist. 1<sup>a</sup>, *magna pietas.*

Item, stat hominem non confiteri et virtuose agere usque ad mortem, servando iusticiam sine hoc quod 15 confiteatur taliter sacerdoti, sed eo ipso salvabitur: ergo, stat hominem salvari sine confessione huiusmodi. Assumptum patet, quia omnia ista fuerunt per se et immediate per gratiam; sed nimis blasphemum foret dicere quod deus non potest vel nunquam dat gratiam, 20 nisi mediante tali ministerio sacerdotis; ergo eque blasphemum est dicere quod nullus peccator potest salvari sine tali confessione facta sacerdoti. Sic enim deus iustificavit Cornelium Act. 10, antequam fuit visitatus per Petrum. Nec loquitur de absolutione Petri, sed de 25 eius predicacione. In cuius figuram Luc. 17 dicitur quod 10 leprosi, dum ibant se ostendere sacerdotibus, sunt mundati. Et, Joh. XI, legitur Lazarum vivificatum et de sepulcro egressum antequam fuit solutus institis per apostolos: que omnia figurant deum sepe solvere ho- 30 minem a peccato, vel sine tali presbitero vel antequam traditiones inventas dixerit super eum: quia horrenda blasfemia foret dicere quod postquam sacerdotes ydolatrarunt virtute tradicionis eorum deus preclusit sibi potenciam dimittendi per se peccata sine talibus mediis. 35 Sed quando fuerunt sacerdotes sancti, tale adiutorium non quesivit. Nam secundum Ambrosium in libro 1<sup>o</sup> de penitencia, nisi sacerdos habuerit spiritum sanctum

Ps.  
XXIX,  
13  
Ezech.  
XVIII,  
21

10 1.

Joh.  
XI, 44

1. *fuit* de tpe A; de *before* tempore *deest* BC. 2. *si* sic B; *ib.* fuisset C. 3. *esset* A. 4. *2<sup>da</sup>* ideo *pro* nam B. 5. *eius* *deest* B. 6. *que* A. 7. *non* *deest* B; *ib.* *conteri* C. 8. *after* confessione, tamen *in marg.* B. 9. *fuit* C; *ib.* et *deest* A. 10. *deus* *deest* B. 11. *iustificat* A. 12. *lacarum* A. 13. *institis* A; *inscitis* C.

et orando confesso meruerit, non absolvit. Unde Cristus precluserit decem leprosis aditum et presenciam sacerdotibus propter eorum maliciam, Lu. 17. Et quod precepit apostolis solvere Lazarum, quid ad illos, tantum a  
 56<sup>a</sup> 5 vita apostolica alienos? Non enim est | obediencia deo et ecclesie ut adeat sacerdotem leprosum, postquam fuerit plene absolutus.

Item, in baptismo et eukaristia, que sunt sacramenta expressissima in evangelio, contingit deum dare rem  
 10 sacramenti sine sacramento sensibili: ergo, multo magis in sacramento penitencie minus fundabili. Assumptum patet de baptismo sanguinis et fluminis, que sepe dantur sine baptismo fluminis. Et rem sacramenti eukaristie sepe accipit quis non sacramentaliter, sine sacramento  
 15 sensibili: ergo evidencius sepe accipit absolucionem criminis a deo sine absoluzione sensibili sacerdotis. Unde Ambrosius libro secundo de penitencia. "Si," inquit, "semel Cristus pro omnibus immolatus est, itaque quocienscunque peccata donantur, corporis eius sacramentum sumitur." Unde, ut ostendi alias, non existente  
 20 penes nos aliquo sensibili sacramento, contingeret fideles meritorius manducare corpus Cristi gloriosum in celo, quam iam manducatur sacramentaliter in hostia con-

Matth. XII, 30  
 25 secrata. Sicut enim *generacio adultera signa querit* in

vestibus et ritibus adinventis, per que destruitur cultus et attencio ad signata; sic tota religio modernorum deprimitur in sacramenta sensibilia, cultoribus signorum

Coloss. III, 1  
 30 dimittentibus *que sursum sunt querere*, et prorumpentibus in istam blasphemiam, quod deus non potest dare rem

sacramenti, nisi ipsi adiuerint, ministrando signa que ipsimet sompniarunt. Et ebullivit hec heresis in magis blasfemum mendacium, quod deus pepigit signis eorum assistere regulariter, dando gratiam et non dando salutem vel gratiam sine illis. Quo contra: sicut legio thebaica

35 gloriose martirisata beatificatur in celo sine confessione huiusmodi, sic usque hodie Greci sancte et devote observant se a peccato sine confessione auriculari, confitendo deo secundum doctrinam Crisostomi super epistolam ad Hebreos; et ponitur in de penitencia dist. 1<sup>a</sup>.

40 "Non tibi dico," inquit, "ut te prodas in publicum

meritoriously, his absolution is not valid. Christ ordered the Apostles to loose Lazarus; but these men are not Apostles. Nothing can oblige a man who is cleansed from sin to go to a leprous priest. If the baptism of blood and of the Spirit gives regeneration; if the Eucharistic grace is often given without the sensible sign: a fortiori the same may take place for Penance.

And if we had no visible sign of Christ's Body, it were better to feed on Christ, glorious in Heaven. All the attention of men is now turned towards external signs, and the things signified are forgotten; in so far that they blasphemously imagine that God has made a covenant not to give any grace without them.

Many martyrs have been saved without confession, and the Greek Church does not impose it as an obligation to all: Chrysostom quoted.

2. preclusis A; *ib.* additum C; *ib.* pñcia3 A. 4. lacarum A.

6. audeat A. 9. expññā (sic) A; expressiva C. 18. que *deest* after ita C. 22 gloriosum *deest* A. 27. cultorum A. 31. sompniani A; *ib.* ebulli A; ebullit B; ebullit C. 33. et non dando *twice* A. 38. 2<sup>m</sup> A.

neque aput alios accuses, sed obedire te volo prophete  
dicenti, *Revela domino viam tuam*: ante dominum igitur <sup>Ps. XXXVI.</sup>  
tua confitere peccata, ante deum iudicem cum oracione <sup>5</sup>  
delicta tua pronuncia, non lingua, sed consciencie tue  
memoria." Quicquid autem dixerit Graciosus vel alii, hoc 5  
cadit sub precepto tamquam necessarum ad salutem, et  
aliud est sepe *de bene esse*. Radix itaque erroris stat in  
parificatione tradicionis humane, cum lucrum sapiat,  
mandatis domini; sicut religiosi nostri dicunt quod omne  
mandatum sui prelati privati prepositi debet servari ut 10  
mandata domini, eciam plus quam Cristi consilia. Et in  
ista ficta obediencia est nimis magnus lapsus religionis  
cristiane; et per hoc patet responsio ad doctores.

Pro quo notandum quod duplex fuit error extremus  
circa confessionem peccatorum faciendam homini. 15  
Primus dixit quod nemo debet in casu aliquo homini  
confiteri, et contra illud invexerunt doctores predicti.  
Secundus error maior surrepsit cum sectis signa colen-  
cium, dicens quod nisi quis confiteatur secundum formam  
et tempus quod ipsi instituerunt, eo ipso ex inobediencia 20  
incidit in mortale. Et istam blasphemiam niterentur cuncta  
fideles destruere, tenendo medium virtuosum: scilicet,  
quod quandoque debet homo gratis confiteri antistiti,  
et quandoque talem confessionem diffugere.

Quantum ad dictum Augustini, patet quod loquitur 25 I.  
contra illos qui dicunt quod non licet confiteri homini;  
et sic conceditur in casu quod aliquis laycus tenetur  
de necessitate salutis confiteri proprio sacerdoti; neces-  
sitatem ex suppositione intelligo; ut, posito quod erret  
in fide, et deus aptet sibi unum sacerdotem discretum 30

ut ipsum consulat. Et sic, versis laicis in sapientes ad  
fidem scripture, et versis sacerdotibus in ignaros legis  
dei et imprudentes, necesse est in casu sacerdotes laicis  
confiteri. Ideo, quantum ad dictum Augustini, dicit  
fidelis quod posita paritate sapientie sacerdotum et 35  
ignorantie laicorum cum ceteris paribus (sicut fuit in  
tempore suo) laici debent sacerdotibus confiteri. Verso  
autem ordine ad contrarium, non debet fieri talis  
penitencia generalis. Ideo imprudenter est constituere  
generaliter talem legem, cum non habeant potestatem 40  
of finding

1. dm' C. 5. ergo pro autem B. 9. mundana omnes MSS.  
10. prelati deest BC. 11. triplex C. 15. peccatoris AC. 19. deus pro  
dicens A. 27. concedatur B. 31. ac pro ad AC. 39. imprudentis C.

5. Graciosus. Perhaps a mistake for Gratianus.



sacerdotes ydoneos plene per ecclesiam ordinare, nec necessitatem laicos generaliter ad istud statuere. Unde sapientis est consulere ab iniquis sacerdotibus, [et] quo ad istud consilium precavere. Ideo dicit Ambrosius, 2<sup>o</sup>

everywhere a man lit for this office shows the foolishness of the law.

5 de penitencia, quod communicacio cum malis sacerdotibus sepe nocet. "Arbitror," inquit, "quod Judas potuisset tanta domini miseracione non excludi a venia, si penitenciam non aput Judeos sed aput Christum egisset.

It is dangerous to confess to bad priests, as Judas did.

Math. XXVII, 4 *Peccavi, inquit, quod tradidi sanguinem iustum. Responderunt, quid ad nos? tu rideris!*" Et tantum est hodie periculum confiteri stultis sacerdotibus sicut tunc fuit confiteri summis sacerdotibus Iudeorum.

Et quantum ad dictum Hugonis, patet quod intelligit eundem sensum: videlicet, quod subditis egentibus con-

Hugo of St. Victor speaks in the same sense.

15 silio sacerdotis ex ignorancia debent sacerdotes prudentes consulere. Nec movet, ut arguit, quod istud non expresse

56<sup>a</sup> percipitur in scriptura, quia per idem | non debet servari oppositum, cum non exprimitur in scriptura. Et sic loquitur de confessione fienda deo, quod est simpliciter necessaria ad salutem. Confessio autem fienda

He says: If confession is not commanded in Scripture, neither is it commanded to abstain from confession.

20 homini [nunc] est ex suppositione necessaria, et nunc nocet. Unde, quia ex utraque parte potest esse defectus, intendendum est fidei scripture, que debet a sacerdotibus predicari, et in partem omissionis istius ewangelisacionis

This relates to confession made to God; the other is now necessary and now hurtful.

25 [non] oportet confessionem et alia sacramenta introducere ad gravamen ecclesie. Nam apostoli usi sunt ewangelisacione, non tali confessione; et diu post ipsos sancti heremite qui multis annis sine tali confessione vixerunt in heremo; et sic credo esse hodie multos in orbe.

30 Ulterius quantum ad dicta Lyncolniensis et quorumcunque doctorum quos oportet curare in ista materia, patet quod militant sub eadem sententia. Nam merentes in penam peccati sui habere stultos prepositos qui nesciunt ewangelisare, oportet habere aliam maneriem

As for what Grosseteste and the other doctors say, they are of the same mind.

35 in ordinacione. Et hinc credo quod ad sanandum ecclesiam a morbo quadruplici, scilicet ab ydolatria, a symonia, ab apostasia atque blasfemia, oportet uti cauteriis,

As for those who as a punishment for sin have had bad priests set over them, the cure would be to deprive the latter of their benefices.

3. et *deest omnes MSS.* 15. debet A. 18. in scriptura *deest C.* 21. nunc *before est deest omnes MSS.*; *ib.* et non C. 22. *extraque A;* *ib.* de fals *pro defectus A.* 25. non *deest omnes MSS.* 27, 28. et *vixerunt deest A.* 28. qui *deest B.* 29. celo A. 35. quod *deest A.*

25. I incline to believe that there are several words wanting after *ewangelisacionis*; if not, *non* must be supplied before *oportet* as I have done.

The general confession at the beginning of Mass is allowed to efface small sins, and great ones too if there is contrition; and without that no absolution can avail.

Private confession too is needful, but it must be free. And satisfaction to all who may have been injured must follow; without which there is no pardon.

temporalia que vocantur cleri substantia auferendo. Valet itaque omnis confessio facta in ecclesia ut in misse inicio; quia, ut dicit Hugo ubi supra, delet peccata minora, et indubie peccata maiora, dum adest contritio; et sine illa non potest eciam papa absolvere. Et quantum ad Lynconiensem, conceditur quod confessio eciam privata est necessaria, sed non exacta, vel ydolatra, vel onerosa. Et sic confitendum est post incarnationem deo et homini, ut fuit in lege veteri. Quod si peccator confiteretur privatim cuilibet in quem peccaverit, nimis diu foret antequam celebraret, quia indubie peccavit in deum et in totam universitatem creatam. Ideo rationabiliter ordinatur in missarum iniciis, quod homo confiteatur generaliter deo et toti creature rationali, quod non fuit superflue ordinatum; sed oportet quod in particulari satisfaciat cuilibet quem offendit, quia aliter non est sibi vera confessio facta nec deo.

1. tpa<sup>m</sup> A; *ib.* vocatur A; *ib.* v<sub>3</sub> A.      2. communis C; *ib.* ut in *deest* C.      3. hug<sup>r</sup> A.      4. innumera A.      6. est *pro* eciam A.  
6, 7. privata eciam est C.      7. ydolā<sup>m</sup> A.      8. on<sup>2</sup>o<sup>a</sup> A; avara *pro* onerosa BC.      9. sed B.      10. inquam A; *ib.* peccaverat B.      15. non *deest* A.      16. in quem B.

## CAPITULUM DECIMUM.

Sed 3<sup>o</sup> obicitur per hoc quod penitencia primo vel 2<sup>o</sup> modo dicta non est descriptibilis, nec docetur quomodo fieri debet; igitur diminute proceditur.

It may be objected that there is no possible definition of penance in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> sense. We deny this. Confession is the act of him that confesses; it is either internal, external, or both; either of something good, or of something evil;

5 Hic negatur antecedens, cum in principio proximi capituli describitur. Confessio enim est actus confitentis, et sumitur nunc pro confessione extrinseca, nuncque pro confessione intrinseca, et nunc mixtim. Sumitur etiam nunc pro confessione boni laudabilis, et nunc  
10 pro confessione peccati dampnabilis: primo modo sumitur crebrius in scriptura; ut, Matth. XI, dicit Christus: *Confiteor tibi domine, pater celi et terre*, etc. Et  
Math. XI, 25  
Luc. XII, 8  
Joh. I, 20  
luce XII, *quicumque me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, et filius hominis confitebitur eum coram angelis dei* etc. Et Joh. 1<sup>o</sup> de baptista legitur, quod *confessus est quia non sum ego Christus*; que confessio utique veritatis est maxime necessaria; nec valet confessio peccati, nisi de quanto est confessio veritatis.

and should in any case be true.

Quod autem datur occasio in confessionibus ad-  
20 inventis fingere falsitatem, indicat illas confessiones originari a patre mendacii. Nec sollicitor illas confessiones exactas describere, cum exactores primo peccant in grammaticam, dicentes: *Confiteor* (sponte fateor), peccata mea *coactus*, et indubie peccant consequenter in aliis  
25 scienciis et in fide. Optima igitur differentia pro descriptione huius confessionis foret dicere quod sit confessio exacta per regem superbie propter questum. Nam plane constat fidelibus ex aliis factis curatorum, quod multi non sollicitantur circa confessionem subditi propter

This is a point in which forced confessions often fail. There is in any case a grammatical error, since *to confess* means *to speak out freely*. The specific difference between this confession, and all others is that it is exacted by the King of Pride and for lucre.

1. Capitulum XIII. A. 3. de scrupulis AB. 7. que *deest* C. 12. etc. *deest* BC. 15. etc. *pro* hominibus — dei A; *ib.* de *deest* C. 16. quia *deest* C; *ib.* que *deest* BC; *ib.* itaque B. 23. dicente3 A; dicente B. 23. 24. sponte sed fateor mea facta coactus C. 24. facta pro peccata B. 25. differentia *deest* B; in C. 26. huius *drā* B; confessionis huiusmodi C. 29. maxime propter B.

It is a fact that most priests only question about tithes etc.

If the money offerings were taken from them, they would no longer hear confessions.

Would that all men knew well that they ought no more to confess to such idolatrous, leprous, simoniacal heretics, than to the devil!

Idolatrous, for avarice is idolatry; simoniacal, and deprived of the power of the keys; heretical, and therefore to be shunned as heathens. We may not even salute such a one, much less confess to him. It were better to confess to God alone than to such a man.

If the confessor, commanding the penitent to give money, even hints that it should go to himself, he should be shunned in future. If he directs alms to be given without

sanitatem sue anime, sed potius propter questum. Cuius indicium est, quod confessor solícite querit de decimis et oblacionibus directe vel indirecte; iniungit penas pecuniarias, et omittit quod foret magis necessarium subditis ad salutem. In cuius confirmacionem tolle 5 pecuniam a penitenciarío et spem lucri, et videbis quod renuet officium huiusmodi confessiones audiendi.

Et utinam omnes confitentes forent plene informati, tam intellectu quam affectu, quod nullo modo confiteantur solitarie tali presbitero quem sciunt vel probaliliter credunt plus stare pro confessionibus istis, ut fastum et questum habeat, quam ut anime confessi lucri faciat. Nam omnes tales penitenciaríi sunt ydolatre, leprosi, symoniaci et manifesti heretici. Nulli tali homo debet scienter vel reputative plus confiteri quam diabolo; 15 ergo conclusio. Nam omnis talis antiquatus in avaricia, *que est ydolorum servitus*, est infidelis deterior; que ergo communicatio Cristianí ad Belial? Item, talis symoniacus caret clavibus ecclesie, et ex comunicacione contaminat ipsum qui deberet habere super hoc conscienciam: ergo, 20 cristianus non debet tali penitenciarío confiteri. Item, talis hereticus est fugiendus *ut ethnicus*, ut docet Cristus Matth. XVIII. Ymmo, quicumque ei *ave* dixerit *comunicabit eius operibus* ex consensu; ergo, nemo debet illi 17 secretum peccati prodere tanquam Cristi vicario. Nam 25 consciencia sua debet dictari sibi oppositum: debet ergo peccator confiteri deo et non solitario homini, si non assit nisi penitencia huiusmodi sacerdotum.

Et ad probandum dictam ydolatriam. utinam omnes confitentes | unite subtrahant questum a suo confessore, 30 57<sup>a</sup> ut videant si cum Paulo querat *animas non pecuniam* confessorum. Quod si iniungat penitenciam pecuniariam, limitando (directe vel indirecte) quod ipse habeat, contritus debet ipsum auffugere; cum nemo debet tali apostate taliter obedire. Quod si iniungatur penitencia 35 per distribucionem pecunie in confuso, fiat aliis egenis, non sibi participio, quia licet fuerit aliunde indigens, tamen ut sic est indignus elemosinam etiam a deo recipere. Quod si 3<sup>o</sup> extorquet pecuniam, iniungendo graves et irracionabiles penitencias, ut pecunia redimantur, auffugiat 40 confessorem et contritus confidenter accipiat sacra-

Eph.  
V, 5  
B.

Matth.  
XVIII,  
17  
Joh.  
II, 11

- Act. V, 41  
 5 mentum. Quod si negatur subditis a prelato, adiecta excommunicatione et censuris aliis, gaudeat de persecutione quod *dignus sit pati tot tribulationes in nomine veritatis*; et considerando humiliter persecuciones et obprobria que Christus pro nobis pertulit ex malicia sacerdotum, manducat meritorius, quia spiritualiter iocundius. gloriosum corpus Christi in celo, quam minus promerens comunicans sacramentaliter cum applausu presbiteri. Deus enim non potest in necessariis suos fideles 10 deserere.
- Verumtamen innitendum est vere prudencie, confortando membra ecclesie, ut constanter agant atque celeriter pro destruenda civitate Babylonica et meretrice que in ipsa presidet, cum excluduntur a celesti 15 Jerusalem qui consensu finalis inpenitencie signo sunt signati, ut patet Apoc. 20 et 25. Contempnat itaque fidelis prudenter leges bestie, abominans hoc porisma, quod "si quidquam statuit, licet sit falsum notum huiusmodi, eciam debet sibi parere, faciendo quod iubet, 20 donec decernat oppositum." Sic enim extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus, cum exigit tantam obedienciam sicut Christus, et super hoc potest errare ex libertate arbitrii. Nam iuxta hoc principium anticristi, si bestia erraret perpetuo, fidelis debet perpetuo ipsam consequi 25 in errore et sic aufugere veritatem, que est Christus, et diabolice sequi illam.
- C. Unde tria sunt principia anticristi; primum iam dictum est, quod in voluntate bestie, ac si esset deus, 30 universa sunt posita, licet notorie obviet legi Christi. Secundum principium hominis peccati, quod generatio spiritualis filiorum dei nedum consequitur generacionem carnalem hereditarie, sed generacionem localem ex electione perflida constituta. Tercium principium ex istis 35 ipse instituit, quam plus ponderatur vocalis confessio quam ipse instituit, quam cordis contritio quam deus instituit et requirit.
- Sed redeundo ab istis blasfemiis, videndum est secundum doctrinas sanctorum, quomodo oris confessio debet fieri. Ponit autem lyncolniensis 108º, quod patenter hec

specifying, they should be given to others, not to him.

Should he impose unreasonable penances, in order to get money, the faithful should leave him and take the Sacrament after due contrition.

And if excommunication ensues, let them rejoice and communicate spiritually.

We must act prudently, firmly, and promptly against Babylon; for all those that bear the mark of the Beast shall be excluded from Heaven.

Especially let us abhor this principle: that whatever may be decreed, whether right or wrong, should be submitted to.

This is the first of three antichristian principles; the second holds that spiritual generation may depend upon election made in a certain place; the third, that the confession of the lips is better than contrition.

How oral confession should be made. Five requisites: hatred of sin,

8. communicatus AB. 9. fideles suo (sic) C. 11, 12. confortandi B. 15. assensu B. 16. 20 et deest B. 22. Christus deest B. 25. sequi C. 27. Nota 3ª principia anticristi in marg. B. 33. puida constitutam C. 33, 34. est pullulans ex istis, quod C. 37. Nota lyncolniensem in marg. B. 38. eorum pro oris B. 39. dco 108º C; ib. pten' A.



sorrow, resolve  
not to fall again,  
confession when  
possible, and  
satisfaction.

Long quotation  
from  
Grosseteste.  
Hatred of sin  
means hatred of  
all sin; not of  
one only;

and this  
implies that  
whatever can  
be done to  
destroy sin  
in others and  
in self is really  
done.

A man who  
persecutes sin  
becomes  
righteous  
thereby.

And this hatred  
must be  
perpetual;  
therefore there  
must be a  
resolve never  
to sin again.

And confession  
is implied in  
hatred of sin,  
since this helps  
to destroy it.  
As Hell is the  
penance of the  
impenitent —  
infinite but  
compelled

quinque secuntur penitenciam: peccati odium et dolor, velle  
nunquam ad peccatum redire, (si oportunitas adest) peccati  
confessio, et satisfaccio. Qui autem odit peccatum, quia  
peccatum, odit omne peccatum. "Unde," inquit, "patet quod  
qui vere penitet de uno, penitet de omnibus. Unde qui 5  
videntur sibi odire aliquod unum peccatum et amore  
amplectuntur aliud, non oderunt illud quia peccatum  
est, ac per hoc nec illud oderunt, sed oderunt aliquid  
comitans illud; ut aut infamiam aut dampnum aut  
penam aliquam. Item, qui odit peccatum, quia peccatum, 10  
odit omne peccatum ubicunque; sic ergo vult illud  
occidi et non esse ubicunque est possibile illud occidi  
et non esse: ergo, vult quodlibet peccatum occidi et  
non esse in quolibet viatore; maxime autem illud vult  
occidi in se, ubi sibi plus nocet. Sed si hoc vult non 15  
tepentem nec saucia voluntate, agit ut occidatur peccatum  
in quocunque, quibus potest correpcionibus, mali dete-  
stacionibus, boni persuasione, exempli ostensione: peni-  
tens itaque persecutor est peccati et iniusticie; sed qui  
peccatum et iniusticiam persequitur, quomodo non bonus 20  
et iustus est penitens? ergo eo quod persecutor est  
mali et iniusti, iustus et bonus est. Verum igitur peccati  
odium est odire illud propter se, quia peccatum, quia  
malum, quia summo bono oppositum: cuius veri odii  
signa sunt odire illud esse in omni homine, in omni 25  
tempore. Item, si odit peccatum et vult illud non esse,  
vult (modis quibus potest) agere ut sint ea que peccatum  
evacuant; ac de his est compassio et oracio bonorum. Vult  
ergo bonis que de hiis docent peccatum manifestari, ut  
eorum oracione et compassione speciali possit deleri. Unde 30  
qui vere penitet, confitebitur, si potest. Item, cum in D.  
peccato criminali (quia de criminalibus hic intendimus) sit  
infiniti boni amissio, ymmo infiniti boni spontanea abieccio,

3. quod A. 5. de omnibus *in marg.* C. 6. amare A. 8. a'd A;  
aliud (*clare*) C. 11. igitur C; *ib.* w<sup>t</sup> A. 12. occidit A. 13. igitur C.  
15. occidere C; *ib.* sibi *deest* BC; *ib.* si si A; *ib.* non *deest* A. 16. non  
*pro* nec A. 17. malis C. 23. est *pro* quia *after* peccatum B. 26. w<sup>t</sup> A.  
28. hac de hisque A; at quem de his est B. 29. quibus decet A.  
30. spiritualibus BC; possunt B; possent C.

1. *Quinque* is in all the MSS. and is repeated a few pages further; yet in the quotation from Grosseteste, I can find but four conditions of penance. Probably sorrow for sin, which he seems to include under the head of satisfaction, is counted separately by Wyclif.

nonne hec spontanea abieccio exigit de rigore iusticie, suffering — the  
sicut in inpenitente involuntarium dolorem infinitum, penitent should  
sic in penitente voluntarium infinitum? scilicet, ut penitens vellet sine fine, spontanea voluntate, tantam iacturam suffer  
voluntarily for  
ever, until he is  
told that it is  
enough.

5 dolore, nisi is, qui sponte abiecit misericordiam, vellet  
57<sup>b</sup> huius doloris | aliquando miseriam tollere? quomodo  
erit penitens iustus, nisi velit infiniti boni spontaneam  
abieccionem semper dolere et punire, donec dicat ei is  
cui reconciliari cupit: Satis est? quomodo amandi sine  
10 modo est dolenda amissio sine modo? Quomodo ergo  
in voluntate transitoria creata fuit voluntas peccati per-  
petua, cui in inpenitente iuste debetur et redditur  
perpetua involuntaria pena: ita in voluntate penitentis  
est dolor, et satisfaccio penalis, condicionalis saltem,  
15 perpetuus. Sed misericordia iudicis aliquando terminatur;  
non igitur finiet vere penitens spontaneum dolorem  
Apo. peccati, donec *abstergat deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis* Such is  
XVII, sanctorum, ut iam *non sit luctus, neque dolor, quia* perpetual  
24 *priora abierunt*. Satisfaccio autem est ad honorem eius sorrow at  
least on the  
part of the  
sinner, and until  
God shall  
wipe all tears  
away.

20 erga quem est peccatum alicuius rei solucio, cuius  
solvens debitor non esset, si non peccasset. Quid autem  
est quod ad honorem dei exsolvi possit quod homo  
peccator deo non debeat? utique nichil. Verumtamen,  
si homo nunquam peccasset, nullius pene debitor esset.  
25 Item, si nullum hominis fuisset peccatum, nulla esset  
hominis miseria, et ita nulla essent misericordie opera.  
Item, si peccatum non esset, nulla esset per corrupcionem  
defeccio boni, pro qua supplenda necessaria esset oracio.  
Igitur, si peccatum hominis non fuisset istarum rerum,  
30 homo debitor non fuisset. Unde hec proprie in satis-  
faccione deo offeruntur, quorum nullum esset ab homine  
debitum, si nullum esset hominis peccatum; laus autem  
et alia forte aliqua, que in patria erunt iocundissima  
et nullo modo penalia; que etiam, licet homo non

But satisfaction  
implies the  
payment of a  
debt with what  
is not already  
due; and as  
before sin no  
works of mercy,  
no orisons, no  
praises coming  
(as they now  
come) with  
effort and  
difficulty, were  
due, these may  
be considered  
as satisfaction.

5. dolere B; delere m̃a C; *ib.* nisibus B; *ib.* quem A; *ib.* unam B.  
8. is *deest* B. 9. est *deest* A; *ib.* quoniam AB. 11. c'iãta A.  
12. impietas A; cui in penitente B. 13. perpetua voluntaria C.  
15. 1<sup>pm</sup>a<sup>2</sup> A. 21. Quis A. 23. p̃cto C. 24. nullus A. 26, 27. miseri-  
cordie — esset *deest* B; essent — nulla *deest* C. 31. est C. 34. nullo C.

5. The text is certainly corrupt here, and the numerous  
variantes are of but little use. Perhaps *dolere* ought to be  
substituted for *dolore*.

But sin is a greater harm than the salvation of all creatures is a good; to satisfy therefore, He that is greater than the salvation of all — Christ our saviour — must be offered up with our penance.

Thus Grosseteste only mentions oral confession as a requisite in case it can be made;

while all the others are absolutely necessary conditions.

And if the right priest cannot be found, the faithful should grieve over this, and believe firmly that our Great High Priest will always give us absolution, if we are contrite. Not even the Pope could absolve without this condition.

peccasset, essent creatori debita: hec, propter corpus quod *corrumpitur, et agravat animam*, et propter *legem, que in membris repugnat legi mentis* sunt plurimum penalia. Unde, in quantum sunt penalia, sunt eciam penitencialia. Item, cum satisfaciens debeat rependere aliquid quod maius sit omni eo pro quo non debuisset delinquisse (non debuisset autem pro universa creatura salvanda deum abiecisse peccando); oportet igitur per hoc quod aliquid maius solvat quam possit solvere universa pura creatura, hancque solucionem solus Cristus fecerit: patet ergo quod nullius satisfaccio aliqua est, nisi in quantum unita est satisfaccio Cristi, qui *se ipsum pro nobis in satisfaccionem obtulit*, ut sic in ipso satisfaciente condigne satisfaciamus. Penitentiam autem comitatur dei miseracio, precum exaudicio, peccati dissimulacio, et ipsa est cordis contriti vivificacio, in ara cordis hostie sacrificacio, dei glorificacio et ad patriam de exilio reicio.”

Ex istis dictis huius sancti elicitur quod vocalis confessio facta presbitero non est necessaria nisi ex suppositione ad delecionem peccati. Ideo nominans quinque necessaria ad delecionem peccati sic subtiliat: si detur ydoneitas et facultas, requiritur oris confessio.

Alia autem quatuor requisita exprimit simpliciter absolute; quia, ut dicit, oportet omnino satisfacere deo. Et cum sit ignarus ad debite penitendum pro crimine, deus dedit sacerdoti, eius vicario, potestatem consulendi et remittendi peccata ecclesie: quod non potest, nisi ecclesia confessa sibi fuerit.

Quod si caruerit sacerdote ydoneo, qui sciat discrete peccata discernere et pene medicinam aptare, debet dolere quod ecclesia meruit habere in penam peccati tales ydiotas yppocritas. Et consequenter debet ut fidem credere quod impossibile est summum sacerdotem cordi contrito deficere, qui intimet quomodo contritus debet satisfacere nisi ponat obicem.

Et debet tercio credere quod propter absolucionem vel penitentiam, eciam pape, non magis aut minus peccatum remittitur, nisi de quanto se dignificat mediante

1. causam corpus A. 7. debuit C. 9. ad pro aliquid A.  
12. satisfaccioni B. 15. coittan<sup>2</sup> A; comittat<sup>2</sup> C. 18. reduccio BC.  
19. dictis deest A. 30. facit C. 32. eciam pro ecclesia C. 36. obicere A.  
38. papa A.

Sap.  
IX, 15  
Rom.  
VII, 23  
E.  
Heb.  
IX, 14

gracia apud deum; et sepe contingit quod penitenciaris vere absolvit, quando conformat se divine sentencie. Et crebrius fallit mendaciter se et populum, quando discordat a divina sententia.

- 5 Unde non lego quod apostoli remiserunt peccatum vel excommunicarunt simpliciter, nisi quando habuerunt ad hoc revelacionem; reputative autem et condicionaliter absolvimus, sicut Lyncolniensis dicit quod omnis crimin-  
 10 osus est debitor pene perpetue, sicut debet dolere perpetuo, subintellige, nisi deus graciose remittat.
- F. Unde videtur quod non modica foret elemosina detegere istam pomposam blasphemiam satraparum, qua dicunt quod ipsi habent potestatem remittendi peccata ad  
 15 votum, cum deus pepigit quod regulariter conformabit se arbitrio eorum. Omnis, inquam, talis est anticristus qui extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus. Nec sequitur ex isto desperacio; sed ammota heresi firmior spes in Christo. Debet enim fidelis credere quod, si contritus (eciam Judas vel Lucifer) Christo vere peniteat, Cristus  
 58<sup>a</sup> 20 graciose remittat; et sine hoc non valet | remissio humana, nec proficit, nisi de quanto ad istud habilitat. Error autem blasphemus est, quo peccator potens confidit in homine dicente sibi, quod pro pecunia vult peccata dimittere et ante tribunal Cristi respondere de  
 25 ipsis in die iudicii. Tales enim hereses dant infidelibus seductis audaciam ad peccandum, et subtrahunt spem ac honorem quem fidelis haberet ad Cristum, dispergendo ipsa inter membra diaboli.
- Secundo, patet ex dictis doctorum quod peccator  
 30 debet confiteri domino, et in casu homini, omne peccatum suum cum circumstantia agravante; ut docet Augustinus 2<sup>o</sup> de *visitacione infirmorum* et in *de vera penitencia* dict. quinta. "Consideret," inquit, "peccator qualitatem criminis in loco et tempore, in perseverancia,  
 35 in variacione persone, et quali hoc fecerit temptacione, et in ipsius vicii multiplici execucione. Et iste circumstantie communiter notantur in isto octonario huius versus: *Quis, quid, ubi, quante, cum quot, cur, quomodo,*

The Apostles are never said to have absolved without a revelation: our absolution must therefore be conditional,

and not absolute, like those priests who pretend that God has made a compact with them; the removal of this heresy should give us more faith in Christ, who would have forgiven Judas or Lucifer.

Sometimes a priest, for a sum of money, takes upon himself the sins of a great man; this is blasphemy.

Doctrine of Augustine as regards the confession of all aggravating circumstances.

It is necessary to examine:

1. contingit AC. 7. autem *deest* B. 8. lyncon C. 10. se remittat A. 17. sanior A; firmior C; *ib.* spes species C. 21. perficit A; *ib.* ad *deest* C. 23. pro pecunia quod A; *ib.* ut A et sic semper. 25. infidelibus *deest* A. 29. doctris C. 30. homini pro domino A; deo pro domino C. 32. vera *deest* C. 32, 33. penitencia, ut docetur in de vera penitencia B. 33. peccator *deest* A. 34. et *deest* C. 38. cum quo AC.

1. *Who the sinner is; as the condition of the person may render the sin more grievous:* quando. Oportet enim considerare gravedinem peccati, cum gravius peccat persona, que ex statu debet esse sancior; ut peccatum sacerdotis qui debet esse gravior, est dampnabilius quam peccatum simile in abiecciori officario. Oportet secundo notare speciem peccati, cum 5 homicidium comuniter sit furto gravius. Ideo oportet confiteri *quis quid fecerit*. Et tercio oportet notare locum *in quo* peccatum comittitur; quia peccatur in ecclesia et locis sacris gravius quam in campo; nec hoc solum est verum de furto, homicidio vel fornicacione, 10 sed pocius de peccatis anime, ut superbia, invidia et ira, cum aliis peccatis diaboli ipsa sequentibus. Quarto, oportet notare quantitatem criminis quoad numerum, *quociens* quis peccavit, vel quoad diuturnitatem, qua in malicia perseveravit. Oportet 5<sup>o</sup> notare, *cum quot* et 15 qualibus complicitibus peccabatur; ut in luxuria variacione persone fedate facit ad gravedinem peccati, sicut gravius est incitare personas plures et digniores ad consensum facinoris, quam foret cum paribus. Hoc dimisso, 6<sup>o</sup> oportet G. notare *movens* vel incitans ad peccandum; ut gravius 20 peccat, qui ex pura malicia vel levi evidencia deum offenderit, quam qui ex forti incitante peccaverit. Et ideo in luxuria attenditur gravedo peccati ex presentacione temptantis ad luxum, et de aliis peccatis modus temptandi gravat vel excusat peccatum. 7<sup>o</sup> oportet attendere 25 ad *modum* perpetrandi facinus, ut in occisione crudeliore maior malicia est ostensa; et deliberata malicia post quietem anime gravat scelera ultra hoc quod forent, si cum paribus essent subito perpetrata. 8<sup>o</sup>, oportet *tempus* attendere, quia crimen in sacro tempore comis- 30 sum, ut in quadragesima, die veneris, et diebus festis est cum paribus eo gravius.
2. *What sin has been committed; for one mortal sin may be worse than another.*
3. *Where it was committed; if in a sacred place, &c. and this is also true, even for wicked thoughts.*
4. *How many times the sin was committed, or how long the intention has lasted.*
5. *With how many and what persons;*
6. *For what motive; whether under strong temptation or not. &c.*
7. *In what manner the deed was done.*
8. *At what time; if during Lent, or on a festival.*

Waiving all questions as to how far these circumstances render a sin more grievous, we may note that the penance enjoined should be of contrary nature to the fault;

Difficultates autem scolasticas de gravedine peccati ex istis proportionalibus resultantes relinquo scolasticis; addendo quod pena medicinalis secundum crimen debet 35 aptari tamquam sibi contraria, cum secundum principia naturalium *contraria contrariis sunt curanda*. Ut comuniter contra triplex peccatum diaboli, iniungitur oracio cum devota contemplacione; contra peccata mundi in-

1. persone AC. 3. sanciori omnes MSS.; ib. deo gravior C.  
10. est verum est A. 19. facinorum C. 21. levi deest AB.  
23. peccone omnes MSS. 24, 25. peccandi B. 31. 8<sup>a</sup> pro quadragesima A.  
33. enim B. 36. sibi deest C. 38. scilicet diaboli A. 39. seculi BC



- iungitur corporalis elemosina, et contra peccata carnis  
ieiunium cum aliis macerantibus corpus peccantis. Ymmo  
sicut ista tria genera criminum sunt connexa, sic pene  
pro ipsis sunt cum prudencia presbiteri connectende.
- 5 Sed exsuperat humanam prudenciam taxare precise  
quanta pena sit debita pro peccato; dicente Augustino  
in *de natura boni* capitulo 9<sup>o</sup>, quod "qualis et quanta  
pena cuique culpe debeatur divini iudicii est, non hu-  
mani". Sufficit ergo confessorum intencione pia quadam  
10 probabilitate penam iniungere; quia oportet preter ipsam  
stare divino iudicio, nec tantam penam de comuni  
cursu contingit viatorem suffere pro crimine quin  
maior sit debita. Ideo prudencia confessoris stat in hoc  
quod iniungat penam levem in gracia sufferendam.
- 15 Unde lapsus blasphemi est dicere quod quantamcunque  
penam parvam sacerdos iniunxerit, non est amplior  
sufferenda; ymmo quod illa per se sufficiat ad salutem. Tunc  
enim penitentes et penitenciam huius[modi] complentes  
non forent amplius in purgatorio purgandi. Iterum peni-  
20 tenciarii haberent noticiam adequandi penam pro crimine,  
sicut deus; et cum varii varie iniungant penitencias  
improporcionales peccatis (quia pro gravioribus penas  
leviores, et e contra, et pro peccatis equalibus inequales),  
relinquitur vel quod deus iniuste punit ex stulticia con-  
25 fessoris, vel quod confessor ultra deum habet potenciam  
H. puniendi. Iterum, si quilibet posset pecunia vel favore  
presbiteri peccata quecunque redimere, quis timeret  
divinum iudicium in peccando? Ideo certum est quod  
nichil foret blasphemius in ore presbiteri quam dicere  
30 quod precise penam quam ipse iniunxerit pro quocunque  
crimine, deus taxat. Tunc enim quicquid ultra comple-  
cionem huius pene peccator tollerat, ut penam corporis  
usque ad mortem, non deus bonus iuste infligit, quod  
est contra perfeccionem divinam, que neminem punit,  
35 nisi citra condignum, vel misericorditer. et contra peccati  
gravedinem. Quodlibet enim peccatum, cum sit comisum  
58<sup>n</sup> in deum, est dignum pena infinitum gravi; | ymmo  
anichilacione, nisi deus misericorditer respiciat pecca-

against pride  
and irreligion,  
prayer;  
against  
worldliness,  
almsgiving;  
against lust,  
fasting.  
But it is  
impossible to  
fix a sufficient  
amount of  
penance for sin  
committed; this  
rests with God  
not with man.

It is therefore  
blasfemy to say  
that any  
penance,  
however small,  
given by the  
priest, is  
sufficient.  
If so, there  
would be no  
expiation for  
sin in  
Purgatory.  
As penances  
are unequal,  
God would be  
unjust, or the  
priest more  
powerful than  
He.

It would be  
possible to be  
delivered from  
all fear of God's  
Judgment for  
money or  
friendship.  
Every temporal  
trouble sent  
by God would  
be beyond the  
deserts of the  
sufferer, and  
therefore unjust.

And yet sin  
deserves an  
infinite penalty.

1. connectande B. 7. nlla = nulla A; *ib.* 4<sup>o</sup> omnes MSS. 12. gti<sup>t</sup> =  
contigit A; *ib.* quando AB. 13. gforib C. 18. hinc B. 19. ex-  
purgandi B; *ib.* Item C. 20. habent A. 21. et *deest* B. 24, 25. conforis C.  
26. Item C. 32. illius BC. 33. ad *deest* A. 36. q'd lic3 C.

7. Aug. *De natura boni*, cap. 9, Ed. Louvain, tom. X, col. 604.

torem. Tales igitur blasfemi penitenciarum forent anticristi discipuli.

It follows that this confession and absolution is not absolutely necessary; and that many are not really penitent, since they do not do all in their power to take away sin from the Church.

From the Pope downwards we find false penitents; men fallen from the perfection of the Apostolic state;

worldly and avoiding no occasions of worldliness.

Such men, by their absolutions and by whatever they do, are hurtful to the Church.

The pertinacity with which the Pope defends his possessions is a mark of infidelity.

It is easy to judge of this by works; if his

Ex isto patet quod talis confessio, talis penitencie iniunctio et talis absolucio non est absolute necessario requisita; sed nunc proficiens et nunc nocens; 3<sup>o</sup> patet 5 quam fecte multi penitent; cum secundum doctorem, ad veram penitenciam requiritur detestacio peccati simpliciter, sic quod peccans habeat voluntatem efficacem destruendi nedum peccatum proprium, sed quodcunque peccatum ecclesie, quantum potest, quia aliter foret 10 culpabilis ex consensu, et negligens salutem propriam non iuaret corpus ecclesie secundum potenciam sibi datam. Consideremus itaque a papa usque ad infimum subiectum, et patebit ex isto quod falsa penitencia occupatur. Debent enim penitere quod temptacione 15 seculi a perfeccione status apostolici sunt dilapsi: de quo cum paribus, si non displicent, sunt impenitentes dampnandi. Et si de isto eos vere peniteat, debent instar apostolorum *mundum et concupiscenciam eius* 1 Joan. I, 19 deserere, cum nemo vere peniteat qui occasionem querit 20 unde peccavit; talis indubie non amat peccatum suum extingwere, sed fovere; et periculum talis heretici nimis nocet ecclesie. Ideo totus cristianismus debet talem prelatum ut anticristum contempnere, quia eius benedictio, absolucio, dispensacio et quicquid fecerit nocet ecclesie. 25 Ideo nota pure infidelitatis est quod papa defendit tam infideliter partem suam. Si enim papa nititur defendere plus dominium suum quam Cristi pauperiem; si plus fovet symoniam, quam sanctimoniam; si plus intendit blasfeme confederacioni. quam sancte ewangelisacioni: quis dubitat quin sit ydolatra blasfemus et pessimus anticristus? 30 Istam autem potest populus ex operibus patenter iudicare; ut, si plus appetat vel aspirat in se ad temporalem excellenciam quam ad renuncia-

3. peno C.

16. a *deest* A.

17. quocunque A.

18. ipsos C.

19. γεννηται AC.

20. quia *pro* qui A.

21. quia talis AC.

26. populus

omnes MSS.; *ib.* descendit A; defendat B.

32. plus *pro* populus C.

2. In all that precedes it is not quite clear whether Wyclif objects to a certain amount of penance, imposed and accepted, considered as merely making the sacrament *valid*, or considered as completely doing away with all further liabilities. It seems to be the latter; but if so, I doubt whether even in his time any one ventured to say the contrary *explicitly*. It would clearly be the ruin of the doctrine of Indulgences.

- cionem apostolicam; si promovet ad curam anime suos  
 complices quoad artem huius cure inhabiles; et si extollit  
 suas tradiciones, quibus ferventer hec scelera erubescens  
 1 Tim. V, 8 vel tacens ewangelium est *infideli deterior*; quis non  
 5 detestatur et fugit talem refugam, ymmo nititur disper-  
 dere sectam suam? Et illam sectam vel privative vel  
 positive est facile fideli cognoscere: ut silentium  
 ewangelizandi, carencia vitam Cristi exemplandi, et usur-  
 pacio temporalia fidelium spoliandi. Optandum namque  
 10 foret fidelibus anathematizari a talibus, non benedici,  
 cum deus de illis dicit: *Maledicam benedictionibus vestris*.  
 Malachi II, 2 Aliqui itaque orando, alii hortando et aliqui concul-  
 cando debent tali apostate obviare; quia Matth. 5, dicit  
 Matth. V, 13 veritas: *Quod si sal evanuerit ad nichilum valet ultra*,  
 15 *nisi ut mittatur foras et conculcetur ab hominibus*. Fidelis  
 itaque debet credere ewangelio, postpositis falsis glosis,  
 et cavere omnino ne consensu omissionis sit proditor  
 veritatis.
- Notet secundo fidelis, si sit falsa penitencia in epi-  
 20 scopis et prelatiis, et omnino, si secundum condignos  
 fructus penitencie reddent, sequendo Cristi vestigia. Nam  
 omittendo hunc fructum decipiunt sese et populum, cum  
 iudicent se esse non vere penitentes, sed hereticos in-  
 duratos; et in isto patencius quod in castigando subiectos  
 25 dimittunt leges papales super ewangelio fundatas, et  
 puniunt annuatim pena pecuniaria peccatores: qualis  
 peccati continuacio est dampnatissima symonia. Quid,  
 rogo, dampnacijs quam relinquere legem dei atque  
 ecclesie, iniuriam dei pro moneta proditorie vendere,  
 30 et salutem subditi pro lucro postponere? specialiter post  
 tantam temporalium habundanciam ex dotacione, post  
 tantam simulatam yppocrisin, quod hoc fit ex caritatis  
 fervore, et post tam avarum amplexum pecunie in curato  
 neglecto improvide dispensante? Quis dubitat quin tanta  
 35 macula erit aput summum iudicem severissime con-  
 dempnata? Talis autem non vere penitet, nec est mem-  
 brum sancte matris ecclesie, cum apostolus dicat Eph. 5.  
 Eph. V, 5 *Omnis avarus, quod est ydolorum servitus, non habet*  
 K. *hereditatem in regno Cristi et dei*. Si autem non habet

temporalities  
are too much  
thought of, if  
his incapable  
partisans are  
promoted, if his  
traditions are  
extolled,  
such an apostate  
should be hated,

his curses  
wished for, his  
blessings  
spurned: he  
should be dealt  
with by  
prayer,  
remonstrances  
or open scorn.

False penance  
may be  
discovered in  
those Bishops

who set aside  
Papal laws  
founded on the  
Gospel, and  
punish sinners  
by means of  
a yearly fine:  
which simony  
renders sin  
perpetual, and  
is especially  
condemnable,  
considering the  
Bishops' riches,  
their pretended  
charity and  
their real greed.

Such men are  
only in, not of  
the Church, like  
hirelings or  
wolves.

4. qui pro quis omnes MSS. 5. et deest A; ib. confugit A. 7. si-  
 militudinem AC. 14. ultra deest A. 15. hominibus deest A. 17. lit A.  
 21. reddent AC. 23. esse deest C. 24. in before castigando deest C.  
 28. nisi pro quam C. 34. improvidus A. 35. ma = materia A.

hereditatem in ecclesia, sed tamquam mercenarius vel lupus sit in illa, quis dubitat quod non sit de illa? quia, iuxta fidem, nemo est sponsa Cristi vel membrum eius, nisi dei filius adoptivus, et iuxta argumentum apostoli, *si sit dei filius, tunc est heres* et per consequens habet hereditatem in regno Cristi et dei. Et sic creditur quod multi capitales secundum iudicium mundi sunt in ecclesia, non de illa. Ista igitur est ydolatRIA practica, qua fedatur ecclesia; et ad illam consequitur ydolatRIA et heresis multiplex circa sacramentum corpus Cristi; et omnia ista ex eodem fonte processerunt, cum secundum apostolum, *Radix omnium malorum est cupiditas*.<sup>1 Tim. VI, 10</sup>

None have the heritage, unless they be sons of God and co-heirs with Christ: and many, great according to the world, are only in, not of the Church, and thence proceeds the practical idolatry that has produced so many abuses.

Ambrose quoted.

Speaking of death, he says: It is a good thing; but in order not to fear it, we must live unworldly lives;

that our soul, like an eagle, may soar on high, and escape the snares

of riches and of the passions.

Seeking either gold or silver or possessions, we are ensnared,

Sed attenderemus ad dictum beati Ambrosii in *de bono mortis*, dicentis quod "mors est mundi liberacio, virtutum suscitacio et a carcere ad quietem transicio. Primum patet de morte Cristi. Pro secundo dicitur quod nichil plus valet ad domandum carnis desideria quam pensare qualis erit mortua; et tercium patet de morte iustorum, per quam anima liberatur de carcere corporis corrupti contubernio et coniungitur angelorum consorcio. Sed ne timeamus hoc bonum, oportet mundum contempnere et circa spiritualia ac eterna contendere. Unde Cristus, Johannes 14, in proximo moriturus dixit: *Surgite, eamus hinc*, precipiens ut unusquisque surgat de terris, erigat animam humi iacentem, ad superna excitet aquilam suam; illam aquilam, de qua dictum est: *Renovabitur sicut aquile iuventus tua*; ad animam hoc dictum est. Anima ergo nostra, sicut aquila, alta petat, supra nubes volet, renovatis splendescat exuviis; celo volatus suos inferat, ubi in laqueos incidere non possit. Avis enim, que descendet ex alto, vel que in altum se extollere non potest, frequenter a laqueis capitur aut visco fallitur, aut quibuscunque irretitur insidiis. Sic quoque et anima nostra caveat ad hec mundana descendere: laqueus est in auro, viscus in argento, nexus in predio, clavus est in amore. Dum aurum petimus, strangulamur; dum argentum querimus

Rom. VIII, 17

1 Tim. VI, 10

Johan. XIV, 31

Ps. CII, 5

11. p̄cesserunt A; processerant BC. 13. Si B; *ib.* episcopi Ambrosii B.  
 20. corporis *deest* A. 21. cum oportet A. 21, 22. mundus A. 23. 18 BC.  
 25. terre A. 26. a'qlla A. 27. ut BC. 30. in *deest* omnes MSS.  
 33. irritetur B. 35. viscum C.

13. Ambrosius *De Bono Mortis*, c. V, ed. Ben., t. I, col. 466. The quotation is very free, and, towards the beginning especially, looks like an abstract of what precedes.

in visco eius heremus; dum predium invadimus alligamur, <sup>to the detriment of our soul, which is greater than the loss of the world.</sup>  
 Quid inane querimus lucrum, preciose anime detrimento?  
 Exiguus est tibi totus mundus pro unius anime dispendio.  
 Matth. *Quid enim prodest homini, si universum mundum lucretur.*  
 XVI, 26 *anime vero sue detrimentum paciatur? Aut quam dabit* <sup>And our passions, whether lust, or grief or anger or any other, have the same effect.</sup>  
*homo commutationem pro anima sua? Non auro redimitur,*  
 non argento; ymo auro amittitur. Mulieris decus, dum  
 temptatur, auffugit. Clavus est libido, clavus tristitia,  
 clavus iracundia; clavi sunt omnes passiones, que velut  
 10 nexu quodam animam nostram penetrant et infigunt  
 corpori visceribusque eius annectunt. Fugiamus ergo ista  
 mala."

Ex ista obstinacia convincere potest fidelis, si prelatus  
 vel laicus sit in crimine obstinatus. Domini enim tem-  
 15 porales noscuntur esse inpenitentes ex consideratione  
 L. consimili. Si enim vere eis displiceat defedacio ecclesie,  
 qua symoniace ministrant temporalia, ut Cristi primeva  
 religio dissolvatur, ut sancta mater ecclesia ab expedito  
 cursu post sponsum distrahatur et ut perturbacio regno-  
 20 rum et reipublice faveatur; quis dubitat quin illud  
 celeriter corrigerent, cum possent faciliter; nec aliter  
 fructuose vel meritorie peniterent. Nec valet fucus quo  
 fingitur quod finem istum non intendunt, sed honorem et  
 profectum ecclesie; cum ista crassa ignorancia implicat eos  
 25 velle mala predicta que debent cognoscere inde sequi. Aliter  
 enim oportet concedere quod nullus apostata vult pec-  
 care. Debent autem temporales domini et reges precipue,  
 non obstantibus anticristi legibus, de bonis cleri quorum  
 sunt domini, ewangelice providere: hoc est, facere quod  
 30 nec episcopi, nec rectores, nec propositi, nec abbates,  
 habeant unum pedem predii vel redditus perpetui, sed  
 pure vivant de elemosinis populi cui ministrant in  
 spiritualibus, et specialiter in ewangelio.

Et si allegentur traditiones refuge vel iuramenta  
 35 ydolatRIA sibi facta, dicant seculares concorditer cum  
 Ps. II, 3 sancto David psalmo 2<sup>o</sup>. *Disrumpamus vincula eorum*  
*et proiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum. Qui habitat in*  
<sup>To all arguments and oaths alleged, they should reply: Let us break their chains and throw away their yoke!</sup>

2. destrimentum B. 5. dabis B; dāb C. 6. homo deest BC; ib. tua BC.  
 7. aurum A. 9. vere pro velut A. 10. nexu C; ib. nostram deest A;  
 ib. infigunt B. 16. de fedacione AB. 17. que A. 18. expeditur A.  
 19. distrahitur B. 20. toveatur BC. 25. dicunt AB; ib. inde sequi  
 deest C. 27. tales C. 28. antecristinis AC; ib. et ius de B. 30. re-  
 positi AC.

8. *Auffugit*. St. Ambrose has *astringit*; I only note this reading among many on account of its importance.



These *chains*  
are the  
traditions by  
which the  
simple are  
bound;  
and the *yoke*  
is the bond of  
blind allegiance  
to Antichrist.

Christ's life,  
being the best,  
should be the  
model for the  
clergy.  
It is madness to  
despise pure and  
drink turbid  
water;  
our faith tells  
us that we  
should imitate  
Christ's life.

But the enemy  
is wroth at the  
very mention of  
loss of his  
possessions;

He prevails on  
princes to  
despoil a foreign  
Church; and if  
they should do  
that out of  
charity, how  
much more our  
own Church,  
which they  
should love  
more!

*celis irridebit eos.* Vincula eorum sunt tradiciones quibus  
simplices laqueantur. Cum hiis enim et prediis contexta  
est tela aranee, in qua bestiole capiuntur, que gaudent  
dicerent illud psalmi 133<sup>i</sup>: *laqueus contritus est, et nos*  
*liberati sumus.* Iugum autem est liga ceci iuramenti et 5  
devocionis blasfeme, qua principes et eorum subditi  
anticristo et suis complicitibus sunt subiecti. Oportet enim  
fidelem credere quod Cristus cum suis apostolis cepit  
sibi in conversacione bonum honoris et comodi, vivendo  
vitam summe pauperem et expropriariam. Contra 10  
quam si anticristus infideliter remurmuret, signent cum  
tamquam infidelem freneticum vel ex contagione  
infidelitatis gregis domini infectivum. Excuciant igitur  
principes a se infidelitatem istam refuge, et regulentur  
lege scripture, cum lex sit *immaculata*, qua anime fideles 15  
ad dominum convertuntur. Stultus inquam et infidelis  
foret, qui gratis biberet aquam turbidam et venenosam,  
despecta aqua salutifera atque clara. Fides autem dicit  
quod melius est sequi Cristum in moribus, cum aliter  
sit homo membrum diaboli et non clerus. Ideo ve illi 20  
qui pervertit ordinem dei propter stultam et insanam  
pruriginem anticristi!

Convincitur autem ex hoc quod furet rabidus, dum  
audit quod ad sui perfeccionem et exoneracionem sua  
temporalia subtrahuntur; et non minus furibundus insanit, 25  
dum audit perfeccionem suam salutiferam et honorem  
stare in vita penali et paupere instar Cristi. Consulit  
quidem et procurat quod principes sui spolient et  
crucient alienam ecclesiam; quod non potest fingere  
fieri pro verecundia fidei, nisi propter amorem quem 30  
principes habent ad ecclesiam alienam, quam tribulant,  
ut sic purgent; et tamen fingunt hoc fore in se ipsis  
(qui magis delinquant, et quos principes debent magis  
diligere et curare) crudele sacrilegium, non medelam.  
Talis autem apostotarum duplicitas turbat mundum; 35  
domini ergo temporales pro isto scelere, nisi fructuose  
peniteant, sunt dampnabiles ex consensu. |

1. et dominus subsanabit eos C. 4. 123 BC. 7. eorum C.  
13. infideliter A; *ib.* dominici B; *ib.* infectum C. 15. scriptura C;  
*ib.* fidelium BC. 18. clara atque C. 21. insaniam C. 23. ut  
rapidus B. 27. staret B; *ib.* in *deest* B.

29. *Crucient.* Probably an allusion to the Crusade in Flanders,  
against the followers of the Antipope, Robert of Geneva.

## CAPITULUM UNDECIMUM.

A. 59<sup>b</sup> Restat ulterius videre de dubiis concernentibus istam materiam. Et primo, si sit expedicius publice penitere. Et videtur, quod sic, quo ad penitentem. Nam quanto  
 5 cum maiori pudore eque contritus penitet, de tanto est sua penitencia meritorior. Sed hoc fit comuniter de publica penitencia coram multis: ergo, comuniter talis penitencia foret meritorior, et sic expedicior. Minor patet per experienciam et rationem. Si enim  
 10 peniteri coram unica persona sit ponderosum, foret cum paribus magis ponderosum penitere publice coram ipso et multis consorciis; cum penitenti sit evidens quod solitarius, audiens confessionem suam, sigillabit eam, nulli reserans nisi deo, non ut puniat, sed remittat;  
 15 quod consilium non est ita evidens multitudini detectum.

Some questions concerning Penance.

*I. Whether public penance is fitting.*

The greater the shame endured, the more meritorious the penance; confession to many is still more painful than to one alone; and the penitent cannot be sure that a multitude will not disclose his sin.

Item, forma penitendi servanda exprimitur in lege nova vel veteri, cum omnis alia forma sit apocrifa, non a deo observanda; sed in utroque testamento fit mencio  
 20 de penitencia publica, non privata; ergo, illa est pocius observanda. Minor patet de Achan Josue 7<sup>o</sup>, qui ex mandato Domini debuit seculari principi et populo  
 Matth. XXVI, confiteri. Et tantam evidenciam de confessione solitaria  
 75 non audiui. Et idem patet de beato Petro, qui *flendo* of Saint Peter,  
 1 Tim. I, 13 *amare* fructuose penituit. Paulus autem 1<sup>o</sup> Thymoth. p<sup>o</sup>.  
 in scriptis publice confitetur quod fuit blasfemus. Papa etiam Marcellinus, martir gloriosus, post thurificacionem diabolo confessus est publice peccatum suum fratribus suis et processit ad martirium, ut patet 21 dis. capitulo  
 and of Pope Marcellinus: while private confession is based on no such authority.

1. Cap. 11 *in marg.* B; *deest* A. 4. quo *deest* A; *ib.* punitatem A.  
 10. pudorosum BC. 11. pudorosum BC. 12. ipsa BC. 14. reservans B.  
 17. Ideo A. 20. non privata *deest* A; *ib.* igitur C. 21. Achor A;  
 Aham C. 22. Domini *deest* A. 25. Thess. 5 A. 26. confiteri A.  
 27. Marcellinus *in marg.* B.

*Nunc autem.* Confessio autem auricularis non ex tanta auctoritate vel utilitate legitur processisse.

It is granted that it is good to confess the same sins several times to different priests, on account of the greater confusion endured; if so, the same applies to public confession.

And if many priests can at the same time, in any sense, absolve a dead man, they can do so for a living man too.

And if several can absolve a living man, they can hear his confession.

Wyclif, however, decides that no general rule can be laid down. The only point to be considered is the advantage of the penitent, the intensity of contrition, and the best remedy against a relapse. If this does not agree with ecclesiastical law, it agrees with the law of Christ.

Those who object to it must show that they

Item, ut scola hodie fatetur concorditer, meritorium est iterum confiteri eadem peccata eciam dimissa, quociens uni sacerdoti vel pluribus fuerint publicata, et hoc potissime propter verecundam displicenciam de comisso: cum ergo tanta vel maior potest esse pudorosa displicencia pluribus publice confitendo, videtur iuxta primum argumentum quod nedum licitum sed meritorium est confiteri crimina coram multis: sic enim absolunt multi et simul eandem personam iam mortuam, et per consequens licet eis simul in casu absolvere iam viventem. Sive enim per modum diffinicionis sive per modum rogacionis processerint multi sacerdotes absolviendo mortuum, tanta vel maior ratio est sic simul absolvere iam viventem. Ipse enim capacior est fructus talis absolucionis, cum multis videtur quod absolucio iam mortui quo ad delecionem criminis caret fructu.

Insuper videtur quod sicut licet pluribus sacerdotibus simul absolvere iam viventem, sic licet sibi simul illis omnibus confiteri; quia aliter absolucio foret indignior propter confessionem huiusmodi ex maiori fervore caritatis transfusam; et dicere quod illusionem irrationabili fundatur ecclesia, foret episcopos accusare. Sicut ergo licet successive detegere eandem confessionem multis presbiteris (et sic in casu notificare eandem culpam omni homini), sic et simul.

Hic videtur mihi quod pro neutra parte est generaliter regulandum; quia dum confitens de comisso magis conteritur et maius remedium apponitur de cavendis peccatis futuris vel de possibili comittendis, de tanto est confessio laudabilior, sive facta fuerit soli deo sive deo et militanti ecclesie, abscondite vel aperte. Et si dicatur quod ista sententia non consonat legi ecclesie, dicitur ex fide quod consonat Cristo, quia rationi et ecclesie triumphanti Et si dicatur discordare ab ecclesia militanti, superest declarare, primo, quod illi a quibus discordat, sunt vera ecclesia; 2º quod illi non in isto errant, sed in hoc fundacionem capiunt a scriptura; et

1. prodest si confitearis *in marg.* B. 5. replicata B. 6. verecundiam A. 7. igitur C; *ib.* pudo'fa A. 10. crimina *deest* B. 11. absolunt *deest* B; *ib.* et *deest* B. 14. per modum *deest* A. 16. est *deest* A. 17. tamen AB. 22. fervore A; fervore maiori C. 24. Sic igitur C. 27. inquit *pro* mihi C. 36. 2º superest AB; Sed primo superest declarare primo C. 38. ex *pro* a B.

de tanto, sed non amplius, oportet fideles eis obedire. Et sic omnis obediencia reducenda est ad Christum abbatem ordinis cristiani; et alii blasfemi sunt tamquam refuge respuendi. Et si queratur, que confessio sit in maiori  
 5 parte probabilior et scripture conformior: dicitur quod confessio generalis, ut patet ex dictis. Unde videtur quod diabolus, ut magis abscondat confessionis nequiciam, introduxit regulariter confessionem absconditam. Con-  
 10 ceditur tamen quod quandoque expedit publice, quandoque abscondite, quandoque neutraliter, Cristi vicariis confiteri; et illam libertatem cristiani ordinis, tenendo semper religionem Cristi, debet catholicus observare.

Sed pars anticristi tantum adhuc prevalet, quod innititur isti porismati plus quam fidei: *ecclesia romana sic sentenciat*;  
 15 ergo, *hoc tamquam articulus fidei est tenendum*. Et fallacia ista diaboli magis obnubilat fidem catholicam, cum multis videtur argumentum topicum: *Curia illa ex auctoritate sua illud sentenciat*: ergo, *hoc est perfidia anticristi*. Ideo cum manifestum sit ex fide, quod oportet in quocunque credibili  
 20 supra illos rationem requirere, patet quod oportet quemcunque dicta illorum tamquam neutra postponere, vel contempnere ut suspecta; habemus enim fidem legis dei in copia, etsi non mendicemus peripsimata anticristi. Leges autem vel rationes opposite faciliter sunt solvende. Vel enim  
 60<sup>a</sup> 25 equivocant de ecclesia romana, vocando illam pure Cristi et Petri vicarios, vel anticristive exercent simplices per traditiones proprias et fulmina, cum minis cesareis machinatis.

Habet autem ecclesia romana usum suum et ecclesia anglicana usum disparem, plus vel eque probabilem;  
 30 nec sunt contrarii, dum inculpabiliter servaverint substantiam fidei cristiane; ut aliqui fideles capiunt eucaristiam specialiter die cene, et alii die Pasche. Primi sunt moti tripliciter: primo, quia Christus cum suis apostolis, quem debemus sequi omnino, illo die sacramentum illud primo instituit et comedit; 2<sup>o</sup>, quia propter  
 35 duos dies sequentes est dies illa remocior a turbacione seculari et crapula die pasce, et 3<sup>o</sup> quia prior ecclesia, que prudencius, ita instituit. Scribitur enim in de Consecracione dist. 2<sup>o</sup> in cena domini: "A quibusdam receptio

are of the Church, and follow scripture. Christ alone is to be obeyed. A general confession is most according to Holy Writ; private confession, as a law, is not so; yet sometimes it may be preferable to public confession, and sometimes not.

The side of Antichrist holds that whatever the Church of Rome decides is matter of faith; some think quite the contrary. Whenever no reason is given for any decision, it should be set aside or not noticed.

The fallacy is that the Roman Pontiff is called Christ's Vicar, and deludes the simple by his menaces.

The Churches of Rome and of England have different customs, not contrary, so long as they do not contradict the Christian faith. v. g. some take Holy Communion on Maundy Thursday, and some on Easter Sunday, for different reasons.

1. sed deest B. 3. tocius ordinis B. 4. queritur B. 11. ut et A.  
 23. p ipima B; p ipia „rasura post a C. 27. in pro et AC; in B.  
 29. angelica A. 30. contrarie B; contraria AC. 34. deus A. 38. illam  
 pro ita A; ita BC. 38, 39. in de 9. § 2<sup>a</sup> A.

23. *Peripsimata*. Cf. Sermones II, 297, l. 21, 1 Cor. IV, 13.  
 39. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, De Cons. Dist. II, c. 17.

eukaristie negligitur, que quoniam in eodem die ab omnibus fidelibus (exceptis his quibus pro gravibus casibus inhibitum est) percipienda sit, ecclesiasticus usus demonstrat, cum etiam penitentes eodem die ad percipienda corporis et sanguinis dominici sacramenta reconcilientur." Hec Sother papa, cuius evidencia vel auctoritas non est minor quam dictum Fabiani ibidem: *Et si non frequencius*; vel dictum Innocencii 3<sup>ii</sup> in 5<sup>o</sup> decretalium: *Omnes utriusque sexus*; quia tunc ad religiones privatas secundum erimonarum observancias nimium declinarunt. Unde patet quod tradere de isto regulas generales est presumptive stulticie.

A Canon exists in favour of the former practice, which has as much value as any subsequent decree.

Augustine leaves the faithful free to communicate every day, advising weekly communion.

Ambrose, inviting the faithful to take spiritual communion continually, says: "Let us not, like the Pharisees, bind ourselves to the observance of days, but follow reason". And though it be commanded to communicate on Easter Sunday, we should not do so if we have a sufficient reason; which may be that our devotion prompted us to take communion on Maundy

Ideo Augustinus ibidem dicit: "Cottidie eukaristie comunione accipere nec laudo nec vitupero; omnibus tamen diebus dominicis comunicandum hortor." Et infra: "Dixit quispiam non cottidie accipiendam eukaristiam, alius affirmat cottidie. Faciat unusquisque quod secundum fidem suam pie credit esse faciendum." Et ponit exemplum de Zacheo et centurione. Item ostenditur in dicto beati Ambrosii eukaristiam esse spiritaliter continue assumendam. "Si quocienscunque effunditur sanguis Cristi in remissionem peccatorum effunditur, debeo semper accipere, qui semper peto medicinam; ne itaque simus de numero eorum quos Cristus dicit quod *colant culicem et degluciant camelum*, non preponderemus dies vel tempora, sed quodcumque ratio ducit nos accipere eukaristiam vel facere opus quodcumque meritorium, faciamus." Et ita, licet succedens episcopus romanus preceperit sub pena gravi cunctos fideles adultos in die pasche recipere eukaristiam annuatim, verum, inquam, est, quod sic debent facere, nisi ratio excuset. Racio autem sufficiens est multis fidelibus quod die cene, quando fuit eis devocius, manducarunt. Et si allegatur obediencia servanda pape: moveat illud claustrales, qui observant cerimonias sui privati ordinis preter necessarie introducti. Nos autem teneamus libertatem primevam legis Cristi, scilicet ut non simus

1. qm A. 14. non lando accipere C. 17, 18. secundum quod A.  
22. in testimonium et in C; ib. Cristi deest C. 26. conduciit B. 37. ut deest C.

8. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, De Cons. Dist. II, c. 16. g. See p. 112. 13. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, De Cons. Dist. II, c. 13.  
21. Decr. Grat. De Cons. Dist. II, c. 14.



oppressi iugo iudayco. In neutris vero nobis condescendamus populo cum quo vivimus.

Thursday;  
for we follow  
Christ's law in  
liberty.

Sed gradus persone, evidencia sue consciencie, ac cetera rationales circumstantie sunt pensande; ut si  
5 ipsum moveat devocio et impulsio spiritus comunicari singulariter die cene, quis papa vel cardinalis vel lex quam statuit, prohiberet? Sed esto quod insane decreverint quod sub quantacunque pena inventa quilibet eis obediat, faciendo quod ipsi imperant, ut sic eorum  
10 potestas appareat: certum est quod ipsi non habent potestatem hanc legem statuere; sed usurpacione supposita, fidelis debet pro observacione libertatis Cristi hoc iugum scribarum secure disrumpere, ut patet Act. 15<sup>o</sup>, ex decreto apostolorum. Ideo, exigendo talem  
15 obedienciam, debent fundare saltem eius consonanciam legi Cristi. Modo autem multa sunt neutra et possunt bene fieri vel omitti; et tamen legem statuere quod hoc fiat regulariter sub gravi pena, excedit humanam potenciam. Immo hoc temptans incurrit blasphemiam; et in  
20 isto laborant propter extorquendam luciferinam obedienciam multi prepositi ordinum privatorum. Non negatur tamen quin licet in talibus neutris unam partem eligere socialiter ex consensu. Sed statuere legem condicionalem eternam vel universalem ante statuentem, excedit humanam vel universalem ante statuentem, excedit hu-  
25 manam potenciam; et extollens statuentem supra deum, confirmat blasphemiam. Quis, inquam, potest statuere, quod si quis religiosus mutat habitum ab albo in nigrum, a cappa in tunicam, sic de aliis ritibus per quos religiosi nostri ut per essenciales differencias distinguuntur? Cum,  
30 inquam, talis veritas connexionis sit absolute necessaria et eterna, et sic supra omnem ordinacionem humanam, subiacens soli ordinacioni divine; vel sit simpliciter impossibilis: tunc non potest esse vel al aliquo ordinari. Quicumque in sectis ordinacionem talem defenderit est  
35 hereticus plus vel minus. Si autem statuerit quod quicumque sic vel sic fecerit sit taliter puniendus in idem

The Pope has  
no power to  
lay down rules  
in this manner,

and he ought to  
be disobeyed by  
way of  
protestation;

for though what  
he commands  
may be  
neither right  
nor wrong, yet  
he exceeds his  
power by such  
a law and such  
penalties,  
though it is  
allowable on  
neutral points  
to agree to act  
together.

To make the  
law universal  
and eternal is  
wrong; as v. g.  
to make of the  
habit of the  
Orders an  
essential  
difference  
between them;  
what is  
essential does  
not belong to  
human  
ordinance.

1. introducto C. 1, 2. condescendamus C. 4. rationabiles B; rōna<sup>tes</sup> C.  
5. quem BC. 8. invenis omnes MSS. 13. dirrupere C. 14. exigentes B.  
18. fuit A; fiant B. 21. negant C. 22. tamen deest AC. 25. excellens B;  
ib. statuentem deest B. 28. ab albo A; a capo B. 29. d<sup>ur</sup> A.  
30. que communis AB. 31. tunc pro et sic A. 32. si pro connexionis;  
ib. fit C. 36. statuerit ac fecerit C.

Suppose that Innocent had ordained that it was a mortal sin to take Communion on Good Friday, it would have been blasphemy on his part.

Any act that God allowed us to do or not to do, might thus be forbidden, and man could give commands which God cannot.

If God were to approve all such commands, we should return to the servitude of the Old Law.

Should Robert of Geneva make a law, and Urban VI a contrary one, God would be obliged to ratify both, and punish and reward for the same act.

redit, cum sit eadem sententia. Ut, posito quod papa Innocencius tercius | statuerit quod quicumque laicus 60<sup>b</sup> communicatus fuerit die parasceves, non in pascha, peccet mortaliter et sic graviter puniatur, blasfemat indubie, hereticans fideles et papas qui hoc non servarunt in 5 ecclesia primitiva. Sed quid stulcius? cum lex talis universalis foret supra vires hominum, ymmo supra rationem, et per consequens supra deum; et sic foret quelibet talis statuicio venenosa.

Et istud confirmatur ex hoc quod ante talem statui- 10 E. cionem foret quodcunque tale opus ex dei ordinancia liberum atque neutrum, sed post statuicionem talem, ut fingitur, est opus dampnabile, et eius oppositum ad meritum limitatum: ergo, subiacet statuicioni humane taliter ordinare, quod videtur deo non posse competere; 15 quomodo ergo liceret illiberare opus dei, quod eternaliter ordinavit esse sic liberum? Item, si opus tale incipit esse dampnabile, cum talis instituens non de facto extollitur supra deum, oportet deum verum ex statuicione servili gravare tempore gracie legem pene: 20 quod repugnat rationi libertatis et bonitatis divine. Que, rogo, libertas in deo, quod necessitetur propter statuicionem de possibili anticristi punire servum suum severius sine causa? Anticristus autem, legem istam stabiliens, petit hoc metricum proprium soli deo: Sic 25 *volō, sic iubeo; sit pro ratione voluntas*. Item, possibile est quod sicut in talibus neutrīs duo statuentes contrarie (nec est ratio, quare unus, quin per idem uterque) inniti debet ut statuicio sua robur habeat, et sic deus contradictoria approbaret. Summum itaque miraculum, 30 sed summe monstruosum, foret simul tempore gravare et facilitare eadem opera. Ut si gilbonensis statuatur quod omnis fidelis communicabitur die parasceves, non in pascha, et Urbanus noster statuatur, quod solum in die pentecostes vel alio quocunque, et uterque annectat penam spiri- 35 tualē, patet quod non maior foret necessitas in dicta

1. reddit C; *ib.* quod C; *ib.* eadem *deest* B. 2. tercius *deest* BC.  
4. tunc *pro* et sic B. 5. *servaverunt* = servaverunt C. 10, 11. institu-  
cionem B. 14. *after* meritum *blank space*, 1m B. 15. non posse deo C.  
19. verum *deest* B. 22. que C. 25. proprium soli *deest* C.  
27. sint B. 32. opera dei BC; *ib.* gibbonensis B. 34. petechosten (*sic*) A;  
pethecostes C. 36. quid A.

15. *Non posse competere*. Because it is impossible to suppose God leaving us no action that we are free to make or not to make.  
25, 26. Juvenal. Sat. VI, l. 223. *Hoc volo, sic jubeo*, etc.

lege Innocencii III<sup>ii</sup>, quam in istarum altera vel utraque. Ideo non dubium quin leges tales sunt plene blasphemia; ut sicut dicitur deum non preordinasse penam pro peccato Lini antequam papa vel alius ydiota iniunxerit; sic dicitur quod pena pro tali opere non est rationalis antequam papa statuerit taliter faciendum esse sub tanta pena, et postea deus consequitur confirmando. Et eadem est consideratio de sectis privatis, que usibilia statuunt sub anathemate non sic uti. Ideo, ut sepe dixi, multa observata ut regule privatorum ordinum sapiunt blasphemiam et heresin manifestam. Cum igitur deus dicit Petro, Act. 10. *Quod deus purificavit, tu ne comune dixeris*, qua fronte presumeret refuga per quem nullius religionis sumpsit exordium pro lege universali vel condicionali statuere quod vesci non libet et tegumentis non licet uti taliter sub hac pena? Honoremus igitur solum religionem institutam a domino veritatis.

F. Sed contra istud instatur quod non licet vovere quidquam facere, nec cristiano statuta edere, nec pape cum aliquo dispensare. Sed primum dicitur negando assumptum. Conceditur tamen quod oportet in omni voto humano subintelligi condicionem, *si deus voluerit*, ut patet alibi. Quando autem quis fatue vovet preter vel contra religionem cristianam, debet statim dimittere et de stulticia penitere. Nec licet concedere novas leges propter talem stulticiam obligandi, quia sic liceret a religione Cristi totaliter variare, et totum genus neutrorum, vel quod Cristus dictavit esse licitum ex voto et religione facere non licere. Absit ergo Cristianum presumere ut statucione sua stolidia negacio, que vis vel veritas connexionis incipiat, ymo quin liberius potest homo post progressum in religione Cristi quicquid facere quod prius potuit, si non obsit apostasia implicans quod in deterius retrocedit. Deus autem facit, non quod talis non potest licite facere tale opus, sed quod modo est sibi illicitum taliter operari. Et sic talis actus non est sibi neuter, nec forte aliquis umquam fuit; sed credere quod ex nuda ordinacione humana opus sit criminis quod aliunde foret meritorium, sapit Anticristi blasphemias; cum oportet illum in cuius manu sunt vicissitudines

*Objections:* If this doctrine be true, 1. no vows are right; 2. no Christian can make laws; 3. and the Pope has no dispensing power. 1. In every vow there is the tacit condition of God's approval; without which it ought to be broken. No laws should therefore be made to oblige such vows to be kept. A Christian in following his religion is freer than he was before, unless he becomes a backslider. The unlawfulness of any action forbidden by vow consists in God not allowing him to do it for the time.

3. sic C. 14. sufficit pro sumpsit C. 20. dispesare A. 27. variari AB.  
 31. post pro potest A. 33. apostota impleciones quidem A; implicitas  
 quod B. 34. aut C. 35. non modo AC. 36. Tunc B; ib. ibi A.  
 38. unica B. 39. anticristus blasphemians A.

But to make a  
crime out of a  
deed, good in  
itself, is  
madness; God  
alone gives  
increase of  
virtue.

2. and 3. Laws  
are allowable,  
and so are  
dispensations,  
provided they  
follow  
Scripture.

But laws are  
now multiplied  
without  
foundation in  
Holy Writ;  
such should not  
be obeyed,  
and in general,  
as every law  
diminishes  
Christian  
liberty, none  
should be made  
without grave  
reasons.

11. Whether the  
secret of  
confession  
should be  
always kept.

temporum dare clementem virtutum. Et sic statuere vel  
vovere irrationabilia, foret luciferina demencia; vovere  
neutra foret illibertans stulticia: sed vovere religiosa,  
cum sint in scriptura sacra implicita, foret prudentia  
faciens quod voluntas dei sit propensius executi. Sed  
longe a peccatoribus et dictas leges infames statuere  
ex hoc quod licet opus tercii modi prudenter  
vovere.

Et sic dicitur ad secundum et 3<sup>m</sup>, quod licet statuta  
condere et cum ligatis irrationabiliter dispensare, dum  
tamen lex scripture sit exemplar ad dirigendum talia  
opera sapienter. Numquam autem sunt ipsa licita, nisi  
deus prius illa fecerit approbando. Ideo apostoli nichil  
fecerunt, nisi ex inspiratione divina, ex Cristi consilio,  
vel sorte a deo propter meritum sortiencium regulata.  
Sed hec ratio fuit in primitiva ecclesia, quando emer-  
gebat casus necessitans. Sed modo ceci prepositi audenter  
multiplicant leges quas nesciunt stabilire. Ideo fideles  
debent | ipsas non admittere vel temere admissas excu-  
tere, et de lege ac religione Cristi, dimissis aliis, 61<sup>a</sup>  
contentari. In aliis autem levibus debet fidelis modos  
licitos 2<sup>m</sup> comunem dei influenciam observare, et non  
illibertando dei ecclesiam pro quocunque facto legem  
statuere. Lex enim dicitur a *ligando*, et non debet statui  
nisi in arduis, ut consiliis ewangelicis et preceptis; et 25  
sic lex ewangelica per se sufficit sine plure. Tradiciones  
autem et statuta localia, cum phas et nephas plurimum  
sunt permixta. Ideo perfecti viri ipsa vel negligunt, vel,  
lege dei attenta sedule, parvipendunt.

Sed 2<sup>o</sup> principaliter arguitur de clavibus vel sigillo 30 G.  
confessionis, quod licet in multis casibus confessionem  
detegere. Probatur primo racionabilitas eius ex utraque  
parte legis dei docentis quod debet esse publica et per

4. implicata foret prudentia faciens C. 6. saltare A. 7. opera BC.  
9. plurimum B. 12. sapientis C. 15. regulatam A. 19. admissionem A.  
23. Christi BC. 26. plica (*sic*) C. 27. plurimum AB. 28. non  
*pro* vel *before* negligunt A. 31. conf'oniū C. 33. parte *deest* BC;  
*ib.* lege BC.

30. *Sigillo*. It is known that Roman Catholic doctrine is very  
absolute on this point. The priest out of confession may not  
even *think* of what has been said in confession; so much so that  
it is unanimously held that a priest, made aware in confession  
that an assassin intends to waylay him on a journey, may not  
put off the journey, nor take any precautions which he would not  
otherwise have taken! This may serve to mark the independent  
point of view taken by Wyclif on the subject.

consequens multis cognita. Ille ergo qui pluribus revelat  
confitibile non reserat nisi detegendum; quod licet bene  
facere, sicut deus pandet in finali iudicio, et Petrus  
publicavit, Act. 5. de Anania et Zaphira. Non enim  
5 videtur ratio istius malicie, nisi quod fideles subtrahant  
a confessione auriculari intendentes confessioni publice  
vel confessioni quam facerent fructuose soli deo; quod  
videtur nedum tollerabile sed legale.

Item lex dei et comunis utilitas necessitant peccata  
10 confessa private esse a confessore populo detegenda;  
ergo lex generaliter statuens oppositum est iniqua. Ante-  
cedens videtur; posito quod quis confiteatur Petro pri-  
vate de prodicione populi, vel homicidio committendo,  
et licet promittat Petro, quod non vult facere facinus  
15 cuius propositum confitetur, appareat tamen Petro ex  
signis evidentibus, quod prius confitens perverse redierit  
ad propositum predictum facinus committendi, tunc videtur  
ratione multiplici, quod talis confessio sit detegenda;  
primo, quia caritas ad confessum urget crimen suum  
20 excludere, quod supposito aliter commodius non posse  
fieri quam publicandum nephandum propositum. Et  
idem patet ex parte populi prodendi, cui confessor  
iuratur, et amitteret a sibi probabile maius bonum  
celando. Et ex parte Petri videtur quod propter accu-  
25 mulandum sibi meritum, paciendo mortem propter ho-  
norem dei et utilitatem ecclesie prodendo, in casu  
facinus impediret. Nam non tanta pena est iniuncta,  
quanta foret quecunque dei offensa.

Item, contigit sacerdotem errasse in audiendo con-  
30 fessionem laici, et de illo errore quotquot presbiteris  
pro securitate et merito confiteri. Cum ergo ad con-  
fessionem huiusmodi requiritur in casu peccati primi  
laici detectio, videtur quod licet in casu multiplici  
peccata detegere. Si enim multi istorum sacerdotum  
35 fuerint post modum degradati, vel percepti ordines in-  
debite percepisse, quomodo non posset primum pecca-  
tum per presbiterum fore licite populo publicatum? Ut  
ponitur in casu quo confessor cadat in phrenesim, vel  
morbum alium, in oblivionem, vel loquacitatem, in  
40 sompno, et sic peccatum confessi publicetur.

The Bible, always mentioning public confession, implies the contrary. To reveal the secret of confession is but to make known now what will be known at the last Day; and it would have a good effect, injuring the practice of auricular confession. Besides, if a man, having confessed an intended murder or act of treason, and it being clear to his confessor that he again intends to commit such a crime, it is the confessor's duty, for the correction of the penitent, for the good of the intended victim, and for his own good, exposing himself to deadly peril for God's sake, to reveal the fact. A priest may err in dealing with a penitent, and confess his fault to several priests, and thus be obliged to reveal his penitent's sin: if this is legal, then sins may be revealed. Or take the cases of madness, delirium, forgetfulness, talkativeness, or speaking in one's sleep: then confessions are revealed.

1. pluribus *deest* C. 13. propositi *pro* populi B. 14. vlt C.  
16. redigerit A. 20. suppo<sup>o</sup> C. 28. offensio C. 34. enim *deest* B.  
35. p. modū C. 36. suscepisse B. 37. populo *deest* A. 39. in *before*  
oblivionem *deest* B.



And if it be answered that they may be revealed in general terms, inadvertently, or by the express will of God: then what is the good of a law so indefinite?

Si dicatur quod licet generalibus verbis peccata detegere, et ubi oblivio premuniendi est forcior, ac 3<sup>o</sup> in casu quo deus necessitet ad in casibus positis exprimendum: ad quid, rogo, valet lex tam artis penis astricta, et nulla sui particula explanata? Revera perinde 5 est ac si lex ista non foret posita, cum verbis generalibus, signis preter verba, et taciturnitate vel nutu contingit populum multa satis cognoscere. Vel quis presbiter accusatus de isto nesciret subterfugia reperire? aut quis presbiter, hec detegens, non foret necessitatus ista depro- 10 mere? cum scimus quod omnia que evenient de necessitate evenient.

Under cover of this law, sinners may go unpunished, and priests put into difficulties, sinners coming to confess to those very priests whose duty it is to convict them.

Item, secundum cautelam huius legis possent peccata H. foveri et presbiteri intrinsecari; nec est fundamentum vel fructus ad huius legis edicionem necessitans. Ideo in 15 causa sue originis est suspecta. Quilibet enim subditus prelato posset exigere confessionem ab eo et inter alia dicere sibi crimen de quo prelatus ipsum argueret; et sic clauderetur os eius, ne liceat sibi arguere, licet videat ipse offerre ad periurium vel fidelem falsissime 20 convincendum. Cautela quidem diaboli precluderet ne presbiter testimonium perhibeat necessarie veritati; necessitatus enim confessor iurare alteram partem, iuraret cum diabolo falsitatem, et per consequens contra veritatem ipsam teget et foveret. 25

To hide sins is thus a sacrament of the devil;

Magnum itaque sacramentum in absconsione peccati vel sue delecionis, per quod honor dei et utilitas ecclesie 30 lucerent in effectum! Tale indubie foret sacramentum patris mendacii. Sed thobie 12: *Sacramentum regis abscondere bonum est; opera autem dei revelare et 30 confiteri honorificum est.* Cum igitur singulare opus dei sit peccata dimittere, patet antecedens; ymmo confessus daret gloriam deo, veritatem sui facinoris publicando. Quomodo ergo confessor suus foret sibi in hoc contrarius post vel ante? vel ymmo, fatendo quod quis est con- 35 fessor alterius, cum peccatum suum publicum sit (et supponi debet quod quilibet sit memor sic salutis sue

the penitent should publish his sins to the glory of God. When a man is a public sinner, any priest saying: *I am his confessor*, implicitly

2.  $\widehat{pmu}^{di}$  (??) A; premundi B;  $\widehat{pmu}^{endi}$  C.  
lex B. 5. propositum A. 11. eveniunt AC.  
18. tunc B. 22. ecclesie C. 33. gulam A.

3. ca<sup>o</sup> A. 4. tunc  
14. intrari omnes MSS.  
37. sic before salutis  
deest B.

11, 12. This is a well-known sophism alluded to in *Logicae Continuatio*, now publishing. *Omnia que evenient de necessitate, evenient; or: Omnia que evenient, de necessitate evenient.*

omnia perfecte et integre confitendo) fatetur implicate  
 61<sup>b</sup> se audivisse omnia illa facinora | a confesso. Sive igitur  
 confessi sive populus iniuriatus insurgat contra confessores  
 huiusmodi, deficeret in hoc, eis mortuis, causa dei.  
 5 Debent enim secundum doctrinam Cristi, Matth. 18, ter  
 prudenter corripere et 4<sup>a</sup> vice deserere. Ideo evidens  
 Matth. XVIII, 16, 18 est quod fratres, per multos annos remanentes affectuose  
 confessores hominum qui non respiscunt sed potius  
 peiorantur, consenciant suo facinori, et proditorie nu-  
 10 trunt contra Cristum. Mille sunt casus in quibus deficit  
 hoc legis principium, quia stabilitur super confessione  
 abscondita, que est toxicum fundamentum.  
 Videtur ergo quod confessio secreta, sicut quodcunque  
 secretum aliud, servata prudencia, sit celandum; nec  
 15 video magnam devocionem vel delectacionem in sic  
 audiendo confessiones privatas. Sed postquam cessavit  
 predicacio publica gignitiva filiorum dei in Cristo, fuit  
 ista auricularis confessio instinctu diaboli introducta.  
 Ille autem studeat glosare hanc legem et solvere rationes,  
 20 qui delectatur in ea, et non videt quod in fide scripture  
 esset meritorius laborandum. Meritorium quidem est  
 detegere fallacias istas diaboli. Quilibet cristianus debet  
 confiteri deo et ecclesie, sicut homines debent confiteri  
 alterutri. Ymmo homo debet in casu confiteri private  
 25 prudenti presbitero et facere secundum suum consilium;  
 ergo debet ut lex statui quod omnis homo habens  
 discrecionem et scienciam, debet semel in anno con-  
 fiteri omnia peccata sua auriculariter proprio sacerdoti,  
 Petro quidem, et in persona sua ecclesie. Sed specialiter  
 30 sacerdoti data est potestas ligandi et solvendi, cum  
 Joa. tamen paverit oves Cristi de suo pabulo, ut dicitur Joh.  
 XVII, ult., et ligaverit vel solverit conformiter ecclesie trium-  
 21 phanti; et aliter nichil sibi, et dico ad Petrum vel omnes  
 apostolos, cum aliter non sit de numero eorum quibus  
 35 Christus locutus est. Probabile quidem videtur, quod  
 solum eis concessit Cristus hanc potestatem, qui docent  
 fidem Cristi de predestinatis vel reprobis, et sedebunt  
 Matth. in die iudicii super sedes, iudicantes 12 tribus Israel.  
 XIX,  
 28

admits that his  
sins, have been  
made known to  
him.

A priest should  
remonstrate  
three times  
with his  
penitent, and  
at the fourth  
relapse,  
abandon him:  
not (as many  
Friars do)  
remain his  
friend and  
confessor  
during years of  
impentence.

The secret of  
confession  
should be kept,  
like all others,  
according to the  
rules of  
prudence.

A summary of  
Wyclif's  
doctrine on  
Confession: it  
should be made  
to God, to the  
Church and  
privately to a  
proper priest  
representing the  
Church.

But if the latter  
should not feed  
Christ's flock,  
the promises  
made to the  
Apostles were  
not made to him;  
they are  
probably for  
those who teach  
the doctrine of  
predestination  
and reprobation.

1. implicate *erasum* C. 2. confessore C. 4. illis B; *ib.* mortis AB.  
 5. Nota confessores debent suos confessos quarta vice obstinatos deserere  
*in marg.* B. 6. *¶* A. 7. p *pro* per A; *ib.* affectuosa A. 14. servatur A.  
 19. et *in marg.* A. 23. dicunt A. 24. alterutrum *omnes* MSS.  
 27. sufficienciam BC. 28. omnia *deest* B. 30. sacerdotum A. 31. aves A.  
 32. ecclesie *twice* C.

Illi enim erunt perpetuo ligati vel soluti in celis, cum tam angeli quam homines beati videbunt clare equitatem divine sentencie, et gaudebunt de eius perpetuitate. Et sic viri apostolici filios suos in beatitudinem introducent, sive heremite sive simplices sive sacerdotes, eo<sup>5</sup> alcius quo copiosius et perfeccius hic predestinacionis filios genuerunt. Unde tales in Petro ligant et solvunt super terram, quando dant arras ligacionis vel solucionis finalis perpetue. Et claves regni est potestas vel sciencia sic arrandi adversus quas porte *inferi* (prescitorum peccata<sup>10</sup> vel predestinatorum secundum presentem iniusticiam) *non prevalebunt*; quia tunc iniquitas diaboli foret forcior<sup>Math. XVII, 18</sup> dei iusticia. Ista autem operacio clavium non consequitur eleccionem vel ordinacionem humanam de quocunque Romano pontifice, sed ordinacionem divinam secundum<sup>15</sup> opera Cristi vicarii virtuosa.

The key of Heaven is their science in this matter.

And this 'power of the keys' comes direct from Christ.

It is a heresy to say that every sentence of the Pope on earth is confirmed in Heaven.

All apostolic men have the power of binding and loosing, but this is not a subject for ostentation;

all honour should be given to God.

III. Several other problems.  
1. Is it enough to do penance whilst in a state of mortal sin?

Et patet quante diabolus seduxit populum, subversione divine sentencie in hoc dicto. Construit enim Anticristus quod quicquid romanus pontifex sentenciat de pena vel premio, oportet omnino quod in celestibus compleatur.<sup>20</sup> Et ex hac heresi pululant blasfemie infinite. Veritas, inquam, est quod ubicunque terrarum quis fuerit conversus ad deum, sive precise per deum, sive per quemlibet eius ministrum, correspondenter ad meritum participabit et premio. Viris autem apostolicis sine accepcione perso-<sup>25</sup> narum concessit deus potestatem subtrahendi et promovendi ad talia, dum tamen conformantur divino iudicio, sicut conformatur triumphans ecclesia. Nec debet quis pompare de tali potencia, quia eius effectus est sibi absconditus, cum deus ante vel post vel impertinenter<sup>30</sup> absolucioni humane vere absolvit. Ideo, ut dicit angelus, thobie. 12, absconsa magnificencia humana totus honor debet patule dari deo. Et ista est sententia Augustini cum aliis sanctis, licet hodie de potestate clavium et dimissione peccati nimum blasfemetur.<sup>35</sup>

Tob. XII, 7

3<sup>o</sup> principaliter queruntur dubia. Primo si sufficit hominem facere penitenciam, dum fuerit in mortali. Et constat quod non, cum existens in mortali, quidquid

4. vere A. 5. 3<sup>rd</sup> sive *deest* A. 7. gen't AC. 9. perpetuo A.  
10. parte A; *ib.* parte inferri C; *ib.* peccatorum A. 17. per subversionem BC.  
18. autem Cristus A. 22. quis *deest* C; *ib.* *after* fuerit qui C.  
23. quod A; quelibet C. 25. apostolis AB. 25, 26. persone B.  
26. subarrandi B. 29. affectus A. 31. absolucionem humanam B;  
post absolucionem vere C. 36. Nota *in marg.* A. 37. 1<sup>o</sup> morli A.

- fecerit, peccat mortaliter; multum tamen prodest facere bona de genere. Nam in predestinato preparat ad satisfaccionem finalem; in prescito vero parvificat penam, cum maiorem alias possideret. Et ad obiectum quo  
 5 dicitur in fine confessionis primo peccatum remitti, et sic valeret confessio in mortali; patet quod antecedens non probatur, cum psalmo 31<sup>o</sup> dicitur: *Dixi: confitebor*  
 Ps. XXXI, *adversum me iniusticiam meam domino; et tu remisisti*  
 5 *iniquitatem peccati mei.* Multorum enim peccata sunt remissa, qui non taliter confessi sunt. Ideo, sicut in materia de eucharistia nesciunt satrape quando panis sit corpus Christi, sic nesciunt instans quo quis absolvitur a peccato; sed ab omni mortali suo reperto pro infusione gracie simul absolvitur. Et contingit quod ab  
 15 solutio errare faciat. Contingit autem, quod occasionaliter faciat promereri. Venialia autem peccata remanent in quantumlibet confitente, cum remanserant in Petro et Johanne eciam post missionem spiritus sancti. Ideo musitant magnificantes claves, errantes, quomodo absolu  
 20 cio non delet veniale, cum existens in pure veniali teneatur sub pena mortalis secundum formam impositam confiteri, et dicere quod confessio delet aliquod veniale et non quotlibet quod invenitur, est infundabilis ficticia; |  
 62<sup>a</sup> sicut irrationabiliter fingitur quod indulgentia delet 3<sup>am</sup>  
 25 vel 4<sup>am</sup> partem penitencie, quantumcumque varie, secundum quod anticristus voluerit limitare.
- 2<sup>o</sup> dubitatur si homo sub obtentu premii tenetur multociens confiteri eadem peccata, et quando cessaret; cum confessio mentis ad deum debet esse continua.  
 30 Sed non haberem subditum sic opinantem, cum superflue vexaret se et prepositum, dimitteret opus debitum, et accumularet sibi penitenciam per repetitionem replicatum inutilem; cum nec deleteret culpam, nec augeret gratiam, sed tolleret fructum operis rationabiliter interim faciendi.
- 35 Sed 3<sup>o</sup> dubitatur si confessus sit ad optionem positus L. facere solum penitenciam iniunctam vel aliam quamcunque,

No: for in that state every act is mortal sin. But good deeds may be done with fruit; in the elect, they prepare for complete satisfaction; in the castaway, they lessen the punishment. Absolution cleanses from all mortal sins.

Venial sins are not effaced, notwithstanding arguments to the contrary.

2. Whether the continual repetition of the same sins in confession is profitable. Negated; it is useless loss of time.

3. Whether the penitent is held to accomplish

2. bona deest A; ib. Ex C: ib. preparat BC. 7. 13 B. 8, 9. etc. pro iniusticiam — mei deest A. 13. de A. 13, 14. visione B. 15, 16. occasio A. 19. musicant C; ib. erronee B; erronee C. 23. invenit C. 27. 3<sup>o</sup> A. 30. hō A; habere B; hrem = haberem C. 31. sed pro se A; ib. delatum A. 35. 2<sup>o</sup> AC; ib. portus A. 36. q, m, q, A.

5. I think the meaning of this somewhat obscure passage is that sins are forgiven only (primo) at the end of confession (by absolution); against which Wyclif brings the words of Ps. XXXI. (l. 7—9).

the penance prescribed, or not: logical subtleties by which this question may be debated, and which are insoluble.

vel quantum licet variare. Et videtur logicis quod sacerdos iniungit penitenciam, sed nullam iniungit; sicut scit confessum suum dignum pena, sed nulla pena scit ipsum esse dignum. Nam cum pena individuatur a tempore et quotlibet aliis causis suis, nec confitens<sup>5</sup> nec confessus sciret notare penitenciam iniunctam, et periret clavis sciencie. Et sophista confessus diceret: non teneor facere penitenciam mihi iniunctam, quia nulla est michi iniuncta: nec communis penitencia, iuxta quam foret alia exurgenda, quia in illa foret tanta<sup>10</sup> perplexitas sicut in quacunque materia. Et ita videtur per sacramentum infundabile perplexitas insolubilis introducta.

4. Whether there is not a certain spiritual kinship between the confessor and his penitent; Wyclif decides that there is, but leaves Antichrist to answer the difficulties that arise on this point.

4<sup>o</sup> dubitatur si ex tali paternitate et filiacione sit spiritualis affinitas, et quomodo se habet ad alias. Ymmo videtur quod non solum est data sacerdoti licencia<sup>15</sup> coniugandi sed ut modo stat irrationabiliter, gravatur occasio delinquendi. In isto et similibus relinquo antichristo solutionem et fundacionem dictorum, sciens quod inter sacerdotem et suum conversum est quedam spiritualis paternitas; ymmo inter Cristum et suos filios,<sup>20</sup> cum Matth. 12<sup>o</sup> scribitur: *Quicumque fecerit voluntatem patris mei, qui in celis est, ipse meus frater, et soror, XII, 50 et mater est*; frater secundum spiritum, soror secundum carnem, et mater secundum naturam compositam. Deus autem reservat sibi [secundum] quandam preemi-<sup>25</sup> nenciam nomen patris.

5. Whether a man can be twice guilty of the very same sin.

For a 'foreknown' will be punished for *all* his sins, and yet he may during his life have repented of them: the same sins must therefore return. Yet it is not strictly the same sin: the matter is

5<sup>o</sup> obicitur si eadem peccata in numero redeunt. Et videtur quod sic, quia prescitus dampnabitur pro quocumque peccato quod fecerit; cum ergo multa per penitenciam sunt deleta, sequitur conclusio. Si enim homo<sup>30</sup> dampnabitur pro illo peccato quod non est, tunc homo dampnabitur pro nichilo, et omne peccatum esset peccatum finalis inpenitencie; eo, quod nullum peccatum accelerari, breviori poterit vel tardari, et falsa esset prophetica Ezech. 3<sup>o</sup>. Quantum ad istud dicitur quod<sup>35</sup> peccatum potest dici idem in numero quoad materiam Ezech. III, 18 et subiectum, vel quoad tempus, materiam et subiectum. Sic autem, stricte loquendo, non redit idem peccatum

4. cum *deest* A. 6. foret A. 8. 9. mihi — iniuncta *deest* C.  
10. exemplanda AC. 14. illas alias C. 16. stat vel gravatur irrationabili-  
liter B; stat irrationabiliter gravatur C; *ib.* gravaretur B. 22, 23. etc.  
*pro* patris — mater est A. 23. 2<sup>m</sup> A. 23, 24. 2<sup>m</sup> A. 25. secundum  
*deest omnes MSS.* 29. quidem A. 31. 32. illo — *pro deest* C.  
35. 3<sup>o</sup> *deest*; a gap C. 38. reddit C.



in numero, cum individuatur a tempore, vel quo ad terminos suos, vel quo ad successionem motus in quo consistit. Sed primo modo redit idem peccatum, ut loquitur scriptura. Peccatum eciam potest diu remanere  
 5 vel in suo fructu ut pena, vel formaliter, et primo modo peccatum idem redit, et remanet perpetuo in dampnato, ut patet de peccato finalis inpenitencie. Multa autem locuta de peccatis dependent super logica et metaphisica; et nisi ut obturent Anticristos utile est tractare.

identical, and  
 the sinner too,  
 but the time  
 and the acts are  
 different.

3. primo modo reddit peccatum idem reddit C; *ib.* modo *twice* A.  
 3—6. ut loquitur — redit et *deest* A. 8. logica *pro* locuta A; locuta  
 (*sic*) C; *ib.* super *deest* A. 9. obtineret anticristus A.

## CAPITULUM DUODECIMUM.

The present chapter deals with rural deans.

Deans in monasteries have more pride; but all are alike by their greed.

They make much money out of the sin of lust, and being themselves most prone to such sins, punish most severely; which is diabolical malice.

Their Superiors prefer to appoint such, because they know better how to wring money out of the people.

And they provoke to sin, in order to increase their riches.

Habito generali sermone de penitencia et confessione, A. restat cavendum ne isti quinque tortores fune excomunicacionem infideliter funesta trica diaboli. Et suppositis dictis de archidiacono et officiali, restat de decano 5 rurali, 6<sup>o</sup> tortore, aliud perstringendum.

In decano autem monasteriali iacet maior sophisticacio et maior superbia. Comune autem est omnibus istis propter questum subrogari et in superiorum officiis sophisticare censuras, et false tractare subiectos omni 10 genere criminis anticristi. Specialiter autem spoliant pro peccato luxurie tam clerum quam laicos: et comunitur illi qui peccato illo sunt maxime irretiti, maxime iniuste puniunt pro eodem. Illa, inquam, est una condicio diaboli et filiorum qui ex ipso nascuntur, quod in illo 15 peccato quo est magis culpabilis magis punit; quia diaboli habent maiorem experienciam, ut illis peccatis temptent homines et convincant. Unde satrape, superiores decanis, non querunt illos qui magis mundi a crimine subditos magis purgarent, sed eos in quibus 20 viget plus experimentalis caliditas ad plurem pecuniam a populo rapiendam; quia illam querunt indubie, non purgacionem criminis subditorum. Et patet quod sunt tortores, servi mamone, non ministri Cristi, purgatores nequicie; quia hec querunt pro illo fine sollicite labo- 25 rando. Sed illud odiunt, nequiciam, de qua ditantur, multipliciter procurando. Ideo certum est quod sunt vasa diaboli, temptamenta populi et proximi, procura-

1. Cap. 12<sup>m</sup> in marg. B; 12 in red ink. 3. tue A; fune C. 4. trica C.  
6. sexto tortore deest A. 9. et deest AB. 10. sophisticari C.  
16. est deest A. 17. habuit A. 28. temperamenta A; temptamentum C.

4. The first sentence is incomprehensible. In all the MSS. the word *infideliter* is much abbreviated and may stand for some verb; for which, it is hard to guess.

tores luciferi. In illis enim reconditur venenum, quo populus lubricitate inficitur, ut patet ex cartulis et studio eorum. Ipsi mandant, ut concionatores et monstrosi temptatores sexus feminei, ut patet ex levi amerciamento  
 5 subdolo et verbo bleso ad continuacionem facinoris alleccio.

They encourage women of bad lives, by inflicting but a slight fine and a mild reprimand on them.

Et pars luciferi per eos magis quam per incubos vel succubas roboratur. Sicut enim Cristus humanitatem induit ad querendum perditam ovem centesimam, ut patet Luc. 15<sup>o</sup>, sic diabolus anticristus decanos tales  
 10 induit ad perdendum ovem redemptam cum domino Luc. XV, desponsatam. Sic quod tollerabilius esset communicare  
 4-6 6<sup>b</sup> cum meretrice, cum excommunicato | vel ipso diabolo, quam cum tali decano infirmante yppocrisi suam dragmam  
 Luc. 10<sup>am</sup>, que aliter velut aurum vel carbunculus  
 XV, 8 rutilaret. Est enim in subtiliori fortitudine sexus meretrice calidior; ex malediccione abscondita, sed innata,  
 B. excommunicato nequior, et ex domesticitate nature cognite infugibilior. Non enim fugatur signacione crucis, sicut diabolus, licet data sibi cruce denarii ad tempus recedat  
 20 et alias avidius retrocedat. Potestas autem huius belue stat potissime in citacione et excommunicacione; secundum quam primum insons laborator locatim distanter citabitur, quod tollerabilius foret sibi in principio rapinam reddere. Quantum ad excommunicacionem, sic terret simplices quod facit eos reputari infames, cuilibet cristiane comitive odibiles.

They thus act in the cause of Satan like incarnate fiends, and should be more avoided than harlots, than the excommunicated and than the devil; more astute than the first, and more secretly wicked than the second, they will not, like the third, flee at the sight of the Cross. Their great weapons are citation and excommunication, by which simple folk are much frightened, thinking that it renders them infamous.

Est autem triplex cautela contra istud demonium. Primo, quod simplex servet se mundum a culpa imposita et patienter premittat illud demonium blaterare.  
 20 2<sup>a</sup> est populi secularis, qui debet talibus raptoribus sacrilegis potenter resistere. Nam regna alia audent ex levi causa vel nulla invadere; sed terram propriam non audent contra hostes domesticos secundum leges paternas protegere, quia percussus luciferina vecordia est  
 35 pessimus sibi ipsi. Facile igitur foret fugare tales apostotas, indictando. 3<sup>o</sup> vero cautela foret in proximo curato, ut vicario vel rectore, qui expurget impetitos sana exhortatione et fructifera confessione. Cum enim tota decani

There are three ways of avoiding their clutches. 1. By leading a pure life; 2. By resisting them by every legal means; which can easily be done.

3. By the help of the nearest Curate whose duty

1. in quo B. 3. mediant BC. 4. m'camêto A. 5. gûacôm A.  
 15. ex BC. 17. nequior B. 20. avidius AB. 22. quam deest C.  
 28. Prima C. 29. illud deest C. 30. que omnes MSS. 31. sacrilegiis A; ib. patenter corr. in marg. A; ib. Non A; ib. audet A. 36. inducendo A; inducendo C.

13. Dragmam for drachmam.

it is to see to  
such matters  
rather than a  
stranger.

But they say  
that even should  
the guilty party  
be absolved by  
his Rector, the  
Dean would still  
have the right to  
excommunicate  
him, or his office  
would be worth  
nothing.

But we must  
suppose that,  
once absolved,  
he is no longer  
guilty before  
God; every  
further  
punishment is  
therefore  
inflicted by the  
devil on an  
innocent man.

Another  
tortor might  
inflict a third  
penance; and  
so on without  
end, driving him  
to despair.

Such a claim  
blasphemously  
implies that  
God is  
incompetent to  
remit sin until  
it is atoned by  
simony.

vel superioris prelati visitario debet versari circa salutem anime ovis morbide, ac proximus curatus debet diligentius hoc facere quam remotus; ad eum pertinet, ammoto tortore extrinseco, ad curam illam attendere.

Sed hic vendicat pars anticristi, quod quocienscunque 5  
vel quantumcumque parochianus purgatus fuerit a rectore, dum tamen decanus in libris suis reum reperiens non habuerit predam suam, citat et excommunicat quantumcumque immunem; quia aliter, ut dicitur, superiorum prelatorum lucra et officia cassarentur. Contra istam blasphemiam versu- 10  
ciam instatur tripliciter: primo per hoc, quod iuxta legem dei non licet punire insontem immunem a crimine, ut patet . . . . . et sepe alibi. Sed talis, ut supponitur, purgatur a crimine: ergo non licet decano, sequestratori vel alii, sic mundificatum a deo taliter punire. Item, 15  
deus non bis punit in id ipsum, cum perfecte et integre semel punivit confessum in curato, ut suppono. Ideo, si propter idem peccatum iterum puniatur, hoc erit per diabolum, deum malum. Aliter enim foret desperacio de peccato, cum satisfacto pro crimine posset 20  
alius tortor succedere, vendicando quod non adhuc satis sit sibi; et post ipsum mortuum vel cedentem, alii. Et sic secundum tradiciones novas diabolus progrediretur supra dominium sine fine. Item, cum secundus C.  
tortor vendicat pedagium suum pro purgacione criminis 25  
commissi, supponit ipsum adhuc plenarie non esse expurgatum. Sed dicit implicate quod deus in se derisus et insufficiens expectat quousque per symoniam suam reddiderit purgacionis ultimum complementum. Sed quis unquam audivit magis horrendam blasphemiam? Non 30  
enim sunt deus, non recognoscens causam superiorem, dicentes: *Sic vollo, sic iubeo* etc? Sed preter scripturam falsam voluntarie rotulis suis rescriptam, oportet quod nichil alegent ex parte dei beneficencie, que in fine sonabit purgacionem a crimine. Sed cum illam perfec- 35  
tam creditur a domino gratis datam, non oportet symoniace emere plus perfectam.

6. arcio A. 11. tripliciter *deest* A; *ib.* primo *deest* B. 13. *after*  
patet a gap omnes MSS. 17. semel punit A; punit sed deus deus  
semel B; *fiml* = simul C; *ib.* supponitur BC. 18. a deo *in rasura pro*  
Ideo C. 20. satisfaccio omnes MSS. 22. ex p9 A; ep 109 C.  
27. divisus C. 30. inquam C. 32. *dices pro* dicentes C. 33. in-  
scriptan C. 34. legent AC; *ib.* beneficenciam omnes MSS. 35, 36. per-  
feccionem AB. 36. greditur A.

Cautela igitur curatorum sollicita est a talibus lupis rapacibus defendere oves suas; et si mille litteras excommunicatorias transmiserint, non magis excommunicationem sophisticam fulminari. Scimus quidem quod  
 5 excommunicans quem quam iniuste, ut sic, semetipsum excommunicat. Scimus insuper quod pessima foret evidenciam propter litteras excommunicatorias quemquam excommunicari debere, nisi assit causa ex parte dei, cui littera talis est impertinens, reddens causam frivolum plus suspectam.  
 10 Ideo, collectis quotquot litteris huiusmodi, laboret curatus ad purgacionem suarum ovium et non prorumpat in tales excommunicationes stolidas propter nudas litteras anticristi. Et idem est iudicium de litteris episcopi et bullis papalibus, cum notum sit ipsos in anathema propter  
 15 vindicacionem sue iniurie cucurrisse; et tunc secundum Gregorium excommunicacio est in ipsos episcopos inferenda. Ideo idem esset onerare ecclesiam, credere quod si quemquam excommunicare precipiunt, tunc excommunicari debet apud deum et ecclesiam militantem, et onerare  
 20 ipsam ecclesiam quod sint impeccabiles sicut Christus; et postposita ista blasfemia non forent tot excommunicationes frivole, ut iam currunt. Fidelis enim non crederet ewangelio, quod est superius bullis papalibus, nisi assit divina inspiracio ad hoc movens. Ideo, nisi  
 25 deus inspiret, videtur quod nemo excommunicare debeat. Nam sic et non aliter excommunicarunt Christus et sui apostoli. Non igitur propter perfidiam fictam de constancia prela  
 63<sup>a</sup> | torum debet fidelis se et plebem involvere, ubi ex sibi dubio male facit. Nam constat ex decreto Gregorii 23 q. III<sup>a</sup> ca<sup>o</sup> *Inter querelas*, excommunicans propter vindictam proprie iniurie se ipsum excommunicat eo facto; ergo multo magis excommunicans propter hoc  
 D. quod pecunias sibi indebite decimetur. Cum igitur notum sit decanos et plures prelatos excommunicare  
 35 precipue propter questum, stultus esset qui nude excommunicaret propter eorum literas et mandata; deus enim mandat, verbo scripture cum noticia facti, quod

Parish priests should defend their sheep from these ravenous wolves, in spite of their excommunications, and however many such letters and notices he may receive,

he should, instead of publishing them, strive to bring his flock to a better life; the same must be said of bishops' letters and Papal bulls, when they are known to proceed only from revenge, their authors being thus excommunicated. It would be a heavy burden if we had to believe that God ratifies every excommunication. Even the Gospel should not be believed, if it were not inspired, and without a revelation no one ought to be excommunicated.

Therefore none should be published before his flock by a faithful priest, if he has doubts about their lawfulness. Hardened sinners, as we know by Scripture, are excommuni-

1. est *deest* A. 4. quod *deest* AB. 5. quem *omnes* MSS.  
 9. forvolam C. 11. non *deest* A. 13. est *deest* C; *ib.* de litteris *deest* B.  
 16. Greg<sup>o</sup> C. 20. ipsa *in marg.* A. 21. ista *deest* C. 27. sic tam C.  
 33. sibi *deest* A; *ib.* detinetur C.

30. This canon is not in the Gregorian Decretals, but in those of Gratian. It is, however, ascribed to Gregory: "*Gregorius scribet ad Januarium episcopum dicens*". See Decr. Grat. 2<sup>a</sup> Pars. C<sup>a</sup>. XXIII. qu. 4. c. 27.



cated by the  
very fact;  
yet, contrary to  
Scripture, we do  
not shun their  
society: why  
then obey a  
censure which  
has only money  
for its object?  
A man should  
no be punished  
again for a sin  
for which he has  
already done  
penance.

Fines of this  
sort, if paid  
gratuitously, are  
neither alms-  
deeds nor  
atonement for  
sin; if paid for  
the permission  
to continue a  
sinful life, they  
are a horrible act  
of blasphemy.

They are  
arbitrary, and  
therefore  
unlawful,  
because  
imposed  
without any rule  
but the dean's  
will; so that he  
might take all  
the adulterer's  
property, if he  
chose.

The only rule he  
follows is to take  
as much as he  
can without  
danger of being  
exposed.

illos quos notorie videmus induratos malicia excommunicat  
eo facto, et tamen non timemus communicare cum illis  
consensu multiplici; et tamen fides scripture, que plus  
est quam literè predicte hoc prohibet, ut patet Math. XVIII,  
18 et 2<sup>a</sup> Joh. Est infidelis ergo qui postponit propter  
talem tyrannidem deum suum.

Sed rimando ulterius arguitur quod non licet dictis  
prepositis sic singulariter propter amerciamementum luxurie  
capere bona mechi; nam hoc non liceret, nisi sub ratione  
pene illius peccati. Sed iuxta predicta non licet taliter  
bis punire et specialiter capta salutari penitencia ex  
limitacione proprii sacerdotis. Non enim licet iniungere  
penam publicam, nisi liceret publice confiteri et spoliatori  
publice absolvere a peccato, quia aliter liceret quotquot  
raptoribus absolvere vel rapere successive.

Item, nullum tale amerciamementum debet dari a subdito,  
si non gratis; sed non debet sic gratis dare questum  
tali preposito, quia nec titulo elemosine nec titulo redem-  
pcionis culpe; cum sic liceret licenciare mechum continuare  
pro pecunia symoniace in mechia. Quod licet dicatur sepe  
fieri, tamen manifestum est quod est horrenda blasfemia,  
quam tota ecclesia impugnaret; sed dei iniuriam ex defectu  
dileccionis vindicare postponimus, nostram autem preten-  
sam, quia nos magis diligimus, infideliter vindicamus. Et  
ista est infidelitas per anticristum nimis abscondita. Ideo  
preponderancia vindicte atestatur preponderacione iniurie.

Item, cum penitencia pecuniaria sit arbitraria, si  
sit rationalis, est aliqua rationis regula, secundum quam  
debit arbitrari; sed nulla est, sicut nec fundamentum:  
ergo est irrationalis. Si enim voluntas decani sit regula,  
tunc secundum variacionem talis voluntatis requiritur  
quod ratio varietur. Ex quo sequitur quod eius voluntas  
sit dei volicio, cum antecederet faciat rationem; et sic  
mutata voluntate sua, ut habeat quotlibet bona mechi  
(eciam ultra hoc quod possidet) sequitur quod voluntas  
decani posset quotquot bona voluerit de populo exhaurire.  
Sic enim dicitur Innocencium 3<sup>m</sup> nongentas marcas, si non  
fuisset fraus percepta, annuatim de Anglia exhausisse. Sed  
irracionabilitas et variacio affectus decani ostendit blas-  
femiam; moderat enim rapinam ad maximum; sic tamen  
quod fraus et frustracio pecunie non fuerit deprehensa.

5. 2<sup>a</sup> Joh. 5 C. est *deest* AC; *ib.* qui *deest* C. 21. est *before* quod  
*deest* AB. 4. vincamus A. 26. preponderacionem C. 27. sic C.  
32. cuius A. 33. talis A; *ib.* tunc *pro* et sic. 40. enim *pro* tamen AC.

E. Item, cum lex dei non auctorizat hoc factum, nec proficit, sed inficit humana tradicio, quo ad illud potissima ratio foret, quia pecunie subtraccio foret (lubricitatis occasionem subtrahens) medicina. Sed patet quod talis spoliatio sit occasio ad furtum, ad homicidium et ad alia multa mala. Ymmo, supposita veritate huius petiti, 3<sup>a</sup> alia sunt vitanda. Primo, unde isti prelato auctoritas ad tales penitencias iniungendum? Videtur enim quod ad illum solum pertinet penitenciam talem iniungere, qui debet absolvere: quod blasphemum est a tali scopante. Iterum, supposito quod talis subtraccio fomenti luxurie sit plus salutifera, adhuc circumstantia bonificans est precipue attendenda. Sed quid facit ad meritum petulantis, quod ipse invito dat maiori mecho consimiliter? debet ergo gratis magis indigentibus ut posset sua pravitas extingui. Item notum est quod perpetua peccantium separatio, aliena occupatio, sive ieiunium et multe penitencie consimiles forent plus medicinales quam huiusmodi subdola rapax. Multa iniungat ergo deus contrito penitenciam voluntariam, quod debemus ex fide supponere, sicut invidencius supponimus quod confitens sit contritus. Et patet undique penitencia plus salutifera ac magis legitima. Vecors itaque ignorancia est, quod rapina talis permittitur; ymmo quod contra talem non currit breve regium, ut raptorem. Ymmo potius raperent pro gravioribus criminibus magis patentibus, in quibus fraus magis subdola sopiretur.

Supposito igitur quod ecclesia fidelium noscat infrenare tales anticristi prepositos, sic quod despiciendo eorum cautelas terrificas excludat eos simpliciter a rapinis huiusmodi; videndum est quomodo rectores et sui presbyteri se habebunt. Et videtur michi quod primo omnium debemus declinare a malo culpe, nedum in genere, sicut quilibet cristianus; sed specialiter peccatum tam omissionis quam comissionis circa curam nostrarum ovium precavere. Aliter enim sumus inhabiles ad subditos nostros secundum spirituale suffragium adiuvandum,

The only argument in favour of a system not authorized by God's law, is that pecuniary fines take away the occasion for lust; but they supply an occasion for other evils. What right has the dean, who does not absolve, to inflict such penalties? It were better for the sinner to give alms to the poor than fines to one worse than himself. And many other penances are better remedies for this sin than fines.

These men should be severely punished as robbers by the king.

The duty of spiritual pastors.  
1. To avoid carefully every sin, and especially those against their flock.

1. 2. nec proficiat, sed inficiat B. 2. sed inficit deest A. 4. actionem A; ib. medi pro medicina C. 5. accio A. 11. Item C. 12. ad hanc pro adhuc B. 15. maumecho B; mecho C; ib. consimili det igitur C. 16. bonitas A; pronitas C; ib. Iterum C. 17. propterea AB. 19. foret C. 20. deus struck out B. 21. demus A; decanus in marg. B. 23. ac twice A. 25. non currit deest B. 29. igitur deest AB. 32. Nota hic de officio curatorum in marg. B.

If sometimes, for the greater good of the Church, we absent ourselves from our cure, we must yet make sure that it does not suffer from this; and we should give it up entirely rather than neglect it while receiving its income.

2. But if we leave our flock, it must be for some occupation at least as useful to the Church: which is certainly lawful, for we should love the whole Church more than its part.

Christ's parable of the lost sheep explained in this sense.

Christ left the 99, i. e. the angels, in Heaven, in order to seek the human race, as one lost sheep; but He notwithstanding that, cared for the Angels' happiness.

We cannot do as He did, but we must at least imitate Him.

nec rationem nostre stricte custodie deo damus. Licet autem, ad maiorem profectum matris ecclesie, oportet in casu oves privatas dimittere et ob amorem Cristi profectui ecclesie maiori intendere, tamen summopere cavendum est ne interim, propter absenciam pastoris proprii vel eius vicarii, oves sue depereant; quia potius desereret earum custodiam et omnino lucrum de oblacionibus et de decimis, cum ipsum recipiendo curatoris titulo et deficiendo ab officio illo obligatorio fatue se dampnaret. Sed oportet 2<sup>o</sup> omnino quod absens a cura sit in bona et sibi licita causa ecclesie eque salubriter vel salubrius occupatus. Ideo servientes in officio seculari negotiis, ociantes in scolis, et intencione illicita peregrinantes, vel visitantes romanum pontificem, peccant graviter. Quod autem sit licitum propter maius meritum sic oves suas dimittere, patet ex hoc quod curatus plus obligatur toti matri ecclesie, quam istis privatis ovibus, cum non debet ipsas diligere, nisi in ordine ad matrem totalem quam debet finaliter plus amare: Cum igitur generaliter debet magis intendere superioris servicio plus dilecti, sequitur quod debet in casu, dimisso privato officio, intendere servicio superioris ecclesie.

Hoc enim exemplificat Cristus qui, ut dicitur Luc. 15. parabolavit quomodo, relictis 99 ovibus in deserto, quesivit ovem centesimam; nam plus amavit centum oves qualibet parte sui. Sed ovem centesimam, cum sit Cristus, vel Cristus eius caput, licet secundum partem inferiorem huius corporis sit peccator, Cristus plus diligit cum beatis ceteris quam totam multitudinem angelorum. Est enim melior tam natura quam gracia. Sed nota quod Cristus aliqua ratione reliquit 99 oves, hoc est omnes angelorum ordines, in deserto, quia factus homo ut ovis perdita ipsum reductorem cognoscat facilius, naturam angelicam non assumpsit, nec ipsum celum, sed terram in qua ovis erraverat, primo incoluit; et hoc est illas oves dimittere, licet noscatur illas oves perpetuo deifice conservare. Celum autem est pascua semper virencia, a tumultu calcancium aliena, et post confirmacionem a lupis et canibus sunt secura. Licet

Luc.  
XV,  
4—8

3. ab *pro* ob A. 7. costodium A; *ib.* omne A. 8. de *deest* C.  
26. amant *omnes* MSS. 28. vel Cristus *deest* A. 30. beatis *deest* C.  
37. nosatur C.

autem non sufficimus eque (ut iste summus per se bonus Pastor), oves dimittere tam secure; tamen debemus sibi facere placitum huic porcionaliter, nec sufficimus ovem sic impositam collo nostro reducere ad ovile, sicut  
 5 non possumus nos sub obtentu habitudinis humane taliter obligare, sed intelligendum est porcionaliter modo parabole utrobique. Et patet quod quicumque cum istis paribus centum oves habuerit, una perdita, ut dicit ewangelium, ita facit.

10 Sed obicitur per hoc quod, iuxta dicta de residencia curati, satisfaccio et lex debiti tolleretur; quia, ut dicitur, licet rectori capere proventus huiusmodi parochie satisfaciendo cuicumque ecclesie, cum pro tempore non  
 15 residencie non singularius prodest illi ecclesie, quam alteri cuicumque: ymmo, unus incognitus caritativior magis prodest. Quomodo igitur est correspondencia acceptionis istorum proventuum ad meritum tam comune? per idem enim quilibet plus promerens haberet ampliorem

Objection: If the curate is thus obliged to reside, he has no longer any right to his income; the Rector may give it to one more useful to the parish.

G. titulum vendicandi. Hic negatur prima consequencia,  
 20 cum curatus providus, quantumcumque absens corpore est presens virtute, cum providet de apto vicario, qui si defuerit exigendo proventus talis ecclesie, lupaciter rapit ipsos; nec video quod rector in tali casu rationabiliter peteret pro tunc a tali ecclesia, nisi titulo  
 25 elemosine, parca vite necessaria, que tunc non haberet apcius aliunde. Sic enim apostolus edificando avaros corinthios cepit sic vite necessaria ab alienis ecclesiis. Nec video quomodo curatus potest secundum legem dei, quantumcumque laboraverit, bona parochie ultra  
 30 necessitatem iuste exigere. Illa enim est regula apostolica, ut patet 1<sup>a</sup> Thym 6<sup>o</sup>, quam non licet viris  
 1. Tim. VI, 17 apostolicis supergredi. Item, quidquid debet rector percipere de sua parochia. in quantum talis, ipsum debet esse titulo elemosine; sed repugnat rationi  
 35 elemosine ipsam per placitum vel excomunicacionem exigere. Et assumptum patet de Cristo et suis apostolis, qui exemplarunt nobis in suo facto sic facere: unde,

But the curate, absent in body, may be present in mind, and may appoint a good vicar, who however has no right to the income of the parish, nor the curate himself, beyond his personal needs.

All that the Rector has is alms, which cannot be conforeed. If a man witholds alms that are due, he should be left to God's excommunication.

5. nos *deest* A. 6. est *deest* A. 10. Solvitur A. 12. modi *deest* BC. 11. residencia A; residen<sup>o</sup> C. 15, 16. ymmo — igitur *deest* A. 16. carencia A. 18. et *pro* per A; *ib.* providens A. 19. vendendi A; *ib.* nature A. 21. potens A; *ib.* virtute *deest* A. 22. dei *deest* B. 31. tess. 6<sup>o</sup> *pro* ut — 6<sup>o</sup> A; *ib.* quam homo non B. 32. apostolicis *deest* C; *ib.* quicumque B. 34. racionem C. 36. Et assumptum *deest* C. 37. extrasunt vel A; exemplarunt nobis in facto suo C.

Luce 9<sup>o</sup>, quando Cristo iniuriatum fuit, prohibuit ex- Luc.  
 comunicare explicite. Si enim quis iniuriatur michi, deitas XI, 55  
 excommunicat eum eo facto. Et cum ego debeo secun-  
 dum legem Cristi orando pro iniuriante iniuriam ipsam  
 dimittere, repugnat eidem legi quod propterea publice 5  
 maledicam. Et ista est ratio legis Gregorii *Inter querelas*,  
 23, 9, 4. Item, si proventus ecclesie liberari debent ut  
 debitum, oportet dare equivalens commutatum; nullum  
 pertinencius quam spirituale ministerium parochianis  
 impensum. Et sic rector comitteret symoniam. Et revera 10  
 illi qui magis contendunt in talibus, non sunt digni pro  
 toto ministerio recipere pecuniam; ymmo, ut ministratio  
 rectoris foret melior, sic in cambio foret proventus  
 carior. Unde quidam religiosi librant valorem sui habitus,  
 in quo extranei moriantur. Leges itaque docentes cu- 15  
 ratos pro decimis vel elemosinis dandis contendere vel  
 pugnare, sunt a religione legis Cristi extranee.

The Rector's  
 return for dues  
 is spiritual  
 ministry; but if  
 he exacts  
 money for this,  
 he commits  
 simony.

Christ warns us  
 against the  
 Scribes and  
 Pharisees;  
 because the  
 clergy which, if  
 good, is the best  
 part of the  
 Church, is the  
 worst if bad, as  
 in the times of  
 Christ and  
 Antichrist;

Our scribes are  
 the secular, our  
 Pharisees, the  
 regular or  
 'religious'  
 clergy: we,  
 Christ's  
 disciples, must  
 be better than  
 either.  
 Their  
 righteousness  
 is both  
 insufficient and  
 superfluous.

Ideo videtur Cristum dicere, Matth. 5<sup>o</sup>, ubi condidit Matth.  
 legem suam, quod *nisi habundaverit iusticia vestra plus* V, 20  
*quam scribarum et phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum* 20  
*celorum*; hoc enim dixit in apostolis cuilibet cristiano.  
 Pro cuius intellectu suppono clerum, qui est 3<sup>a</sup> pars  
 ecclesie, dum observat legem secundum suum ordinem,  
 esse partem optimam, et dum apostatat esse pessimam;  
 patet hoc rationibus et exemplis. Nam sicut clerus in 25  
 sacerdotibus legis veteris pro tempore mortis Cristi fuit  
 pessimus, sic videtur fore pessimus pro tempore anti-  
 cristi. Secundo, suppono clerum perversum in duo  
 dividi: scilicet, in seculares et tradicionibus humanis  
 apostate innitentes, ut erant scribe in lege veteri, et 30  
 iuriste in lege gracie, et in phariseos religiosos, ut patet  
 de 3<sup>bis</sup> sectis tempore Cristi et de sectis innumerabilibus H.  
 tempore legis gracie. 3<sup>o</sup> videtur Cristum | docere singulos 61<sup>a</sup>  
 cristianos secte sue in iusticia excedere istam sectam.  
 Ipsa enim, iustificando tradiciones hominum, legis dei 35  
 iusticiam parvipendit. Unde Cristus non dignatur istam  
 falsam et nude verbalem iusticiam scribarum et phari-  
 seorum exprimere, sed satis innuit connexa dei iusticia  
 ipsam contempnere, cum sit insufficiens in regnum in-

2. deus C. 3. eo deo A. 6. legis *deest* A. 7, 8. ut debitum  
*deest* C. 8. comunicatum A. 17. sunt *deest* C. 26. legis A.  
 27. pro *deest* B. 29. et *deest* AC. 30. scribere A. 31. nil iste B; *ib.* etiam  
 pro et in A. 33.  $\wedge$ gre $\wedge$  legis (*sic*) A; 'gre' legis C. 39. sive *pro* cum B

6. Gregorii. See note above, p. 175.



ducere. Et sic dicta iusticia est insufficiens atque superflua. Insufficiens, quia contempnit radicem virtutis et vicii, ut patet in exemplis Cristi; et est superflua, quia modo phariseico nimis appreciatur ritus sensibiles.

- 5 Quo ad primum patet quod peccati occasio est tol-  
lenda, cum post ramos abscisos germinat ex radice. In  
Luc. cuius signum dicitur Lu. 3<sup>o</sup>, quod securis ad radicem  
III, 9 arboris posita est. Cristus ergo, ut summus medicus,  
precipit spurcias anime expurgari, et sic secundum  
10 perfectam iusticiam, ommissa observacione superflua, sem-  
per melius plus curare. Et ista superfluitas figuratur  
exemplo multiplici, ut in privatis ordinibus introductis  
in domibus et aliis superfluis et in humanis tradicionibus  
cum suis fructibus. Plus enim ponderantur scribarum  
15 excommunicacio, corporalis incarcerationio, et stultorum  
diffamacio, quam insensibilis vindicacio, que omnia ista  
nociva excedit. Abiciamus ergo superflua huius palliate  
iusticie, plus appreciantes operibus bonis de genere  
rectitudinem voluntatis, et plus timentes divinum iudicium,  
20 licet insensibile, quam censuras quaslibet satraparum;  
tunc enim divinam iusticiam adimplemus. Ipsa enim,  
cum sit omnis virtus, est unicuique reddere virtuose  
quod debeat esse suum; ut deo humile servitium et  
honorem, virtuoso caritativum adiutorium et favorem;  
25 sed vicioso, correpcionis debitum et timorem: quibus  
servatis, oportet iusticiam beatitudinem vendicare. Sicut  
enim bonus debet habere adiutorium ex vi comunionis  
sanctorum, sic malus debet habere correpcionem frater-  
nam, et ultimo timorem ex elongacione ab illo tamquam  
30 diabolo, ut docetur Matth. 18. Et divisio istius partis  
iusticie nimis debilitat ordinem cristianum. Et patet quod  
iusticia phariseica nimis arta undiquaque deficit; cum  
debet inimicos diligere, et dileccioni dei ac cuiuslibet  
creature modum virtuosum superaddere, ac superfluitatem  
35 in qua superhabundant precipere.
- Quod autem cristianus debet superhabundanter diligere  
inimicos, patet ratione multiplici. Primo, quia Cristus,  
Matth. 5<sup>o</sup>, sic precipit; eius autem preceptio est summa  
I. obligacio. Item, diligendo inimicos, acquiritur naturaliter

Insufficient;  
they only avoid  
the outward  
aspects of sin,  
and do not go  
to the root.

Superfluous:  
witness the  
houses of the  
different Orders  
and all their  
traditions.

Let us cast  
them away  
from us, and  
follow the path  
of justice,  
giving to each  
his own: to  
God, honour;  
to the good,  
our help, and  
to the bad,  
reproof.

This Pharisaical  
justice is found  
wanting in  
these things.

We must love  
our enemies,  
because Christ  
taught us so;  
because we  
thereby avoid

2. veritatis A; virtutis corr. ex veritatis C. 8. igitur C. 9. tunc  
pro et sic B. 16. benedictio A. 19. rectionem A. 22, 23. Nota quomodo  
redditur quod debeat esse suum A. 22. secundum philosophos est BC.  
23. dicat A. 31. nimis deest B. 33. cuilibet B. 37. deus B  
39. Ita bonum facit diligere inimicum in marg. B.

the bitterness of  
anger against  
them;  
and because  
our enemies  
will then  
torment us less,

and God will  
be pleased  
with us;  
we shall be  
like Him,

and our  
enemies will  
become our  
friends, or  
give us more  
occasions of  
merit.  
We must love  
our enemy's  
nature, but not  
his sin, nor the  
person to  
whom the sin  
belongs.

No one should  
accept a  
benefice, unless  
quite  
purified from  
all worldly  
intentions;  
He must first  
of all be a man  
capable of  
fulfilling his  
duties.  
Then he must  
not accept a  
curacy out of  
worldliness,  
love of pleasure,  
or a wish to  
enrich his  
friends;  
but in order to  
suffer, labour  
and do good;

commodum corporale, cum intrinsecus turbacio spiritus animalis evaditur et extrinsecus inimici insultantis inveteracio evitatur. Primum autem vehementer exprimitur corpus affligere, ut Prov. 17<sup>o</sup>. *Spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa*. Et quoad 2<sup>um</sup> ex inveterata invidia videmus plurimos dampnificari et occidi cottidie. Racionabile itaque foret tollere causam tanti mali. Item, quoad bonum spirituale, patet quod reddit remittentem placatum deo. Et hinc Cristus et Stephanus orantes pro hostibus dicuntur propterea exauditi. 2<sup>o</sup> reddit talem 10 benivolum deiformem, cum remittendo et benefaciendo ponit vindictam in dei arbitrio, et interim benefacit, ut dei minister, diligendo naturam quam deus diligit. Et tercio, cooperante dei gracia, reddit inimicum firmum amicum, vel accumulando meritum magis inimice. Stultus 15 igitur foret qui irrationabiliter appeteret viam diaboli, omisso tam facili et tam bono. Diligi autem debet natura inimici, eciam ipse diabolus, et odiri peccatum et secundum illam racionem ipsum suppositum; quia aliter indubie fovens creaturam ad hostem dei sit proditor 20 dei: sicut preponderans vindicari humanam iniuriam, nedum iniuste solvit primum mandatum decalogi, sed creaturam cuius iusticiam preponderat constituit infideliter deum suum; et in ista blasfema perfidia currit totus mundus. 25

Nemo igitur acciperet ante huius artis noticiam curam spiritualis regiminis, nec ante purgacionem secularis propositi; sed omnino habeat divinum propositum pastoraliter prodessendi. Primum patet ex hoc quod proditor dei foret qui suas oves susciperet tam- 30 quam eius vicarius, supposita inercia huius officii: talis enim, presumendo scilicet, in facto diceret quod non curat illudendo prodere deum suum. Et quoad 2<sup>m</sup>, patet quod oportet curatum purgari a 3<sup>ci</sup> proposito venenoso. Primo, ne accipiatur cura regiminis propter vitam inclitam 35 secularem, 2<sup>o</sup>, ne accipiatur ut curatus adaugeat voluptatem, et 3<sup>o</sup>, ne inordinate ditet suam cognacionem. Sed sanctum propositum debet esse ut in labore maiori et erumpna secundum pastorale officium plus proficiendo

1. comodum C. 4. 17<sup>o</sup> deest, blank space B; 1A in marg. suppl. C;  
ib. Tristis animus C. 6. quotidie C. 9. orantibus A. 16. tota-  
liter A. 18. odii A. 28. dictum AB. 29. possidendi C.  
31. inh'cia A; inhercia illius C. 34. curari A; ib. triplici C. 35. regi C.  
37. dicet A. 39. pastoralet A.

ecclesie meritorius placeat deo suo; et si tale propositum disruptum fuerit, omnimode reviviscat.

K. Signum autem perversi curati est patulum, ut si sancte conversando subditos suos in opere non excedat; si mundo deditus, secularibus desideriis insolescat; et si ab ewangelisacione ad plebem obmuteat et exigendo proventus sue parochie secundum leges satraparum exasperat.

46<sup>b</sup> Videtur enim omnes illas tradiciones | esse superfluas; quia, introducta lege elemosine, clerus non debet conten-

10 dere, sed bonum pro malo reddere; non excommunicare, sed maledicentibus et persequentibus benedicere, ut docet Petrus, per quem cristiana religio sumpsit exordium,

1 Pet. sicut patet Pe. 3<sup>o</sup>. Tunc enim omnes iste tradiciones

III, 9 forent nedum superflue, sed diabolice, quia legis domini

15 extinctive. Et videtur quod securius foret curatum vel ewangelisando per patrias, ut fecerunt apostoli, sine privata cura, ubi magis expedit, circuire; vel posito quod ad

hoc non sufficiat, secundum formam predictam in sua parrochia residere. Periculosum quidem videtur michi

20 modo vel curatum scolis intendere, vel arbitratis necessariis regni negociis laborare; sed dum ratio hoc exigit curam tam privatam prudenter dimittere.

Uterius videtur quod parochiani, cum non tenentur nisi titulo elemosine decimas curato suo solvere, videndo

25 publice quod a religione rectoris qui apostotat, tenentur elemosinas illas subtrahere. Nam ille elemosine secundum legem Cristi debentur pauperibus, cecis, claudis atque debilibus; sed non licet propter ordinacionem hominis, dando elemosinas istas apostatis, legi dei repugnari. Unde in lege

30 veteri, quando levitis dabantur decime, deus providit penitus suis egentibus, et populus fuit prohibitus mendicare, ut patet Deut. 15<sup>o</sup>. Nudum itaque et exile foret

XV, 4 argumentum ex decimacione cerimoniali legis veteris curatum, quomodocunque vixerit, de illis quos tantum

35 dampnificat decimam vendicare. Verumtamen licet Cristus et apostoli non decimas legis veteris exegerunt, tamen videtur michi quod populus nunc et semper decimas debet persolvere; et cum suo curato debet de vite necessariis providere, ut patet Cor. 9, videtur rationi

1. Cor. IX, 4

IX, 4

and this resolution should again be taken, if broken.

A bad curate can be known by his love of things secular, his negligence of the Gospel, and his greediness for money.

There would be no such greed, if only the law of alms were in force.

It would be better if the curate went hither and thither, preaching the Gospel throughout the country, or labouring in his parish.

The parishioners, if they see that their curate is an apostate, are bound to give him no alms.

No argument in favour of tithes can give any claims to a pastor who does harm to his flock.

Yet, since the people ought to provide curates with what is necessary for life, the payment of

3. Nota hic signa perversi curati *in marg.* B; *ib.* prelati C. 4. false C; *ib.* excedat AB. 7. parrochie C. 9. ut quod clerus BC. 13. per

1<sup>a</sup> pe. B; per *deest* C. 16. prias = patrias. 19. parrothia A.

21. ratio *deest* B. 23. tent<sup>a</sup> A. 25. qui *deest* AB. 31. punicis A;

punitis B; pñitis; *in marg.* penitus C. 33. ex decimacione *deest* A.

35. V'mfm A. 36. exigerunt C. 37. Nota de decimis *in marg.* B.

tithes is a duty, as almsgiving is; and the Friars and the needy live upon tithes.

consonum quod rectores de decimis sustententur, sicut sustentabantur Cristus et apostoli de decimis cum egenis ceteris, licet non contendebant de integritate et calculo partis quote. Utilius enim fuit illis de una persona vel paucis titulo elemosine, expertis parcis decimis, quantum 5 est necessarium pro officio ewangelisandi, suscipere, quam quotquot decimas imperatas habere cum murmure vendicantis. Unde certum est quod fratres et egeni vivunt de decimis; sed populus ultra decimam ex cautela diaboli spoliatur.

If the Rector fails in his duty, he sins in exacting tithes, and his parishioners sin in giving them.

If he has a legal right to tithes, by what law are they due?

The only case of such exaction found to be in Scripture is that of the wicked sons of Heli.

Passage quoted, and explained in the sense of compulsory tithes.

And now, as then, these crimes may bring calamities on God's people.

Item, iuxta dicta hec supponenda, quicquid iniustus 1. occupat vel vendicat, facit iniuste peccando continue.

Rector igitur, dum deficit a curatoris officio, peccat graviter, occupando vel petendo decimas subditorum. Et, cum gratis solvens sic apostato cooperando consensci, 15 videtur quod decimando sibi peccat graviter ex consensu. Forte dicitur quod non solum elemosinarie sed pure titulo iusticie dande sunt decime. Sed quo ad

primam partem dicerem tali garulo: legem pone. Nec dubito quin nullam in fide scripture inveniet, nisi forte 20 illud Reg. 2<sup>o</sup>, de pueris Ofny et Phynees. Porro filii

*Heli, filii Belial, nescientes dominum neque officium sacer-* 1. Reg. II,  
*dotum ad populum; sed quicumque ymmolasset victimam* 14—26

*veniebant pueri sacerdotis. dum coquerentur carnes; et habebant fuscinullam tridentem in manu sua, et mittebant 25 eam in lebetem, et omne quod levabat fuscinulla, tollebat sacerdos sibi. Et sequitur: "Non enim accipiam a te carnem coctam, sed crudam." Et sequitur: "Nunc*

*enim dabis, alioquin tollam vi."* Carnes sunt decime curatorum, que secundum partem sunt carnes ad literam. 30

Carnes vero crudas exigere, est decimas ablacionum dominative requirere; devocio enim elemosine, ex operibus caritatis, ut igne supposito cacabo, debet esse coccio decimarum. Tridens autem fuscinulla est maledicta tradicio diabolica ex tradizione papali, ex tradizione 35

cesarea, et ex adinventione proprie consuetudinis super stipitem scripture legis veteris recurvata. Cum ista enim dicit tortor puer presbiteri: "*Da michi pure ex debito*

1. enim AB. 4. paratis A; parte B; *ib.* Ultig A; *ib.* illis deest A.  
5. ecclesie A; *eleie* C; *ib.* ep pciß C; *ib.* eis pro decimis C. 6. suscitare A.  
11. hec deest B; hic C. 13. accusatoris omnes MSS. 15. apostolici A.  
7. sed twice A. 21. Offin et fineas A; Osyn et flineas C. 22. n<sup>o</sup> q3 A.  
24. veniebat puer BC. 25. habebat BC; *ib.* fuscinulam B; fuscinulam C;  
*ib.* sua deest C. 6. libetem A; *ib.* fustinuncula BC. 27. sibi deest B.  
33. caccabo A; cacabo C. 34. fustinuncula B; fuscinula C. 37. legis  
ve ro<sup>2</sup>cuata A.

dominandi; *alioquin tollam vi.*" Sed timendum est ne ista exaccio sit presagium occisionis spiritualis populi, sicut fuit statim post illud puerorum facinus de Iudeis.

Stat igitur quod iustus rector simul recipiat decimas  
5 titulo elemosine et titulo divine iusticie; et sic, si non elemosinarie non dande sunt decime. Item, videtur ex lege caritatis quod parochianus debet decimas talis rectoris subtrahere; quia, iuxta dicta omnis homo debet omnem hominem, eciam inimicum, in Cristo diligere;  
10 sed ministrare sibi sic decimas foret ipsum criminaliter odire; ergo fidelis subditus hoc non debet. Constat quidem ex fide quam parochianus debet cognoscere, quod de quanto talis rector amplius sic ditatur dampnificat parochianum, et ipse in malicia amplius profundatur.  
15 Sed indubie lex diaboli verecundaretur ista precipere; scilicet, quod homo debet ex bonis suis studiose dampnificare se ipsum et proximum. Talis enim amor seculi  
65<sup>a</sup> foret odium eciam diaboli; | nec dubium quin talis rector, ut amplius abutitur bonis ecclesie, plus profundatus in peccato obligaciorem se reddit de criminis racione. Et hec creditur una causa quare deus quandoque misericorditer abbreviat vitam talis.

Quocumque igitur lex sub pena excomunicacionis illud precipit, notorie est iniqua. Et si debeat expectari post  
25 probacionem pape iudicium, constat quod stat papam transfigurari interim in anticristum, nec est alicubi verior probacio quam ubi est facinoris ocularis ostensio; hec enim, et non in curia romana falsorum testium  
M. deposicio, probat crimen. Et si dicatur quod tantum  
30 viciu non debet supponi in capite; verum est quod non debet esse in capite; supponi tamen et credi debet tanquam contingens a fidelibus destruendum. Similiter, fidelis parochianus debet talem rectorem odire in quantum est proditor dei sui; non igitur fovere eum bonis  
35 Crisi pauperum contra ipsum, quia sic diligeret cristianus diabolum plus quam deum. Sed ubi foret maior prodicio? Similiter parochianus tenetur odire talem rectorem, dei iniuriam vindicando. Sed tale odium foret levissimum et securissimum, non comunicando cum eo, ut dicunt

The Rector should accept tithes as alms, or as due to him by God's justice. If he does not it is a duty of charity to deprive him of them;

the more he has, the more harm he will do, and we can in no case be obliged to pay for injuring both ourselves and our neighbour.

Any law compelling to give tithes is unjust. We need not await the Pope's decision; our eyesight is worth more than the witness of the Curia.

Such wickedness should not be in the Head of the Church; if there, it should be destroyed. To nourish Christ's enemy with the substance of the poor is to love the devil more than God.

2. occasionis A; oconion in marg. occisionis C. 6. mille pro non A; nulle C. 7. legetur A. 15. precipue B. 17. Cristum A. 20. obligacionem B. 21. videtur B. 24. si deest C. 25. ppba<sup>as</sup> A. 26. tñfiguari A. 27. oculorum B. 31. est omnes deest MSS. 35. pauperem A; paupm C; ib. parochianus A.



The best thing  
is to have  
nothing to do  
with him; he  
thus loses his  
income.

No arguments  
from tradition  
can prevail  
against Christ's  
law.

Many evils  
would arise  
from a new  
state of things,  
as they always  
do; here the  
principal would  
be the poverty  
of the perverse,  
the reduction in  
the number of  
the clergy  
(which may be  
left to God to  
deal with) and  
the bad  
administration  
of Church  
property.  
But Christ  
never designed  
curates to live  
in such pomp  
as they do now.

leges plurime. Et confirmacio est quod talis pro leviori peccato debet deponi. Ideo prius iustum est quod tales ab eo redditus sint subtracti. Hoc enim foret facilius quam decolacio vel depositio. Et ista sententia foret *tirriaca* contra iniustas appropriaciones ecclesiarum, contra tiran-  
5 nicas non residencias et culpas notorias personarum, et omnino contra blasfemas instituciones cardinalium et personarum alienigenarum, quorum absencia, cum sit per se sensibilis, debet a parrochiis optime iudicari.

Quantum ad instancias, patet quod tradicio anticristi  
10 non debet precellere legem Cristi, nec ratio simealis *a simili* de humano debito et solucione decimarum in lege veteri militat contra Cristum; quia ipse vult tractum esse celestem, non civilem vel carnalem; sed secundum quod est pure apud deum debitum, statui innocencie  
15 plus propinquum. Nec movet quod occasione istius possent multa mala contingere; quia sic contigit, occasione incarnationis Cristi et dacionis legis domini. Sed undique fuit occasio male accepta. Malum autem preponderans foret depauperacio discolorum, et defectiva administracio  
20 bonorum prepositorum, et paucificacio clericorum. Sed quo ad primum et 3<sup>m</sup>, donemus deo istam iniuriam. Sed pro medio notandum quod parvum est illud malum pene quo ad culparum notam, que ex ista culpabili tradicionem eveniunt. Cristus enim in se gessit typum  
25 penalis indigencie sacerdotum, ut patet Matth. 25 et Luce 9<sup>o</sup>. Sed nunquam figuravit istam secularem conversacionem et pompaticam curatorum; sed Luce 9. docet quod debet esse spiritus a deo spiratus, et correspon-  
30 denter ad spiritum suarum ovium instruicus. Spiritus enim de corpore capit nudam sustentacionem sensuum: et licet sepe turbetur a corpore, perdat sensum et ab eo culpam contrahat; tamen ipsum corpus semper vivificat, dirigit atque sanat. Sic debent pastores ecclesie reddere bonum pro malo suis ovibus, instar Cristi. Unde  
35 de nostris curatis nichil plus timeo, quam quod pre-textu cupiditatis mundane, dimisso regimine, spolient oves suas.

Matth.  
XXV,  
26  
Luce  
IX, 58

1. quod *deest* A; *ib.* pleniori A. 2. tales *deest* BC. 4. tiriaca B; tyriaca C. 5. 6. t'raicas A; trutincae C. 6. r'fide<sup>ss</sup> A. 11. dei *pro* Cristi BC; *ib.* symealis C. 14. non *pro* vel B. 15. ipse *pro* est A. 22. dōem<sup>9</sup> = docemus A. 28. popatica C. 29. debent A. 32. et *before* ab *deest* A. 33. tantum C; *ib.* super A. 36. pre *deest* B.

Quo ad sacerdotem parrochiale vel simplicem, qui debet esse rectori socius et adiutor, patet quod contigit eum multis modis deficere, ut ex illiteratura et ex defectu occupationis laudabilis, superbie, mundo et carni intendere. Ideo laudabile videtur quod tales dent se scripture studio vel informacioni iuvenum, ne extra tempus sacerdotalis ministerii diabolus ipsos inveniatur ociosos; debent autem cavere ab omni culpa, et specialiter a pravitate symoniaca, in ingressu quo ad ordinem vel conduccionem; in progressu, quo ad ministerii sui mercacionem, ut patet de denariis confessionis vel alterius sacramenti ministracionis; et caveant 3<sup>o</sup> de vicio symoniaco ex consensu, ut capiendo questum pro occultando crimine, paciundo predacionem populi ut lucro participet de fratre ordinario vel questore. Rector enim et suus presbiter debent esse una persona in regendis ovibus et a lupis rapacibus defendendis. Ideo debent in regimine virtutum altrinsecus se curare. Quod si facimus diligenciam nostram, possemus faciliter oves nostras defendere a lupinis spoliacionibus, ut officialis, decani, fratris cuiuscunque, pseudoclerici, vel questoris. Malicia autem talis sacerdotis simplicis videtur minor, cum status suus et obligacio prodessendi ecclesie sit predictis inferior.

As for the inferior priest who must help the Rector, want of instruction and occupation often entangles him in pride, and in worldly and fleshly tendencies. Such should study Scripture or educate youth, and carefully avoid all simony in entering on their office, in discharging its duties, and in protecting their flocks from the rapacity of others. But simple priests seem to sin less grievously than the higher ranks of the clergy.

5.  $\widehat{d_3}$  = debent C; *ib.* se *deest* A. 6. ve A. 12. concesso B.  
13. de *pro* pro C. 17. dicunt A. 19. defendere *in marg.* C. 20. officiales . . . fratres *omnes* MSS.

## CAPITULUM TREDECIMUM.

The ninth  
tormentor is  
the monk: i. e.  
the member  
of an order that  
has possessions.  
Such are in the  
Church like a  
hectic fever.

They claim  
Church  
property as a  
heritage, and  
more worldly  
than laymen,  
they  
blasphemously  
say that their  
life is like  
Christ's.  
As a fact, a  
population  
equal to that  
of England  
could be  
maintained on  
their immense  
revenues,  
which if not sent  
abroad to the  
loss of the  
kingdom, lie  
useless in their  
monasteries.

Merchants and  
warriors  
sometimes  
cause great loss,  
but sometimes  
much gain to  
the  
commonwealth;

Sequitur nonus tortor, qui est monachus, canonicus, frater quomodolibet variatus, dum tamen possessionatus. Omnes, inquam, tales ad hoc propositum habeo pro eodem. Isti autem profundius perturbant rempublicam, sicut febris ethica plus consumit de humido radicali. Habent enim ex diuturniori possessione plus inviscata temporalibus aliquam rationem maioris malicie, quam mendici. Isti enim vendicant ut hereditatem bona ecclesie, et plus alienati a bono religionis, minori | prodesse, 10 65<sup>b</sup> et maiori perturbacione reipublice, plus blasfemant. Licet enim vivant secularibus plus seculariter, tamen blasfemant quod vivunt Cristo magis similiter; et sic quo ad deum et homines magis perturbant rempublicam.

Nam, ut loquar sensibilibus de redditibus et mortificatis 15 ecclesiis, posset conservari in Anglia tantus populus quantum est residuum secularium regni nostri; et iudicet expertus, quanta ingluvie tot temporalia abscondite sunt consumpta, et quomodo regnum nostrum ex defectu yconomie tam in hominibus quam terre fructibus sterile- 20 scit. Et ex superhabundante cautela diaboli, sicut pecunia proditoria clericorum symoniace missa ad externos prodigalibus, bona regni dirimit; sic thesaurus instagnatus in dictis cenobiis ad utilitatem reipublice non ebullit.

Prima pars patet in considerando reliquum thesaurum 25 regni, qui ad eius dampnum sepe consumitur. Nam mercantes et bellantes, quandoque thesaurum regni exhauriunt sine equivalencia, et sepe superhabundanter inferunt ad honorum regni notabile incrementum. Sed

1. Cap. deest, 13 in marg. B; Ca<sup>m</sup> 13 in red ink C. 2. Initial S in red ink. 3. prepositus A. 4. propositum h<sup>eo</sup> C. 5. modo pro aliquam B. 6. sclariu<sup>ß</sup> aliis secularibus C. 7. rediditibus A. 8. 18, 19. tot — quomodo deest C. 9. 23. diminuit BC; ib. sicut pro sic AB. 10. 27. quando B.

regulariter peccunia pro beneficiis cleri transmissa ad curiam infructuose consumitur, nisi forte inducat symoniacum regnicolam venenantem. Nam ut sic plus tollerabiles sunt papa et cardinales qui thesaurum regni  
 5 cautelose exhauriunt, quia a distanciori et tardiori intoxicant. Et 2<sup>a</sup> pars patet ex hoc quod defunctus in seculo reliquit sibi omnia bona fortune que remanent; et sic sepe prudenter in seculo disperguntur. Sed bona religiosi mortui sepe ad eorum putrefactionem et per  
 10 consequens ad regni dispendium absconduntur. Patet hoc ex vestimentis, libris, et aliis thesauris in corbano patris sui absconditis, que diabolus consumit putredine, redigens sine usu eorum vel fructu in loca subterranea, ubi residuum thesauri sui absconditur. Et sic ex cautela  
 15 sua consumuntur superflue maxime sumptuosa.

B. Sed tales thesaurarii discerent proverbium captum de herbis, arboribus et arbustis, que sicut capiunt a terra vigorem humoris quam sugunt solis adminiculo de eius visceribus in estate, sic reddunt folia cum aliis  
 20 mortificandis bruinali tempore, ut superficies terre pro futuro germine sui generis apcius sit fimata. Isti autem abeunt perverso ordine nature, ac si vellent creare novum mundum vel antiquum extinguere. Tales autem religiosi, bis mortui, cum morte naturali vitam istam  
 25 finierunt, non reddunt hec seculo, a quo omnia ista exhausserant, sed principi tenebrarum, cuius robore, non virtute solis iusticie, hec omnia sacrilege exsuxerunt. Et hec pars se extendit ad omnes claustrales vel alios conglobatos irregulariter titulo perpetuitatis, eciam ad  
 30 mendicos.

Istam autem venenosam virulenciam niterentur reges et omnes cristicole secundum posse suum extrudere; nedum quia inevitabiliter et innaturaliter pauperat et perturbat rempublicam, verum quia manifeste vergit  
 35 ad dei iniuriam. Quis igitur secularis expectaret licenciam sive decretum anticristi in talibus? quin potius pro causa dei tanquam aliter Moyses fureret, et saltem inanimata instrumenta diaboli conquassaret? Sic enim omnes lapides politi, omnes sculpture aurifabri, et omnes artis  
 40 humane fabrice pro suo tempore consumantur. Omnia

but monks are a continual loss; the money sent to Rome for the benefices of the clergy is less hurtful, for at least the Roman Pontiff is at a distance.

When a layman dies, his fortune is more or less spread about to good purpose; when a monk dies, all he has remains in the convent and become completely useless.

Let them consider that plants take juices from the earth in summer which they give back as dead leaves to manure it in autumn; but monks reverse the order of nature.

This is also true of mendicant Friars.

Such deadly infection should be put a stop to by kings and by all Christians, without waiting for leave from Rome.

3. venantem AC. 11. de libris B; *ib.* corbana C. 15. consumitur A; consumentur C. 16. thesauri A. 19. aliis *deest* B. 20. mortificandum A; mortificandum B. 21. futuro tempore germine A. 31. *veofaz* A; *ib.* verulenciam C. 35. addicitur A. 39, 40. et — fabrice *in marg.* C.

Whatever is  
against God's  
will must  
perish: witness  
the lives lost in  
the late revolt,  
when the  
clergy was  
certainly  
punished for  
its own fault.

The people, it  
is true, though  
guided by an  
instinct of  
justice, did not  
act quite  
legally.

It is better that  
princes should  
take away  
temporal  
possessions  
than that the  
peasants  
should kill an  
Archbishop.

The peasants  
saw what was  
wrong, but  
were cruel in  
the punishment  
they inflicted.

It would have  
been easy to  
arrest this  
evil, if the clergy  
had voluntarily  
and most nobly  
given up their  
possessions to  
pay the tax.

enim talia, que non sunt voluntas domini, miserabiliter terminantur. Sicut in parte patet nobis anglicis de isto lamentabili conflictu populi, in quo archiepiscopus prior et alii multi crudeliter sunt occisi. Nec dubium fidei, cum omnis pena sit ratione peccati, quod peccatum 5 populi est in causa. Et cum non sit pertinencius clerum predictum puniri 2<sup>m</sup> aliquam 5<sup>e</sup> causarum punicionis hominis quam propter peccatum sui vel sui generis puniendum, videtur quod predictum genus in penam sui peccati meruit sic puniri. Non enim sunt puniti, ut 10 Cristus, pro peccatis aliorum, non suis, nec nude ratione meriti et glorie argumentande. Ideo non superest, nisi ut clerus in penam peccati sui vel sui generis puniatur. Nec dubium quin tantum malum solum initium sit dolorum, cum clerus infinitum maius demeruit; nec 15 dubium quin punitores, licet maiores bonos instinctus habuerint, non plene fecerunt ad regulam. Dictum est enim quod domini temporales possunt auferre temporalia ab ecclesia delinquente: quod foret tollerabilius, quam quod rurales auferant vitam carnalem a capitali pre- 20 positio ecclesie delinquente. Dictum est, tam ex parte regis quam presbiteri, quod sacerdotes, et omnino curati, non debent familiari et seculari regis servicio mancipari. Vulgares in facto practisant quod curati debent propterea C. decolari. Dictum est quod abbates et religiosi possessionati 25 debent incarcerationa bona pauperum ad relevamen communitatis transfundere: Vulgares dicunt in opere quod prelati religiosi sunt occasiones retencionis huiusmodi avare; propterea occidendi sunt. Et hec videtur nimis crudelis punicio.

Nec dubium quin moderate et prudenter predonans 30 temporalia posset totum hoc malum faciliter extinxisse. | Nam causa huius patencior dicitur exaccio peccunie 66<sup>a</sup> ultra vires a populo; si igitur clerus possessionatus, thesaurarius bonorum pauperum, reddidisset regi ipsorum pedagium, quomodo staret ista dissensio, inferens tantum 35 malum? O quam gloriosa foret hec comutacio bonorum

4. fidei AB. 8. quapropter C. 10. puniti *deest* A. 17. gloriam AC.  
18. temporales C. 21. ecclesie *deest* A. 24. Wlgares A (*et sic postea*) C.  
27. quod *deest* A. 29. sunt *deest* AC. 31. tpa<sup>m</sup> poff3 A. 32. po-  
tencior B. 34. regi *deest* A.

4. *Occisi*. This doubtless alludes to the revolt of the presents with Wat Tyler at their head. The prelate slain was Simon of Sudbury, archbishop of Caunterbury.



comunium, qua, reservato clero usque sufficienciam ad alimentum et tegumentum, satisfaceret vulgo per bonum cleri residuum! Revera defendens contrarium indicat se discipulum Scarioth avaricia vendentis dominum. Illis enim est carior superfluitas temporalium quam tot 5 mortes et perturbaciones hominum; et tunc indubie, eciam de illo quod videntur habere, non possident quicquam iuste. Quomodo, queso, diceretur possessor vescibilium, qui quotquot vescibilium habens facultatem 10 liberam, ex parcitate avara fingit se mori famelicum? Ille autem est multo magis dampnabilis, qui procuratorio nomine occupat monetam ecclesie, ut faciat sibi et egenis amicos de mamona, et tamen propter accidiam facit se ipsum et alios tam corpore quam anima deperire. 15 Talis est indignus fungi sacerdocio vel officio procuratorio, cum nec sibi ipsi nec aliis sit amicus. Et necesse est quod talis prelatus suos ducat subditos in precipitium ruine.

And whoso thinks otherwise prefers these superfluous riches to the lives of men. They are not even real possessors, for like misers they put their money to no use.

Such prelates lead their subjects to ruin.

Nec fingat yppocrita quod reddicio patrimonii cruci- 20 fixi pro populo nimis sero succederet; nec licet cum illo patrimonio pascere principes seculares; quia quo ad primum certum est quod ex cecitate prelati nimis sero successerat. Debet enim prelatus secundum Ezechielis vaticinium esse speculator subditis, et de eis necessariis 25 pro cavendo periculo circumspectus; et quo ad secundum iudicet ecclesia, si conglobantur temporalia ista mendaciter pro tante pascendis anticristi discipulis vel in D. tempore oportuno pro protegendis pauperibus, eciam supposito quod super eos principes tyrranisent. Item, 30 notum videtur quod origo huius discordie sit debellacio exterorum; sed focus et concilium huius debellacionis sunt clerici et prelati: ergo tocius malicie consequentis. Si enim non sic debellarent exteros, non sic spoliaretur regnum nostrum peccunia et personis, a quibus deficiens 35 oportet suos intrinsecos spoliare; quia, dum thesaurus bellanti deficiat, necesse est quod spoliaretur de egenis. Non enim asuescit in bello sic moribus vel laboricio, ut veniens in regnum proprium contineat se ab iniuriis eciam proximi, cum mala consuetudo suscitatur sibi prolem.

Let them not say "it is too late to restore this property to the people, and we must not give it to princes". The Church should be judge of the employment of this property.

The clergy who stirred up the war are responsible for the exactions which led to the late revolt. Moreover the soldiers are trained in habits of marauding.

1. ultra AC; *ib.* ad *deest* A. 9. vestu C. 8. sinit BC. 17. subiectos *after* talis B; *ib.* suos *twice* C; *ib.* ducat *deest* AC; *ib.* discordie et BC. 22. certum *twice* A; *ib.* quod *deest* B. 26. iudicem C. 32. ergo *deest* A. 35. thesauris B. 36. bellandi A.

Non enim tantum meruerunt predones in peregrinacione huiusmodi, ut forent amplius in moribus confirmati; cum Yes. 33<sup>o</sup> dicit spiritus: *Ve, qui predaris, nonne et ipse predaberis?* Isa. XXXIII<sup>1</sup>

Ideo medicina foret cum temporalibus saciare predantes; curiositate yconomie, et exhortacione salubri ad fideliter vivendum de propriis. Nunc autem dicitur quod clerus perquirat redditus de talibus, et hoc pro indigencia viliori foro quo sciverit. Et quo ad exhortacionem ewangelicam vel corporum relevamen, patet<sup>10</sup> quod clerus nedum ut plurimum obmutescit; sed viis et modis bellatores ad malum exasperat; et cum prelati debent rogare, consulere, et hortari *que ad pacem sunt ierusalem*, dicitur quod tamquam auctores bellorum hortantur ad pugnam, cum per ipsos tamquam capitales concilii parliamentum regitur eciam in minoribus negociis, dum ipsa cordi habuerint, ut vendicant, tanquam pars spiritalis principalior concilii regni nostri. Et ita videtur quod cupiunt quod principales domini, per quos voluntas eorum restringitur, sive bene sive male, deprimentur:<sup>20</sup> cum assistencia eorum sit atomus per quem sua effrenis voluntas quodammodo impeditur; sed de futuris periculis et dampno reipublice non curatur. Ideo necesse est hos prelatos luere hic et alibi vel ubicumque.

Item quo ad fratres, videtur quod non sunt expertes<sup>25</sup> huius facinoris, cum clamare debent publice predicando, private hortando habendum pacem et concordiam, si fieri potest, cum omni homine: sed vel obmutescunt, vel clamant contrarium. Ideo sunt rei huius criminis concilio vel consensu. Cum enim fratres sunt generaliter confessores<sup>30</sup> et conciliarii dominorum, quomodo aufugeret eos factum dominorum publicum, concernens forum consciencie et utilitatem reipublice? Si sunt disciplinabiles, debent sane consulere. Si autem sunt indisciplinares, debent secundum formam ewangelii ipsos relinquere. Sed laudat<sup>35</sup> ticia extra claustrum, inordinata affectio ad defendendum ordinem suum privatum, et questus symoniacus temporalium non permittunt: in tantum quod fructus confessionis confunditur, dum ipsa sit venalis hereditaria

3. nomine A; non B.

7. a pro ad A.

10. reilevamen A.

11. volu<sup>B</sup> A; voluptas B.

20. depriment B.

21. quo pro per quem B.

2. voluptas B.

24. luere deest AC.

25. ideo B.

27. ordando A.

30. regulariter BC.

36. castrorum A; castrum C.

et permixta. Venalis: si procuratur assidue ut predicator frater sit custos anime maioris domini vel domine. indubie symoniace propter lucrum, cum sanccior, edificacior et tractabilior sit comuniter anima vulgaris simplicis, 5 quam potentis. Quis enim, vel pauperes vel divites, plus E. profuerunt ecclesie? Ideo causa est patule symoniaca, non divina, cum preponderanter fratres procurant custodire animas mundi potencium; quia intendendo obtu- 66<sup>b</sup> rare | eorum maliciam, labor fratrum appareret sensibilibiter 10 in effectu. Sed modo videtur contrarium.

much more good among the people; for if the nobility had profited by their presence, it would have been more manifestly fruitful.

Ymmo, cum periculum huius custodie sit tam arduum, tum propter salutem reipublice, tum eciam propter salvacionem perpetuam tam corporis quam anime confessi, quod excedit curam ordinariam prelatorum. Sed 15 diabolus introducit hanc subdolam confessionem in fratribus, ut eorum introductio extraordinaria inducat media per que decipitur Cristi sponsa. Unde suboritur cautela diaboli, qua fratres vendicant; hii, quod sint confessores regum, hii reginarum, hii ducum, hii com- 20 mitum; et, ut eorum ars confessionalis fiat accepcior, accumulunt multiplex alienum officium: ut artem sanandi, domum prudenter regendi, et quecunque negocia extrinseca maiora vel minora prudencius et facilius promovendi. Sed fructus negotii et peioracio secularis dominii 25 preconisant cautelas diaboli. Necesse quidem est ut subintroducta novitate et multiplicitate sectarum et rituum supra ordinacionem Cristi, ecclesia multipliciter perturbetur.

The responsibility is so great here, that very few are equal to the task; yet they intrigue in every way to get good places, and try to ingratiate themselves by practising the medical art, &c. But these are clever tricks of the devil, as the results show.

Cuius perturbacionis fratres probabiliter sunt in causa: 30 quia spiritualis infirmitas in animabus mundi potencium Jac II, perturbacionem talem parturit, ut patet Jac. . . . Et 1—9 ratio experimentalis convincit, cum discrasiato principio policie necesse est totam rempublicam perturbari. Cum igitur fratres, qui ad custodiam anime et morum magno- 35 rum se obligant, sunt causa privativa casus sui, sicut naute ausencia est causa periclitacionis navis, manifestum est iuxta hoc principium: *Quicquid est causa cause, est causa causati*, quod fratres sunt indirecte causa tocius perturbacionis in ecclesia. Unde, quando lucrum sonatur,

As the absence of the mariner puts the ship in danger, and the cause of the cause is the cause of what is caused, the Friars, by their neglect of souls, are indirectly the cause of the present troubles in the Church. When gain is to be had they would rule the Church; but when it

1. predicacior A; ut predicator sit frater sit custos C. 8. potentum C.  
14. ordinanciam A. 15. in deest A. 17. subofici<sup>2</sup> A. 21. accumulatur A.  
31. talem pro perturbacionem A; ib. talem deest C; ib. after Jac. blank space omnes MSS. 33. necesse d'est A. 34. fratres deest A.  
35. privata omnes MSS. 39. ecclesie BC.

comes to  
appeasing  
dissensions,  
they are  
mute. Yet when  
they take in  
charge the  
souls of the  
great, they have  
much stricter  
duties to fulfil  
towards the  
Church.

If an earthly  
treasure cannot  
be squandered  
with impunity,  
should a  
treasure much  
more precious  
be squandered?

An Archbishop  
cannot be a  
Chancellor; it  
is the most  
secular office  
in the kingdom.  
How could he  
convoke the  
clergy, taken in  
the same snare  
of worldliness  
as himself, and  
excommuni-  
cated?  
unless as an  
arch-devil,  
calling to his  
little ones.

Such a prelate  
is a traitor to  
the king and the  
kingdom; being  
a traitor to  
God, whatever  
he does is  
wrong. And  
this malice, long  
accumulated,  
will at length  
ruin the State.

figunt se spiritualiter regere totam ecclesiam, prelatos, populum, et magnates; sed quando ratiocinium acutum daretur populo de fructuosa diligencia placandi ecclesiam, obmutescunt. Et tamen certum est quod in quantum accipiunt spiritualement custodiam dominorum, stricte obli-  
gant se persone ecclesie, que debet ut dignior curare precipue de virtute regitiva dominorum secularium et in subvertentes eos securius vindicari. Si enim thesaurus temporalis prodigaliter consumatur, penalis compotus a persona populi acute requiritur; multo magis strictius obligatus ex consumptione thesauri infinitum plus preciosi et necessarij, quantumlibet gravius puniatur? Sed princeps huius seculi pulvere temporalium infideliter excecatur mundo deditum; nec dubium quin omnia genera religiosorum et curatorum secularium participant hoc reatu. 15

Quid, rogo, pertinet ad archiepiscopum occupare cancellariam regis, que est secularissimum regni officium? Numquid superest in tam lata provincia episcopo occupacio spiritualis? Numquid presul debet convocare clerum anathematicum, quia contra legem dei et hominum et secularissimis regis officiis implicatum, sed sub gravi dei malediccione ad contrarium obligatum? Non videtur aliud, nisi quod archidiabolus congregat minores diabolos, pullos suos, non solum ad ludendum paginam ludicram patris sui, sed tamquam tortorum demoniacorum caterva, spoliando alios simplices (secundum artem magistri sui) bonis gracie et fortune; et quod detestabilius est, in derisionem despectivam pro confirmatione istorum crux Christi blasfeme erigitur. Numquid credimus prelatum talem, deo et sue ecclesie proditorem, esse regi et regno fidelem prepositum vel ministrum? Constat contrarium, cum ex fide capitur quod quicumque est infidelis vel proditor Christi aut sue ecclesie, est infidelis et proditor cuicumque; quia debet fideliter servire deo cum sua ecclesia. Sed, deessente servicio dei, licet faciat bonum de genere, totum residuum est infectum. Nec dubium quin, si clerus Anglie persolveret deo et ecclesie id quod debet, non foret ecclesia nostra

3. pacandi C. 4. cum C. 8. iudicari A. 10. acute A; acq̃ute, in marg. acute C; ib. fructus pro striccius AC. 20. anathēcu C. 21. regis twice A; negociis BC. 23. archidiaconus AC. 24. diabolicos B. 34. vel pro cum A; quod fide C.

16. Simon of Sudbury was, or had lately been Chancellor.

intricata cautelis diaboli, sicut hodie venenatur. Sed necesse est ut antiqua malicia diu colecta inundet subito, faciendo regnum corrumpere; quia sic ex congregatione aquarum lacuna dirumpitur, ex accumulacione  
5 ponderum supportans dissolvitur, et ex corrosione vermium lignum atteritur.

Et ita, si queratur cur non antea, respondet scriptura  
Gen. Genesis: *Nondum impleta est iniquitas Amoreorum*. Si  
XV, 16 enim regnum perficeret septem opera misericordie duplicata, olim fuisset in via confirmacionis secundum  
10 legem dei emendatum. Ut, si primo declinaverit a malo fontis pestiferi, excludendo de regno colectores peccunie, non virtutum, provisores alienigenas a cura regendi  
oves secundum Cristum, sed pure obediat eis (rebellando  
15 peccatis eorum), de quanto docent naturalitate implicita legem Cristi; nec regnum nostrum debet aliquam hostem pestiferum post diabolum plus horrere. Postquam autem  
declinaverit ab hoc malo 3<sup>ci</sup>, debet regnum nostrum, et specialiter clerus suus actus spiritualis misericordie  
67\* 20 seminare; primo, docendo | non legem Machometi, sed dei, quomodo servi, filii, et specialiter clerici, debent  
subici dominis, parentibus et omni homini, paciendos iniurias et reddendo deo gracias; domini autem, parentes  
et prepositi debent, ut servi dei, tractare subditos cum  
25 amore; quia ambo debent servire deo et sibi ipsis proficere secundum regulam caritatis, ut docet apostolus  
G. ad Eph. 6<sup>o</sup>. Secundo debent consulere, non ad terrenum  
Eph. dominium conquirendum, non ad copiam temporalium  
VI, 2 possidendum, nec ad vivendum secundum carnis petulantiam, ut vivunt qui renuntiant cenam Cristi, sed ut  
30 sint humiles, vocati et electi pro merito ad gustandum cum domino cenam magnam, de qua Luc. 14. Tercio debent  
Luc. XIV, secundum scolam predictam, sive hortando sive puniendo,  
16—24 subditos castigare. Quarto debent consolari secundum spem  
35 retribucionis perpetue mestos animo et confractos. Quinto debent iniuriantibus suis prudenter remittere. Sexto debent  
inproperantes secundum virtutem paciencia supportare. Et septima debent pro tota ecclesia, eciam pro hostibus,  
obsecrare. Quibus si adiuncta fuerint septem alia opera  
40 misericordie, et in tempore oportuno pasta ecclesia,

This ruin may not take place, if the realm 1. departs from evil: i. e. turns, out the money collectors, excludes foreigners from the government of Churches, or obeys them only in so far as Christ's law allows;

and if 2. it practises the seven works of spiritual mercy, teaching all Christians their duties towards one another,

giving good counsel, tending to make men live a Christian life,

reproving and punishing those set under them, comforting the afflicted, forgiving injuries, bearing insults patiently, and praying for their enemies; also practising the corporal works of mercy.

2. atiqua A. 8. amorreorum C. 10. aliter AB. 15. eorum  
deest A. 16. ut C. 19. actus suos; suos deest A. 22. pntib) = pre-  
sentibus A. 27. ad Eph. 6<sup>o</sup> deest BC. 28. non deest C. 33. ortado C.



By this means  
the Church  
would have the  
spiritual food  
that it so much  
needs.

It is the want of  
this food that  
causes such  
desolation in  
the country;  
contraries cause  
contraries; and  
greed destroys  
charity, breaks  
up the bond of  
union between  
Christians;  
thence ensues  
pitiless cruelty,  
and houses, sects  
and provinces  
fall upon each  
other.

refecta foret et non famelica; sic quod pro defectu spiritualis cibarii sese altrinsecus innaturaliter manducarent.

Defectus igitur huius cibi, et specialiter in clero, est causa quare regnum nostrum a deo desolatur. Nam cum 5 contrariorum contrarie sunt cause, et cristicole debent esse *miseriordes, quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequuntur*, ut dicitur Matth. 5<sup>o</sup>; oportet contrario sensu quod Matth. V, 7 crudeles et specialiter famelici desolentur. Nam invida proprietatis terrenorum cupiditas extinguit et discontinuat 10 caritatem; et per consequens, iuxta vocem Cristi, faciendo *Regnum in se divisum* parturit desolacionem. Nam fortitudo regni atque constancia insurgit ex parcium uni- XII, 25 cordi coherencia, et omnino ex eorum discontinuacione venit contrarium, et per consequens domus unius 15 magnatis, unius secte et unius provincie cadet supra domum aliam, deficiente caritatis glutino supportante; et sic, ex consumpcione reciproca parcium regni, in pulverem ipsum regnum necessario desolabitur.

The punishment  
lately inflicted  
on the clergy by  
the people,  
though deserved,  
was excessive:  
1. in degree;  
they having no  
revelation from  
God to act thus.  
What belongs to  
the State can  
be taken by the  
State; but life  
is a gift of God.

To say: "We  
should not  
take away  
temporalities,  
but remove by  
death those who  
abuse them"; is  
an ill-considered  
position.

To take a man's  
life is indeed to  
take away his  
temporalities;  
but our faith  
teaches that he  
should live on  
alms.

Et licet clerici mereantur puniri tali decapicione, 20 et acrius, tamen videtur michi quod populus in hoc excedit quantitate, qualitate et modo. Quantitate, quia blasphemum esset populum assumere super se tantam vindictam, nisi habuerit a deo revelacionem ad taliter puniendum. Illud igitur accidentale quod regnum sibi 25 tribuit, cum deturpat episcopum et impedit episcopale officium, meritorium foret regno, servato bono nature, subtrahere; tum, quia illud bonum nature est singulariter donum dei, tum etiam, quia ignoratur si utilius esset ecclesie et persone decapitate mori aliter, [ut] 30 debuit post vel ante. Unde in isto contendunt quidam inaniter, dicentes quod ecclesia non debet auferre temporalia a clero delinquente, sed ipsum clericum a temporalibus, datis aliis qui recte peragant cleri officium. Primo, quia sequitur: *Ecclesia auferret clerum a tempo- 35 ralibus*; igitur *auferret ipsa temporalia ab illo clero*. Et cum quolibet persona sit omnibus temporalibus mundi natura dignior, et modus loquendi sit scripture sacre accepcior, patet quod sic blaterantes ad nimis pauca respiciunt. Item, intencio fidei est quod clerus privetur 40 H.

8. a contrario B. 12. in se deest C. 28. tamen omnes MSS.  
30. esset deest AC; ib. capitante C; ut deest omnes MSS. 40. irasci  
in marg. A.

a possessione hereditaria mundana vivendo de elemosinis, ut Cristus instituit; sed illud exprimit prior logica; 2<sup>a</sup> vel paliat vel confundit. Ideo prior implenda est et 2<sup>a</sup> tanquam sophistica respuenda. Nam occidens episcopum aufert eum a temporalibus; sed ewangelium dicit Matth. servos dei *aufferere mnam* ab indebite occupante, sed non XXV, dicit occupantem auferendum a possessione que sibi 28 accidit. Ideo bene stetit ecclesie, antequam introducti sunt fratres, qui contra caput proprium sic locuntur. 10 Debit igitur regnum auferre temporalia ab episcopo, cum ex illa habicione venit tota prodicio.

In the Gospel the slothful servant only loses the talent.

2<sup>o</sup> deficit populus in qualitate, sic occidendo episcopum; quia examinaret causam mortis, et responsum accusati, si fuerit rationi consonum. Sed istam rabiem 15 prophetavit quidam frater Londoniis ignarus vocis proprie, cum asseruit publice hominem sine responso conburendum tanquam hereticum; et tamen nec audivit eum nec scivit suam sententiam, aut cum qua protestacione vel quo animo sit locutus. Ideo taliter diffinire hominem 20 esse hereticum taliter puniendum excedit luciferinam insaniam, cum iuxta anticristinam stulticiam, extollitur super deum. Deus enim non potest dampnare hominem, nisi precognoverit causam rationabilem quare taliter sit dampnandus. Sed iste apostota dicit sibi licere hec 25 facere. Unde preco pessimus dirum exitum prophetisat, quia regni turbacionem: utinam non destruccionem! Nicodemus autem ut fertur, religiosius isto demonio Joan. meridiano locutus est, Joh. 7<sup>o</sup>. "*Numquid, inquit, lex* VII, 51 *nostra iudicat etc.*"

2. In kind. There was no form of justice, no examination of the accused; just as a certain Friar in London said should be done to a man that he judged to be a heretic. God Himself never condemns without just reason; so this apostate sets himself above God!

Nicodemus was better inspired.

30 3<sup>o</sup> deficit populus in modo agendi multiplici. Primo, quia proditores forinsecos, licet spirituales, plus subdolos debuit plus punire. 2<sup>o</sup>, quia nullo modo debuit contra seculares dominos taliter attemptare. Et 3<sup>o</sup>, quia expectari debet tocius regni exhortacio sive consilium. 35 Sed supposito errore, videndum est quomodo secundum legem debeat emendari; et videtur michi quod 67<sup>b</sup> error | de quo comunitas gravatur et debet conqueri, primo omnium debet rectificari, cum vetat iustificaciones que postea sequerentur. Est enim error intollerabilis 40 quod rex vel alius dominus regni super eius populum

3. In manner. Punishment should be meted out according to the fault; temporal lords must in no case be attacked; and the advice of the whole kingdom ought to be taken. Though wrong, they had grievances that should be redressed, so as to put an end to such acts.

1. mundana in marg. A. 2. prior deest A. 4. 5. episcopum in marg. A. 6. nam pro mnam B. 7. occupante pro occupantem CA. 20. luciferinam, 21. anticristinam deest C. 27. autem deest C. 29. iudicat etc. des. A.

All tyranny and needless exactions on the part of temporal lords should cease; *tirraniset. Sicut enim miles debet esse contentus stipendiis suis, ut patet Lu. 3<sup>o</sup>, sic reges et subdomini debent tenere se in limitibus suorum reddituum, ne propter causam irrationabilem imponant tenentibus suis tallagia, cum in extorsione tali iacet iniuria clamorosa, ut patet 5 Exod 3<sup>o</sup> et Jac. 2<sup>o</sup>. Idem enim foret seculares dominos se ipsos destruere et subditos suos taliter spoliare, ut patet de Roboam 3<sup>i</sup> Reg. 12. Sed secundus error insensibilis vulgo est quo bona regni sunt ad curiam Romanam, et in inimicos externos devoluta. Sed 3<sup>us</sup> error 10 I. quantitate maior est, quo populus per clerum intrinsecum omnis generis spoliatur. Quomodo, inquam, foret rex vel dominus, qui subditos suos non potenter defenderet a raptoribus istis sacrilegis, vel quo iure caperet redditus et tallagia subditorum, qui renuit ipsos defendere ab hostibus inermibus, ita domesticis, a quibus posset tam faciliter ipsos defendere, et ex spoliis, parcendo populo, regnum regere? Omnes autem tradiciones a pseudoclericis adinventas debet destruere, et quietari in sola lege dei cum iure regni, ne admittat superflua, 20 regnum et specialiter legem dei turbancia. Et sic staret regnum purgatum a spiritualibus erroribus, regulatum pure vel principaliter lege dei. Quo habito, oportet omnino diligenter cavere, ne sit dissensio inter dominos seculares, temporales et comunes de populo; et magis 25 inter dominos ad se ipsos; sed maxime, quod non sit turbativa contrarietas inter dominos et vulgares regni nostri, disparium causa contrariorum; quia tunc ad destruccionem regni foret demonium meridianum suscitatum. 30*

*Three Objections.*  
I. This theory would diminish the royal prerogative. But this prerogative itself depends on the law of God; flattering traditions destroy it. Patience under wrong will

Sed obicitur quod dicta ymaginacio non consonat regalie, nec iuri purganti delicta comissa, nec incucienti timorem, ne alias sic delinquat. Sed quantum ad primum, dicitur quod necesse est regaliam regis et omnes leges humanas regi per legem dei, licet sit suppeditata 35 hodie; vel aliter sunt prophane. Ideo lex dei regaliam regis conservat precipue; et alie tradiciones consumunt adulatorie iura regis. Ideo, sicut regalia Cristi per pacienciam maioris iniurie crevit ad summum, sic, stante

4. collegia A. 5. in *deest* B. 9. *wlgo* AC; *ib. regi* A. 10. *istos pro*  
inimicos A; *ib. Et pro* sed BC. 15. *collegia* A. 26. *duces pro*  
dominos B. 27. *wlgares* AC. 28. *causatorum* A; *contrariatarum* C.  
29. *regni deest* A. 31. *obieccio in marg.* B; non *deest* A. 32. *viri* B;  
iuri, *in marg.* iuri C. 33. *delinquant* C. 35. *sit deest* C

fide scripture, regalie alie temporales per pacienciam talis iniurie suscipient incrementum: et procurans oppositum cece supprimit regnum nostrum.

increase this prerogative, as it did for Christ.

- Quo ad 2<sup>m</sup> obiectum, patet quod luciferinus est, qui  
 5 propter maius commodum non defert deo tantas iniurias vindicare. Ymmo, deus preordinavit, si dignamur capere quomodo regnum foret purgatum secundum legem dei, rectificatum eciam suo beneplacito conformiter, regulatum per ius Cristi, evacuatis privilegiis cesareis intro-  
 10 ductis finaliter. Igitur debet regnum satisfacere dominis secularibus iniuriatis de bonis Cristi ditissimi atque suorum pauperum, cum de illis sit rationabilius impleri iusticiam propter multa. Primo, quia deus est in illis sufficiensior ad pacem populi redimendam; 2<sup>o</sup>, quia  
 15 illa sunt bona magis superflua, cum quibus ecclesie symoniace et sacrilege pregravantur. Et 3<sup>o</sup>, quia pseudo-clerici, ut patet ex dictis, sunt radix tocius turbacionis et comisse iniurie. Gloriosa, inquam, foret talis mutacio, qua parceretur multitudini, et sopita ceca tradicionem  
 20 principum, Cristi primeva ordinacio eluceret. Unde in minori cause preconio comendat Augustinus factum beati Aurelii, qui in minori necessitate reddidit collata sue ecclesie brachio seculari. Sic enim secundum Augustinum  
 K. "debuit iure poli". Et recitatur 17, q. 4<sup>a</sup>. *Quicunque*.  
 25 Sic igitur felix foret qui pacificaret regnum adeo turbatum tam monstruosa possessione temporalium servata ad hoc in manibus clericorum. Unde probabile videtur quod deus ordinavit totam istam turbacionem et eius quietacionem media ad hunc finem.  
 30 Quantum ad 3<sup>m</sup> obiectum, notum est quod timor filialis, qui amore gignitur, est securior et perseverancior quam servilis. Existente igitur toto cleri patrimonio in manu regis et secularium dominorum, ex illa societate, prudenter parcendo populo, tolleretur occasio sic iterum  
 35 delinquendi. Nam iuxtaponendo (quod absit), vindictam hominum, vel bellice subito occidendo vel extinguendo convictos paulative secundum leges Anglie, sequeretur omnino inconveniens Anglie destructivum. Nam iuxta

II. It would take away the power of punishing the crimes committed.

But such punishment should be left to God.

Besides, we possess by God's grace the means of regenerating the kingdom; and the goods of the clergy, i. e. of the poor, might compensate the temporal lords for their losses.

This would restore peace, disburden the Church of superfluous riches, and punish the bad clergy, cause of all the mischief, while sparing the people.

Augustine praises a similar act, done in circumstances of less necessity.

III. It would destroy all fear to commit these crimes in future.

But filial is better than slavish fear; and it would remove the occasion of crimes.

Whether those men are put to death in battle or by law, there will follow

7. *ſop<sup>2</sup>gatu* A. 12. *ipsis* C 15. *ecclesie magis* C. 16. *pregratur omnes* MSS; *ib. pseudo* A. 18. *glosa* A. 19. *in pro* et A. 21. *beatus Aug. B;* *beatus deest* C 28. *eiusque* C. 36. *subiecto omnes* MSS. 38. *destructum* A; *destructum* C.

24. *Decr. Grat., 2<sup>a</sup> Pars., C<sup>a</sup> XVII, qu. 4, c. I.*

hatred and treason in the kingdom; in the first case, the issue will be doubtful; in the second, the punishment will last longer.

primum, cum pars communitatis sit forcior, foret ambiguum in manu dei, que pars aliam superaret; et sequeretur undiquaque regni destructio, et invidie perpetuatio, et omnino post invasionem hostilem forinsecam fallax prodictio et undique seductiva regni enervatio; 5  
2<sup>a</sup> autem via non differt ab ista, nisi quod pena foret diuturnior et sic maior. Amoveat igitur deus istam vindictivam superbiam, et inducat istam lenitivam iusticiam et religionis quam Cristus instituit inductivam. Nec caderet periculum in prudenti eius practica quo ad 10 deum vel homines, licet sathan et vecordia et yppocrisi exterreat mundiales.

But so long as the clergy does not amend, the

Church will suffer; and both clergy and laity are here to blame.

A king who takes a priest from the service of the altars to his own service, is like a steward who would take a servant from watching over his lord's treasury.

One would be unfaithful to God, the other to his master.

Et, ut dicam breviter, antequam corrigatur clerus per quem pacificaretur | ecclesia, non erit in penam 68<sup>a</sup> illius criminis inturbata, et specialiter propter symoniam, 15 in qua tam clerici quam seculares comunicant. Quis, inquam, fidelis dubitat quin reges aut quicumque domini seculares distrahentes curatos a dei ministerio et mancipantes suo officio seculari, sunt proditores dei et sancte matris ecclesie, et per consequens merentur quod 20 suum dominium sit dupliciter invasum ab hostibus et undique perturbatum? Suppono autem ex fide quod omnis secularis dominus quantumcunque dives aut nobilis sit mendicus, servus et villicus dei sui; patet Matth. 6 et Luce 16. Si igitur ballivus domini temporalis conduceret ex thesauro illius domini tamquam servus eius ad illud fidele ministerium obligatus, servum perne- 25 sarium ad custodiam thesauri precipui domini sui, et post conduccionem alienans servum a ministerio domini mancipat suo ministerio, consumpto ex tali negligencia 30 principali thesauro atque dominio. nonne foret proditor domini sui manifestus? Multo evidencius rex terrenus conducens curatum cum patrimonio Cristi, et post conduccionem, alienans ipsum ab animarum regimine,

Matth. VI, 12  
Luc. XVI,  
1—12

4. plus AC. 7. 8. vindictam B. 8. levitivam B; lenitivum C.  
11. et before vecordia deest AC. 18, 19. mancipatos AB; mancipant C.  
21. dominium deest C. 24. medicus A. 27, 28. per necessitatem A.  
30. milito C. 31. nomine A.

9. In answering the foregoing objections, Wyclif, as is often the case with him, gives us to understand his meaning much better than when he stated his point. He then said nothing explicitly about pardoning the rebels; here he evidently points to that. It is probably an oratorical precaution (in this case at least) rendered necessary by the horror of the crimes committed. The rebels, however, had been most savagely treated.



mancipat eum contrario seculari servicio secundum  
mandatum regis superbie, ratione cuius perditur vel in-  
vaditur precipuus thesaurus Cristi et regnum; quod est  
multitudo animarum fidelium. Talis, inquam, rex foret  
5 inexcusabiliter proditor dei sui.

Et multo gravius proditores sunt clerici consencientes  
et procurantes hoc facinus; sed maxime fratres, con-  
L. fessores principum, et qui debent esse speculatores  
prenunciantes regnis periculum. Ve terre talibus pro-  
10 ditoribus occupate! Cum enim ex fide non venit regni  
tranquillitas vel alicui prosperitas nisi per dominum  
Iesum Christum; ipse autem non dat cuiquam nisi ad  
regulam, ut est dignus, quomodo credimus Christum  
bona sua talibus proditoribus impertiri? Revera. si habent  
15 hoc, est equivoce, ut amplius confundantur. Et in isto  
necessitatis articulo potest ecclesiasticus experiri si clerus  
plus amat popularem ecclesiam quam suas decimas, si  
plus sapit religionem Cristi quam voluntatem domina-  
tivam seculi, et breviter, sive sint anticristi discipuli sive  
20 Cristi. Nam per suas possessiones temporales potest  
quietare comunitates et dominos, ac de remedio per-  
petuo talis periculi providere. Si enim omnia temporalia  
dominia mortificata ecclesie Anglie essent ad utilitatem  
regni et exoneracionem populi limitata, tunc forent  
25 posita in pios usus rationabilius et de lege Cristi fun-  
dabilius, quam sunt modo; nec sciri potest via facilior  
qua satisfaceret pro crimine perpetrato. Ille itaque clerus  
plus amat mammonam quam iusticiam vel salutem po-  
puli. qui isti sentencie contradicit.

30 Si autem Cristi religio ponderatur, constat quod ipse  
Philipp. *exinanivit se ipsum* pro ove centesima perdita requi-  
II, 6 renda, ut patet Lu. 15. 33<sup>bus</sup> annis vixit in summa  
Luc. paupertate et egestate pro dicta ove in via penitencie  
XV, 4 instruenda, et demum occisus est morte durissima pro  
35 dicta ove ad perpetua pascua reducenda. Et in ista  
Act. scola instructus est Petrus. Act. 5<sup>o</sup> dicens: *Argentum*  
III, 6 *et aurum non est mihi; quod autem habeo, hoc tibi do.*  
Act. In ista scola ludebat Paulus. qui manibus suis quesivit  
XX, 33 sibi et sociis vite necessaria, ne gravaret ecclesiam,  
40 ut patet act. 20. Ex quibus convincitur, cum Christus in  
Petro precipit sacerdotibus suis pascere secundum istam

But the clergy  
is yet more to  
blame,  
especially the  
friars,  
confessors of  
princes, who  
advise such  
deeds.  
Christ will not  
bless the land  
that is filled  
with such  
wickedness.

It is easy to see  
which side a  
priest takes,  
whether that of  
Christ or the  
devil: since by  
giving up his  
possessions he  
can do so much  
good; if then he  
is against this,  
he sides with  
Mammon.

As for Christ's  
religion, it is  
known that He  
gave up all for  
the one lost  
sheep, that He  
lived poor and  
died a cruel  
death.

Peter and Paul  
followed His  
example,

and we should  
follow theirs.

regulam oves suas, Joh. ultimo, quod apostota sentencie Joan. isti contrarius est profundius discipulus anticristi. Illi XXI, enim horrerent sequi Cristum et suos apostolos, <sup>15</sup>, <sup>17</sup> dando animam suam pro summo coniugio, qui renuunt dare bona minima a quibus, ut imperficientibus, sunt 5 per Cristum prohibiti pro hac sponsa.

4. qui *deest* A.      6. per Cristum *deest* B.

## CAPITULUM QUARTUMDECIMUM.

A. Decimus tortor sugens ecclesiam est conventiculum  
pseudofratrium. Contingit enim de illis, ut aliis, esse  
aliquos falsos fratres; quia aliter foret tota eorum  
5 comunitas confirmata, quod Christus non concessit apo-  
stolis, ut patet Scarioth et multis pseudoapostolis. Sicut  
enim in ordine cristiano salubriori ecclesie pullulat  
maior fructus, sic in illis perversis surrepsit maius  
periculum. Dictum est autem, 2<sup>o</sup> cap. De apostasia, quo-  
10 modo aliter fratres contingit esse apostotas: et sic in  
illis, sicut dictum est in tractatu, De symonia, contingit  
de episcopis quod contrahant symoniam in congressu,  
in progressu et egressu. Sic contingit de fratribus, quo  
ad apostasiam et duas alias hereses, quibus sunt ex  
15 cautela diaboli maculati. In ingressu dupliciter, vel  
fratrifactor, vel etiam fratrifactus; fratrifactor autem  
deterius: primo, quia sepe presumptuose consulit et  
agit contra divinum consilium et utilitatem ecclesie, ac  
persone: quod omnino est peccatum, ut patet libro 5<sup>o</sup>  
20 ca<sup>o</sup> 3<sup>o</sup>. Si enim peccatum sit dare occasionem deterio-  
randi proximum, pretendendo opera misericordie cor-  
poralis, multo magis malo consulendo in antecedentibus  
ad salutem perpetuam, et maxime incitamentis necessi-  
tando ad tante dampnificans. Notum quidem est quod  
25 multi viverent sanccius extra religionem privatam vel  
in religione alia, plus eis consona. Ymmo multi propter  
huiusmodi differenciam sunt dampnati. Quomodo igitur |  
68<sup>b</sup> non foret magnum peccatum inconsulto domino in-

The tenth  
tormentor is  
the bad friar;  
some such  
there must be,  
unless all friars  
are confirmed  
in grace.

Apostasy is  
committed  
amongst them  
on entering the  
order, whilst  
remaining  
therein, and on  
leaving it.

The friar-  
maker takes a  
most heavy  
responsibility  
upon himself  
in giving advice  
which if  
followed may  
lead to  
damnation.

1. Ca<sup>m</sup> XIII A: Cap. *deest*; 14 in *marg.* BC. 2. Initial D in red ink;  
*ib.* suggens A. 3, 4. pseudo fratrum — aliquos *deest* A. 4. aliis *pro*  
aliquos C. 8. surrepit magis B. 11. igitur A. 12. symoniam *deest* A.  
13. igitur A. 16. etiam *deest* C. 20. sit *deest* A. 26. religionis A.  
27. Quo C. 28. in *deest* A.

9. See *De Apostasia*, whole of Ch. II. 11. *De Symonia* Ch. VI.

The best of them say they never made any friar but one, and that they regretted it ever after. A friarmaker claims to have entered into God's secret counsels. This advice should be given with the utmost reserve.

Many think that to enter one of these orders savours of sortilege, for it is all a chance whether it will render one good or vicious; and they freely submit their eternal salvation to such a chance, while the true way to be saved is open to them.

*Objections.*  
1. "According to this theory, it is wrong to exhort to a virtuous life, since perseverance is doubtful, and a fall would then be more severely punished." But the case is not the same; virtue, good in itself, causes evil only by accident.

ducere talem statum? Ideo periciores fratrum dicunt quandoque quod nunquam fecerunt aliquem fratrem, nisi unum, se ipsos scilicet, et dolent continue illud opus. Istud autem est possibile esse verum et prudenter dictum; cum enim talis consiliarius pretendit se habere spiritum consilii dei, videtur quod blasfemat tam frontose et nescie procurando. Unde videtur mihi quod nemo consulerit, nisi habuerit ad hoc revelationem vel agitationem spiritus sancti, quia aliter indubie ageret indiscrete. Unde quidam in talibus consiliis eis ambiguis locuntur condicionaliter; ponunt *custodiam ori suo*.

Unde videtur multis quod opera fraternitatum huiusmodi, que etiam spissim pullulant inter laicos, inter alia mala sapiunt sortilegium, cum nemo ambigit quin, sicut bonum fortuite potest ex illis contingere, sic et malum; nec est fraternitas huiusmodi per se bona, cum sicut casualiter multis proficit ad virtutem, sic et multis officit ad dampnationem. Hominem igitur ponere se in tali sorte perpetua est maioris stulticie quam mittere sortem, sicut fecerunt apostoli de eleccione, cum videtur quod tales sortilegi continuo et perpetuo sine fundamento se sorti subiciunt in periculo: quia manifestum videtur quod ingrediens fraternitatem huiusmodi subicit se fortune quo ad beatitudinem vel dampnationem. Sed quid stulcius aut periculosius, cum via segura sit patula? Detestabilis itaque est argucia anticristi: *Tali sancto convenit talis conversacio*: ergo, *toti secte debet competere*, cum tempore apostolorum statim destrueretur ista blasfemia, eo quod soli Cristo convenit talis primatus, non ita singulariter in specie, sed in genere.

Sed contra predicta instatur primo, ex hoc quod nemo consuleret ad virtutes, cum stat virtuosum occasione virtutis dampnari severius; ut patet de Scarioth, de quo Cristus dicit Matth. 14. *Bonum erat illi, si natus non fuisset homo ille*. Sicut enim homo occasione peccati fit humilior, sic occasione virtutis a qua ingrante cecidit, fit dampnabilior. Sed supposita distincione de occasione data et occasione accepta, patet quod non est color concludere quod nemo debet consulere ad virtutes, cum sint per se bone moraliter, quibus nemo abuti potest.

7. nescit AC. 9. sanctis A. 12. operam B. 12, 13. huius A.  
17. cauam A. 18. sic pro se B. 23. subiceat B. 28. illa C.  
29. itaque BC; 2b. singularitatis C. 34. Matth. 14. deest C.

Ideo, quicumque ad illas consulit, ut sic consulit ad bonum, licet occasione male accepta, per se ex malo, et per accidens a bono, malum proveniat.

- 2<sup>o</sup> obicitur quod nemo consuleret iuxta istam senten-  
 5 ciam ad habitus vel actus qui non sunt per se morales, et per consequens non ad statum, artem, scienciam vel opera ex illis procedencia; quod est inopinabile et derisum ab Augustino et decreto; et consequencia patet ex hoc quod omnia talia contingit esse mala moraliter.
- 10 Hic dicitur quod theologus vere dicit quod nichil est proprie consulibile, nisi in ordine ad beatitudinem; aliud autem quod quiescit in temporalibus, est consilium impiorum. Et sic sunt aliqua per se consilabilia, ut virtutes et opera virtuosa, et alia per accidens consilabilia  
 15 plus vel minus, ad que homo debet consulere condicionally cum timore, ut vivere expropriarie, discere legem dei et facere talia bona de genere disponencia ad virtutem. Dissuadere vero debemus illa que sunt propinquiora periculo.
- 20 3<sup>o</sup> instatur per hoc quod non solvitur difficultas, cum non docetur si licet consulere homini simpliciter, ut sit frater, et sic de aliis consiliabilibus, quo nec sunt virtutes  
 C. nec opera virtuosa. Hic dicitur quod super virtutes vel earum opera simpliciter debet cadere consilium. Ideo  
 25 videtur michi quod nemo, nisi habuerit ad hoc revelacionem, debet consulere homini esse fratrem; non quia ex hoc potest contingere malum, sicut occasione male accepta potest indirecte malum confingere ex virtute; nec solum ex hoc quod de ingressu in religionem privatam tan-  
 30 quam de neutris vel bonis de genere potest malum contingere propter defectum virtutis ex carencia bonificantis circumstancie: sed ex hoc quod introitus in religionem talem videtur esse malum de genere; non enim debet fidelis ad opera neutra consulere, nisi ha-  
 35 buerit ad hoc revelacionem; ut aliter nemo consulit edificari domos, graduari in facultatibus vel prepollere in seculari dominio; ymmo nec aliter consulit ad opera bona de genere; ergo multo magis nemo aliter consuleret ad opera mala de genere, cuiusmodi videtur

"Then", it may be urged, "it is wrong to advise any act indifferent in itself, from which evil may spring."

But no advice should be given, except in so far as it makes for salvation; and according to this rule we should advise or dissuade, as anything is useful or dangerous.

"This answer", it is urged, "does not show whether we may or may not advise any one to become a Friar."

All advice ought to tend towards the practice of virtue; and thus, as to enter into religion is not simply good, nor good rather than evil, but evil rather than good, no one ought to advise such an act, unless by divine revelation.

3. in *pro* a A. 4. secundum *pro* iuxta C. 6. 9<sup>ti</sup> A. 11. 6<sup>cl</sup> C.  
 12. q<sup>ue</sup> fecit A. 13, 14. conciliabilia C. 20. Sed 3<sup>o</sup> B. 22. consiliabilibus C.  
 23. frater *pro* super A; *ib.* virtutis AB. 27. 9<sup>ti</sup> A. 28. de *pro* ex C;  
*ib.* sed nec C. 29. revelacionem C. 32. si *pro* sed omnes MSS.  
 33. reliō C. 36. edificare C; *ib.* facultatis C.



A Friar loses much of a Christian's liberty, and is obliged to do much that Christ does not approve.

None but the Holy Spirit had the right to tell the prophet to marry a harlot; we can only advise to do what we are certain to be good.

2. "Not only the state of a Friar is rather good than evil, but it is a state of virtue, to which all should be exhorted".

If so, no Friar could possibly be bad, since no man is bad in a state of virtue.

esse intrare religionem privatam; quia hoc repugnat multis libertatibus, in quibus Cristus voluit Cristianos vivere, et necessitat ad multa mala, que Cristus docuit fideles auffugere. Diabolus tamen sub colore boni commixti seducit incautos, ut patet ex fructu consilii homin<sup>5</sup> dierni. Nam nunc consulitur ad bella, ad lites et ad potencias seculares, nec sapit secularibus consilium domini ad virtutes; ad illas tamen debet tantum sapiens absolute consulere, et relinquere regimini proprii spiritus facere neutra vel bona de genere. Nam habitis virtutibus ut homines sint filii dei, credendum est ex fide apostoli quod comuniter ex spiritu dei quo ad talia erunt ducti. Sed hodie blasphematur induendo personam spiritus sancti, qui precepit prophete fornicariam accipere et ex ea | filios procreare, ut patet Osee; cum nemo debet <sup>15</sup> 69<sup>a</sup> nisi in sibi certis consulere. Et hec ratio quare spiritus consilii deest ecclesie. Nemo debet sine speciali consilio dei in sibi neutris consulere, quia in hoc fatue extolleretur super deum. Deus enim non potest consulere vel mandare, nisi quod scit et ordinat prodesse ecclesie. Blasphemus autem talis frontose consulit quod nescit repugnare voluntati divine, utilitati ecclesie et profectui persone consulte: quod est indiscreta temeritas. Et patet per locum *a maiori* quod stultum foret, deficiente instinctu divino, per cautelas mendaces inducere hominem <sup>25</sup> ut sit frater.

Secundo obicitur per hoc quod esse fratrem nedum D. est bonum de genere, sed bonum virtutis ad quod movet deus: ergo salubre est ad illud bonum anime excitare. Pia igitur fraus foret proximum ad talem cristianis- <sup>30</sup> mum inducere, ubi in ingressu foret plena peccatorum remissio, in progressu foret meriti maioracio, et in egressu foret, preter spirituale suffragium fraternitatis, plena absolutio. Blasfemum igitur foret in istis spiritui sancto resistere. Hic patet quod falsum assumitur. Nam <sup>35</sup> si esse fratrem esset bonum virtutis, cum nemo potest abuti virtute, vel cum illa dampnari, sequitur quod repugnat legi dei quod aliquis frater peccet mortaliter vel dampnatur; consequens blasfemum. Ad cristianam

1. reputat A. 9. absolut'e A; *ib.* regnum C. 10. fateri AB.

11. *after* apostoli, *a blank space* AC. 12. fide *pro* spiritu A; *ib.* 9nt' A. 29. igitur C; *ib.* ex'citari = exercitari A. 30. fraus *deest* B. 30, 31. cristianissimum A. 33. preter *deest* A; preter spirituale officium vel suffragium C.

itaque religionem debet homo consulere et hortari, cum illa sit infinitum perfectior quam privata religio, ut hic supponitur ex dictis alibi. Cui religioni cristiane repugnat peccare mortaliter vel dampnari; dicente ewangelista

This argument applies only to the pure religion of Christ, in which no man can sin; and if a Friar does not sin, it is because he belongs to *that* religion, and not as a Friar.

I. Joan. III. 6, 7. *I. Joh. 3. Omnis qui in deo manet, non peccat. Et sequitur: omnis qui natus est ex deo peccatum non facit, quoniam semen ipsius in eo manet, et non potest peccare, quoniam ex deo natus est.* Nam repugnat vere cristianum peccare

mortaliter, sicut repugnat predestinatum peccare in spiritu sanctum. Et sic intelligit beatus Johannes simpliciter in sensu composito. Si autem hoc sit verum de fratribus, hoc est in quantum sunt cristiani de generatione seminis verbi dei, et non in quantum sunt fratres; nec sunt aliter nisi nominetenus et false in

religione vel ordine, sed "frater" est commune ad bonos et ad malos, cum secundum apostolum sit consummatum

*periculum in falsis fratribus.* Et sic esse fratrem in sua comunitate, nec est per se bonum virtutis, nec bonum de genere; sed esse fratrem secundum adinventionem

novam videtur esse superflua et periculosa adieccio. Multi tamen possunt ex speciali gracia, parvipendendo tradicionem onerosam retardantem ab ewangelicis consiliis, salvi fieri; sed non in quantum fratres, sed in quantum filii Cristi sic faciunt. Et illud periculum

To be a friar is therefore a superfluous and dangerous thing; yet through a special grace of God, many of them can be saved.

tradicionis adiecte potest prodesse per accidens. Ideo inspiratus ad hoc debet *temptare spiritus, si ex deo sunt*, et, veritate inventa, facere ipsum fratrem; hoc tamen raro evenit, cum pro toto Cristi millenario non evenit; et per consequens per tantum temporis non fuit

bonum de genere, et illa antiqua bona de genere sufficerent pro viacione ecclesie. Non enim isti religiosiarche suscitant novum genus boni, licet fecerint novum bonum individuum Et istud evidet ex hoc quod a tempore invencionis huius religionis private invaluit proportionaliter perturbacio in ecclesia militante. Non enim est secta ista per se magis bona de genere quam secta Machometi, vel alia, legem domini introducta.

If therefore the thought of entering religion comes to us, we must become Friars only after mature examination; which happens but very seldom.

Nec colorari potest fraus qua fratrifacti seducuntur per mendacia, per munuscula, per applausus sophisticos cum principium religionis Cristi eius doceat strictitatem

There is no excuse for the devices employed to bring new

4, 5. 1 deest AC; 3 deest A. 10. before sit an erasure AC; in. consummatum C. 10. secundum deest C. 28, 29. cum — evenit deest C. 40. strictitudinem BC.

Friars into the order; Christ spoke with simple and stern truth to those who wished to follow Him: we ought not to beguile any one by flattery or gifts.

That on entering into religion, a Friar is purified from sin may be true, but any one else giving alms with feelings of equal renunciation of the world would be absolved just as well; and it is likely that the general intention on entering is rather quietly to enjoy the good things of life, than to suffer poverty with Christ: which wrong intention is sinful: so instead of sin being remitted, a fresh sin is committed by entering the order.

quo ad mundum. Sicut enim magister optimus docuit E. suos discipulos totum mundum relinquere, et istud frequenter in ewangelio inculcavit, ut patet Matth. 8 et Lu. 14: Sicut enim dixit scribe quod *non habet ubi caput reclinet*; sic dicit discipulis: *Omnis ex vobis qui non renunciat omnibus que possidet non potest meus esse discipulus*. Sic igitur, iuxta doctrinam ewangelicam veritatis, discipuli debent induci, non per adulaciones neque mendacia, cum spiritus et verbum illud effugiunt, sed per veritatis strictitatem verbi dei.

Et quantum ad illud de purgacione fratrifacti a crimine, patet quod rite factus frater vel quicumque religiosus ex contricione culpe qua prius mundo erat deditus, a crimine priori absolvitur, sicut absolveretur, cum paribus, faciendo quamcumque elemosinam, et specialiter detestando quamcumque talem religionem privatam, cum non propter eius eleccionem sed propter piam dileccionem domini sit solutus. Unde probabiliter creditur quod comunius, ingrediendo talem religionem sophisticam, quis novo crimine innodatur, quam a prius 20 comisso absolvitur; cum comunius ex temporalium, quibus inhiat incubacione, ex honoris humani affectione, et ex quieta temporalium fruicione, quam ex paupertate penalis Cristi eleccione in tales ordines est ingressus. Ideo invencio huius sacramenti dileccionis criminis 25 habet effectum suum comunius in fuga religionis huius, quam in eius amplexu, cum eius sophisticacio yppocritica ex introitu | comuniter vigoratur. Et patet quantum ad plenam remissionem criminis in ingressu, cum semper vel ut plurimum contigit oppositum, quod non movet, 30 sed disuadet ut quis ingrediatur talem ordinem. Nam

4. scribe *deest* A; *ib.* nō q̄ h3 A. 6. me9 esse A. 10. virtutis A; *ib.* strictitudinem BC; *ib.* verbum C. 17. elccom AC. 22. mundani B. 24. nota qualiter communiter privata religio ingreditur in marg. B. 30. plu<sup>m</sup> A; plu<sup>m</sup> C.

11. It is evident that Roman Catholics would never admit that *in principle* it is wrong to advise men to enter into religion; but the practical disadvantages of the course blamed by Wyclif became so apparent that not 200 years after, St. Ignatius Loyola gave as one of the first questions to be asked the candidate: *Whether he had acted upon the advice of any member of the Society?* and if so, though the advice was 'good and meritorious', his admission was to be deferred until some future period. I believe that many modern Congregations have adopted this rule.

Cristus et apostoli non cognoverunt istas versucias, sed hoc in secta phariseica reprobavit, et tamen secta illa fuit antiquitate et personarum sanctitate solempnior, cum apostolus fuit, ut dicitur Act. 23, phariseus.

Act. XXIII, 6 Et eodem modo dicitur de maiori-  
 6 progressu. Nam quicumque habuerit puriorem caritatem, quod comunius evenit in non illaqueatis ritibus, plus meretur. Nec docet Anzhelmus vel alius quod in quantum  
 10 quis est de tali privato ordine plus accenditur in caritate; et aliter indubie est fratrificatio impertinens maioritati meriti. Quod si allegatur singularis penitencia, dicitur quod ampliorem habet secta Machometi in pocione aque. Ideo libertas religionis Cristi est quod nec cibis nec potibus nec indumentorum cultibus astrin-  
 15 gitur. Et quod illi ex maiori caritate dant deo tam fructum quam arborem, sed seculares solum fructum, F. patet quod est incolorata fallacia. Nam si per *arborem* intelligatur "substantia hominis" vel "essencia voluntatis", et per *fructum*, "opera virtuosa", manifestum est quod  
 20 quicumque dederit deo fructum talem dat arborem; cum dei sit omnis creata essencia vel natura. Ideo stultus foret qui non ex toto corde obligaret se totum deo. Unde vel Cristus et apostoli eius post missionem spiritus sancti non dederunt deo arborem cum fructu;  
 25 vel contingit quod seculares dent deo claustralibus perfeccius tam fructum quam arborem. Apostoli enim, qui proficiendo processerunt, noluerunt habere abbatem aliquem preter Cristum, et post illos multi sancti martires obtulerunt se deo perfeccius sine ficcione huius  
 30 infundabilis sacramenti. Ideo videtur multis infundabile sacramentum quod, ex eo ipso quo quis intrat religionem privatam est peccatorum suorum plena remissio.

Et ad tantum cecantur simplices, quod habent habitus quorundam fratrum, quos prope mortem induunt; quia

The same may be said of life spent in the order; perfection depends on love of God, which is quenched by superfluous observances. As to penance, Mahometans drink only water.

The say that they give to God the tree with the fruit, whilst seculars only give the fruit; which is false, for the will is the tree and good deeds the fruit; both must go together.

Some simple people have by them a Friar's habit, believing

1. vñuciaß A. 2. phariseica A; *ib.* cum *pro* tamen *omnes* MSS.  
 4. 20 AC. 5. miti A. 6. quecunque C. 9. intenditur A. 10. fratri-  
 factio AB. 11. secularis A. 14. 15. aſſn'gñ<sup>12</sup> C. 21. creatura A.  
 23. post *deest* AB. 24. vel fructum C. 25. debet C. 30. Non *pro* ideo C.

34. *Mortem*. This practice is followed by members of the Third-Order, and (at least as *now* existing) seems rather to express a pious hope than the confident belief that Wyclif justly reproves. There are traditions in most Orders (perhaps in all) that any one dying amongst them will be saved; but the fact that the Church has never lent its authority to such traditions, probably tends to counteract feelings of presumption.

that dying  
therein, they  
cannot be  
damned.  
This is  
blasphemy,  
as it implies  
that every Friar  
is safe.

And as a man  
with the Holy  
Sacrament in  
his mouth  
may go to  
Hell, we must  
conclude that a  
Friar's habit  
can do more  
than Christ's  
Body!

Also that this  
habit is worth  
more than all  
the treasures  
of the world;  
no wonder then  
that much  
money is paid  
for the  
privilege of  
wearing it.

instructi sunt quod impossibile est in habitu tali mortuum  
vel superari a diabolo vel dampnari. Per tales autem  
blasfemias anticristus extollitur super omne quod dicitur  
deus; quia certum est quod talis habitus plus vel tantum  
valeret fratri sic habituato, sicut extraneo valeret eius 5  
unica induccio. Et sic omnes illi fratres forent super  
apostolos confirmati; quod est nimis blasfemum. Simi-  
liter reliquie talis habitus forent perfecciores quam  
sacramentum altaris. quod nos credimus corpus Cristi,  
quia stat hominem dampnari etsi habuerit in hora 10  
mortis sacramentum illud in faucibus, ut comunicantur  
greci. Sed non sic stat cum induicione sui habitus, ut  
fingunt; sed quid blasfemius? Similiter, iuxta istam  
blasfemiam, habitus talis foret infinitum valencior quam  
omnia bona temporalia sphere terre, sicut religio sua 15  
est infinitum melior quam religio secularis. Quid mirum  
igitur, si anticristus per talia iocalia accumulet thesauros  
absconditos? Sed quid foret detestabilius inter fideles  
quam tam blasfema ydolatria? Talis autem fingitur  
absolutio cum sacramentali suffragio confratrum in 20  
mortis articulo. Sed cum Cristus, apostoli et martires  
caruerunt tali adminiculo, ubi ponemus eos in celo?  
Ecclesia igitur debet cavere de talibus cerimoniais ydo-  
latris; quia aliter in brevi extingwerent legem Cristi.

3. "The Friars  
supply the  
want of  
parish priests;  
salvation comes  
through them,  
and they thus  
have a right to  
alms."

Quite true; but  
their multitude  
renders such  
alms a very  
heavy burden.  
They supply  
the want of  
parish priests;  
but if the pure  
religion of  
Christ has  
suffered  
diminution  
of fervour,

3<sup>o</sup> principaliter arguitur per hoc quod fratres in 25  
defectu curatorum predicant, ministrant sacramentalia  
et absolunt; per ipsos igitur quos oportet sustentari G.  
de bonis ecclesie; necesse est ut veniat eis salus. In  
isto videtur multis surripere rapinam fratrum sicut  
aliorum tortorum ecclesie cuius radix est eorum mul- 30  
tudo onerosa et ministrorum applicacio sumptuosa.  
Conceditur tamen quod, occasione ignorancie prelatorum  
et declinacionis sui ad seculum, necesse fuit fratres  
subintroduci, ut sint peioribus supplementum. Et  
necesse est ut de illis, sicut de prioribus, fiat declinacio 35  
a lege domini. Si enim in pura religione Cristi fiat  
seduccio, quanto magis in ritibus adinventis! Confir-  
matur ex hoc quod ordinacio tam pia, legi Cristi tam

3. tollitur A.

9. t<sup>el</sup> altaris A.15. corporalio B; *ib.* spere AB.

17. sibi B.

26. sacra C.

27. vel C.

30. est *deest* AB.

31. instru-

mentorum AC.

32. igitur AC.

33. sue C.

35. est *deest* AB.38. X<sup>ra</sup> *pro* tam *before* pia A.



consona, excedit ordinationes alias seculares laudabiles. Nec est color negare ordinationes hominum. Et idem deducitur ex hoc quod deus vult tales religiones esse, sed ex eorum onerosa multitudine sequitur inconveniens

theirs has also suffered the same and much sooner.

5 ecclesie: Cristus enim non habuit nisi 12 apostolos ad illuminandum universalem ecclesiam; et unus prior minus sufficiens habet 100! Ideo necesse est ex mon-  
struositate talis multitudinis errorem procedere. Nam constituit sibi legem religionis (tanquam indignans  
10 Cristum quem refugit) alius legislator, et legem quam invenit legi Cristi preponderat. Et ubi Cristus ad regendam totam ecclesiam fuit contentus 12<sup>cim</sup>, Anti-  
cristus undiquaque extollitur.

Christ had 12 Apostles, and a single Prior has 100 Friars under his rule

Et certum est quod eius multiplex onerosa multitudo  
15 nocet reipublice atque ecclesie. Sicut enim per cecam dotacionem cleri dominiis extractis a secularibus, qui soli debent sic regere, multa loca prius habitabilia sunt deserta, sic per subtractionem multorum fratrum a parentibus atque republica undique perturbatur  
20 ecclesia. Si igitur in lege veteri furans aut spolians  
70<sup>a</sup> bovem vel hominem, invito | domino, debuit puniri, ut patet Exo. 21 et 22<sup>o</sup> capitulis, quare non in lege gracie  
Ex. XXII, sic spolians hominem a republica debet puniri secundum  
1 leges seculi? Si dicas quod proselitus convertitur ad  
25 dominum secundum legem evangelii; doce quod fingitur; et quo ad aliud, legem pone. Certum quidem est quod nec docetis istam conversionem ad dominum, nec docetis ex lege ewangelii hoc esse licitum; nisi forte  
Matth. ex dicto Cristi Matth. 23; *Ve vobis, qui circuitis mare*  
XXIII, *et aridam, ut faciatis unum proselitum!*

This is hurtful to the commonwealth and the Church; multitudes are taken from their parents and the service of the State; which is as criminal as to steal an ox or a slave.

"They are converts according to the Gospel"; this may be said, but not proved. Neither converts, nor according to the Gospel.

15 Nec est ratio quare validus mendicus constringi et puniri debeat secundum leges hominum, quin a pari frater validus, inordinate mendicans, debeat eciam frenari, cum secundum apostolum Thess. 2<sup>o</sup> et Act. 20,  
35 labor corporalis eis conveniat. Confirmatur ex hoc quod nulla obediencia cristiani est valida, nisi de quanto sonat in maioritatem obediencie domino Jesu Cristo; sed nullus fratrifactor scit quod filius extractus a tutela parentis magis cum fratre Cristo obediens, quam cum  
40 patre; igitur videtur illegitima et temptativa presumpcio.

Why should not an able-bodied Friar be punished like a sturdy beggar? they should work with their hands. The obedience they pay to their prior is so much taken from

4. ing<sup>nß</sup> A; in'genß C.  
29. 21 B. 37. sonuerit C.

16. a deest B.  
10. allegittia C.

19. undiquaque C.

that which is due to their parents: and only better if Christ is better obeyed in the first case.

The friar-maker often takes an heir from his legal guardians before he is of age, which contradicts the Apostle's teaching, who forbade a converted slave to leave his heathen master;

yet this involved much more danger to faith. Some say that all sects but Christ's are thieves and robbers.

If any man has the right to punish him that steals cattle or a slave, how much more him that robs him of a son?

No security is given that the young Friar will be a better man than he would have been as a secular priest or a layman. It is by a mere blasphemous fiction that he is supposed to be better; as a Friar's gown is made more of than the robe of Christ.

A legislator says that for a

Item de lege dei *heres sub tutoribus et actoribus* H. *est usque ad prefinitum tempus a patre*, ut patet Gall. 4<sup>o</sup> Gal. Sed illud tempus fratrifactor sepe dirumpit. Ideo IV, 2 videtur, quod sic est contrarius legi dei. Nec valet blasphemia quod acquirit, ut sic, novello ordini servum 5 deo, quia electio Cristi hoc non sufficit in Scarioth. Item, religio Cristi fuit rationi sic consona ut servum conversum non extraheret a domino infideli, ut patet Thess. 6<sup>o</sup>. Igitur multo magis religio Cristi legi consona 1 Tim. non extraheret filium a parente fideli; nam parens IV, 1 habet maius ius ad filium, et ipse minus distraheretur a religione Cristi quam servus fidelis cum domino infideli. Sed hec novella religio extollitur super Cristum. Ipsa enim dedignatur plus quam Beghardi tractari in causa civili coram iudice seculari. Sed Cristus et apostolus hoc tulerunt. 15

Unde quidam dicunt quod omnes secte, quotquot venerunt alie a religione cristiana, sunt fures et latrones, quia *non intrant per ostium* ut dicitur Jo. 10. Et sic Joan. videtur quod non dicetur ratio quare secundum leges X, 1 humanas a servo, iumento vel quocunque usibili puniri 20 debeat, et ad restitutionem astringi, quin per idem sic debet esse de fratribus, qui pueros sub custodia atque proteccionem parentum defraudant ab ipsis atque republica; ad satisfaccionem congruam debent cogi. Nam verius, tenerius et naturalius habet quis filium 25 quam temporalia vel iumentum. Nec assecuratur respublica quod talis, ut sic obligatus, melioratur et plus affidatur ad dominum, quam remanens secundum puram religionem Cristi, factus sacerdos vel colens seculum. Ymmo videtur quod talis apostota in hoc quod sic 30 fratrificat puerum, sit blasphemus; quia spondet quod divino consilio est proprium, et quod est sibi absconditum. Sed sicut blasfeme fingit filum, lanam vel instrumenta, quibus habitus suus contextitur, converti in reliquias preciosiores quam tunica Cristi inconsutibilis, 35 et sic de tanto mundum perfici; sic fingit de filiis hominum quos furatur. Unde quidam legifer dicit quod

4. illa B. 5. sic obligatum C. 7. sic *deest* A. 9. 1 Tim. 6 C; *ib.* legi Christi A. 14. begardi BC. 15. sch' A. 16. omnis A. 18. qui B; *ib.* hostium AC. 19. docetur B; *ib.* quare *deest* B. 20. invento *pro* iumento C. 21. nestringi A. 31. quod *pro* quia A. 33. filium *pro* filum omnes MSS. 34. infra A. 35. inconsutibilis BC. 37. quod *pro* quos AC.

14. Beghardi. See Mosheim, *De Beghardis et Beguinabus* (Leipzig 1790).

iustum est privatum sic filio astringere unum fratrem illius secte suo usui, quousque habeat filium suum restitutum. Secta enim talis non debet bona sua in foro contencioso repetere, sed pati iniurias bonorum suorum cum gaudio  
 5 atque penas iniuste illatas; igitur multo magis non debet post fraudem commissam persequentes suos impetere.

son thus taken away, a father has the right to force a Friar into his own service until his son is given back to him.

1. Et quantum ad temporales elemosinas quilibet de populo a quo tam fraudulenter subtrahunt non solum temporalia, ymmo proles, timeret dare sectis talibus  
 10 in quantum huiusmodi elemosinas corporales, cum a sociis furum debet fomentum subtrahi. Et quantum ad excessum consumpcionis sumptuose bonorum pauperum, notandum primo, quod non refert sive persona simplex sive agregata ut secta consumpserit bona ecclesie,  
 15 nisi quod persona secte est in furto forcior, in fraude circumvencior, et in pertinacia perseverancior. Si, inquam, attendimus ad quantitatem temporalium, que fratres callide suggunt de populo regni nostri, tunc, ut experti calculant, nec dux nec rex suggit tantum annuatim de  
 20 regno, quam suggit illa monstruosa persona sectarum. Et si modum vel causam spoliacionis attendimus, dominis temporalibus ex lege ewangelii didragma et alia onera redditus temporalis sunt debita. Sed ista stipendia seductoria sunt per mendacia et comenta  
 25 blasfemie subtiliter introducta. Et dico subtiliter, quia communitas fratrum in Anglia colligit annuatim per minucias multa milia talentorum, cum quibus regnum et eius pauperes plebei potuerunt relevari. Quod ex hoc convincunt experti seculi, quod vix invenies unam  
 30 villam in Anglia, quin ex collectis fratrum symoniacis  
 70<sup>b</sup> post sermonem ex fraternitatis redditibus et ex pri | vatis spoliacionibus communitas fratrum excedit quo ad pecuniam ville dominum vel rectorem. Non enim construunt hec magna edificia, nec preter sumptus publicos

As for alms, none should give any to the abettors of robbers.

The quantity of money they take is excessive, and it matters little whether a single person or a society combine thus to defraud the Church; except that the latter is more powerful.

They take more than any lord, more than the king himself.

To the former we owe taxes; but to these seducers, nothing.

Yet a single community every year collects many thousand talents.

It is calculated that no village gives so much to its lord or parish priest as to the Friars' collections and confraternities

&c.  
 If they build such edifices

2. suum proprium BC. 4. repolere A. 9. temporali A. 11. subtrahere A. 12. processum B. 18. fingunt A. 22. dedragma C. 26, 27. p pinciaß p minciaß A. 28. plebi A. 33. dominium AC.

27. *Talentorum* is not a very definite expression, but Wyclif defines it in other places. See English Works of W. III, 400. "Friars spenden commonly and needlessly sixty thousand mark by year . . . And now . . . is the people charged by sixty thousand mark by year . . . Friars . . . waste vainly and needless sixty thousand mark by year of the poor commons of the land." See also Buddensieg, *Polem. Works.* p. 192; *Trialogus*, p. 359, and *Sermones*, II, p. 49. 60,000 marks came to £ 40,000.

and give such  
splendid  
banquets, the  
money  
drained out of  
the nation  
is provided by  
alchemy or a  
miracle.  
And so there  
must be a  
falling off in  
paying taxes to  
the king; the  
more so,  
because Friars,  
however rich,  
have nothing to  
pay.

They are  
practically  
independent of  
the king;  
which would  
be seen, if he  
attempted to  
evy taxes upon  
them.

They exhaust  
the resources  
of the kingdom,  
not by open  
robbery but  
worse still, by  
a continual  
though  
imperceptible  
taking of small  
sums; like a  
hectic fever  
which works  
slowly but is  
incurable.  
Any Friar  
whom this  
exposure  
displeases  
confesses his  
own  
wickedness;  
as Iscariot,  
conscious of  
his crime, was

preparant sumptuosa et privata convivia, cum aliis  
expensarum excessibus, vel cum arte alkymica vel cum  
peccunia Angelorum manibus ministrata; sed subdefalcant  
de regno per cateractas absconditas. Et sic, cum regnum  
sit tantum finitum suggibile de thezauro, patet quod 5  
necesse est populum regi suo et dominis suis deficere  
in tributis, et eo celerius quo a comunibus suis secu-  
laribus eciam egenis presbiteris censum exigit, sicut in  
casu requiritur: et cum a fratribus, quantumcunque  
divitibus, nichil capit; et tamen ubi presbiter secularis 10  
habet unicum annuale stipendium de regno (forsitan  
sex marcis), frater habet de eodem regno multa abscon-  
dite! Et non dubium quin symoniace, ad destruccionem  
toxicam contrate quam palliant.

Et sicut episcopi quidam blasfeme blaterant quod 15 K.  
non debent subdi mundi principibus isti practisant  
abscondite in effectu; non enim senciunt se subditos  
regibus nec ulli conviancium, nisi forsitan anticristo.  
Cuius experimentalis probacio foret, si rex de illis, ut  
de aliis legiis suis, censum pro necessitate regni sui 20  
exigeret. Notaret qua paciencia, quibus capitaneis, et  
quo seculari vinculo a fratribus regni subsidium levaretur.  
Taliter autem cecantur regna cautela diaboli scopantis  
interpolate de regnis minucias insensibiles, per quassubdole  
enervantur. Nec differt hoc a spoliacione patula, nisi 25  
quod est magis dampnabilis; quia yppocritica et peccato  
diaboli spirituali similior: et sic magis radicitus puni-  
tura. Nam febris ethica est periculosior effimera, et  
tamen per illam naturale humidum insensibiliter, sed  
insanabiliter, est extinctum. Nam pena talis diutina 30  
quodammodo superat repentinam.

Nec alicui bono fratri, sed falso displiceret deteccio  
istius sentencie, cum non verius posset reatum suum  
vel opere vel consensu detegere, quam contra versucie  
huius sanativum scrutinium murmurare. Unde indicium 35  
est profundius inveterate malicie, quod fratres plus aliis  
contra rimas sui scleris recalcitrando remurmurent. Et  
hinc Scarioth post reprobacionem pronosticam tradicionis

1. conviva B. 3. subdesulcant A. 5. fiete A; finite C. 7. steri-  
lius A; sclerius C. 8. et pro eciam B. 10. cum AB; tum C.  
14. palliant twice A. 15. quidem B; ib. blacte'ant A. 17. censent C.  
20. leg<sup>us</sup> A. 21. Notare B; Notaretur C; ib. contra pro qua A; ib.  
p<sup>cia</sup> A. 23. enim B. 24. interpellate A; ib. immicicias A. 25. de-  
beret A. 28. ethica deest A. 33. huius C. 35. strictivum B.  
37. ruinas C. 38. pnosticam A; prenosticam C.

Matth. XXVI, *Numquid ego sum, rabi?* Matth. 26., quia peccatum  
 25. ipsi. Ideo necesse est ut omnis creatura se ipsam  
 5 iudicet; sed et quod peccatum ebuliat et dicat sui  
 ipsius gravedinem. Unde in istis non obligo me ad  
 monstrandum gravedinem narrati criminis, sed relinquens  
 iudicium eius politicis, scio quod est necessarium  
 demonstrabile, quod fratres potuerunt sic peccare, et  
 10 sententia *de inesse* opinabilis ex effectu. Recolerent  
 autem fratres quomodo ex paupertate sua primeva  
 placuerunt domino, et quomodo sunt hodie monstruose  
 ditati in seculo; non solum unica simplex persona in  
 opere, sed persona multiplex in consensu, cum vix  
 15 unum ex eis conventualem invenies quin ex monstruo-  
 sitate et comuni peccato tocius persone aggregate aliquo

Ps. XVII, 6 generum consensuum sit fedatus; quia psalm. 14<sup>o</sup>  
 29 scribitur: *Cum perverso perverteris.* Quid enim refert  
 20 personam simplicem vel globatam irreligiose construere  
 basilicas vel habitacula, nisi quod peccatum persone  
 aggregate est gravius et reipublice nocivius? Nam tale  
 edificium monstruosum est sumptuosius; sicut enim  
 sanctitas comitive edificat, sic comitive perversitas viciat  
 et retardat; hoc autem in presenciarum fit crebrius.  
 25 Quod videtur sanctos apostolos attendere, qui cognos-  
 centes Scarioth sub magistro optimo tam sanctam  
 comitivam dispergere, post parvam latenciam conflictus,  
 L. tanquam nubes et aquille sunt dispersi. Non refertur  
 30 igitur quod multi fratres construunt unum opus culpabile,  
 nisi quod ipsum sit ex pluri et maiori et ex plus  
 defensato crimine reipublice plus nocivo.

Et sic nedum in temporalibus et per consequens in  
 populo per tales pseudo[fratres] latenter regnum destruitur,  
 sed in magnatibus eciam usque ad regem surrepit  
 35 hec fraus subdola anticristi. Quomodo, queso, posset  
 plebs dare census magnatibus vel prolem producere,  
 quando a tot temporalibus per pseudofratres tam  
 subdole spoliatur? Aut quomodo multiplicabuntur legii  
 regis in temporalibus vel spiritualibus, quando tot

the first to ask  
 Christ if he  
 was guilty.

The gravity of  
 the crime is  
 here irrelevant;  
 its possibility  
 is certain; its  
 existence is  
 inferred from  
 facts.

At the  
 beginning, the  
 Friars were  
 acceptable to  
 God by their  
 poverty; now  
 their  
 convents are  
 monsters of  
 iniquity, each  
 man by  
 consent being  
 responsible  
 for all.  
 And this  
 solidarity,  
 instead of  
 making the  
 harm done to  
 the  
 commonwealth  
 less, makes it  
 greater.  
 There is  
 danger in  
 living together.

And the results  
 of the wrong  
 done fall  
 not only upon  
 the people  
 but even on  
 the king and  
 the nobles.  
 The people  
 cannot pay the  
 nobles their  
 dues, nor can  
 liegemen be  
 found;

5. et before quod *deest* B. 7. demonstrandum BC. 10. sua *pro*  
 sententia *omnes* MSS. 17. consensuum *deest* A. 21. gu9 A. 23. in-  
 fidelitas B. 27. parvam *in marg.* C. 30, 31. ex — publice *deest* C.  
 31. plu9 A. 32. in *after* consequens *in marg. corr.* A. 33. fratres  
*deest omnes* MSS. 38. spoliantur BC.



the Friars  
neither fight  
nor labour, nor  
teach; they  
only weaken  
the State.

Multitudes  
could be fed  
with what  
they devour, and  
they would  
make in  
themselves a  
large army of  
servants of the  
king.

The Friars  
cause the  
barrenness of  
the land, and  
all intrigues  
and treasons  
between one  
kingdom, and  
another.

If one part of  
the nation lives  
at ease,  
burdening the  
rest, the nation  
must be weak.

Living in  
different  
countries and  
speaking several  
languages, they  
have interest to  
betray; and  
some of them  
are said to do  
so, traitors  
both to their  
brethren and  
to the great  
men whose  
confessions  
they hear.

Their deeds  
show that they  
are not perfect  
followers of  
Christ, but the  
contrary.

As for  
obedience, they  
may

pseudofrateres a populo subtrahuntur? Nam neque pugnant ut milites, neque laborant redendo censum, ut incole, neque instruunt ad regis obedienciam, ut curati; sed in omnibus istis subdole partes istas debilitant politie. Notet itaque prudens politicus, quantum populum 5 sustentaret rapina que ab istis pseudo[fratribus] consumitur; quantum exercitum constitueret comitiva mendicans valida, que in clauastro includitur, et quantam gentem legiam et fidelem regis faceret plebs extraordinaria que illegaliter evagatur.

Ista igitur creditur causa quare sunt | tot loca 10  
regnorum sterilia, quare ipsa sunt per populum ita 75<sup>a</sup>  
paucum legitimum habitata, et quare sunt tot con-  
tenciones et machinationes proditorie inter regna; cum,  
ista causa non posita, contingerent opposita. Nec dubium 15  
quin omnino ista evenire poterunt ex pseudofraterum  
malicia. Si enim minima pars regni fuerit per fraudu-  
lentam yppokrisim ad onus reipublice ociata, quomodo  
non foret legitimus populus rarus, et loca sterilia?  
Posset eciam esse quod fraterum copia per regna 20  
infecta dispersa mendaciter machinetur mendacia ad  
placendum utrique populo, et sic seminent iurgia atque  
bella. Sic enim audiui unam partem fraterum offere  
se ad probandum prodicionem in aliam. Nam libere  
possunt bilingues intrare regna contraria; et possunt, 25  
ob favorem contrate quam incolunt, detegere proditorie  
sua consilia. Possibile quidem est quod produnt tam  
corporaliter quam spiritualiter, et fratres proprios et  
magnates confessione eis iniunctos. Ideo videtur racio-  
naliter tractatus et comunicacio cum hostibus preclu- 30  
dendus. Nemo enim foveret familiarem diabolo. M.

Et facta fraterum ostendunt quod non sunt in hoc  
inpeccabiles cum bonis angelis confirmati, nec 2<sup>m</sup>  
Cristum, qui est boni consilii angelus, ad pacis con-  
silium et ad paciendum iniurias inclinati; quia Pro- 35  
verb. 6<sup>o</sup> de apostatis his dicitur: *pravo corde machinatur* Prov.  
*malum et in omni tempore iurgia seminat.* Nam nec VI,  
12—14

6. fratribus *deest omnes MSS.* 9. regnis BC. 11. inquam BC;  
*ib.* 10 = tota C. 12. per *deest* A. 13. letimū A; letim C. 14. intra AC.  
15. contigerunt B. 16. omnia BC. 23. audiri A. 24. Nec B.  
29. 30. racionabiliter C. 30. 31. precludendo B. 37. et in *deest* A.

35. *Boni consilii Angelus.* This name of Christ is taken from an Antiphon of the Nativity; it is also in the Litany of the Holy Name. See Poole's *De Civili Dominio*, I.

confirmacio nec religio ipsos astringit, quin possent, sicut Scarioth, prodere minus bonum. Et quantum ad rationem obediendi dominis secularibus, patet quod subdole subtrahunt ab eis omne civile servicium; quia  
 5 quantumcunque creverint in redditibus, eciam ultra seculares dominos, vendicant libertatem a seculari servicio, nec faciunt regi omagium in se vel in suis prelatis. Ideo, licet occidant quotquot de fratribus mixtim de aliis, vendicant quod regis non interest eos  
 10 punire; dum tamen non reputentur apud ipsos apostate. Nec habet rex, ut inquit, legem aliquam secundum quam sic puniret ordines sic mendicantes. Et sic conceditur quod de quanto fratres in regno Cristi proficiunt sunt laudandi, et de quanto sunt profectui ecclesie  
 15 contrarii, sunt culpandi; et necesse est ut per fratres mittentes scandala veniat ecclesie Cristi salus. Et cum *omnia que evenient de necessitate evenient*, patet quod necesse est ipsos exinde puniri.

Et patet ad confirmationem de ordinacione, quod  
 20 non sit pia, sed deordinacio impia; pius enim contentaretur de Cristi regula. Et sic mensura virtuosa contempnitur, et per consequens in deum patrem, cui mensura est propria, blasfematur; nec dubium quin blasfemant in filium, cum innuunt regulam Cristi reli-  
 25 gionis esse nimium defectivam, cum maiorem numerum regularum et ordinum posuisset. Blasfemant eciam in spiritum sanctum, cum prius et diucius ecclesiam, et regimini talium ordinum ponderasset. Quantum ad ordinaciones hominum, patet quod omne opus humanum  
 30 laudabile fuit a deo eternaliter ordinatum. Ideo pium foret concedere ordinacionem deo competere, et quod homo sit ordinacionis divine humilis executor. Ampliando autem sic ordinacionem, ut mundus hodie loquitur, probabile videtur quod religiosarcha ex ceca pietate  
 35 et temera est seductus, et sic necesse fuit istos errores, in tempore quod deus disposuit, terminasse. Sic enim deus ordinat de omni peccato penam quam approbat, et totum peccatum per accidens proficere mundo et sue ecclesie; et ita, sicut deus vult omne peccatum

become richer than lords, and yet they will never submit to any temporal obligation. If a Friar is not what they call an apostate, they say that the king has no power to punish him.

So far as they follow or do not follow Christ's law they are to be praised or blamed.

Their rule is not pious, but the contrary, blaspheming the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

Good laws made by men are fore-ordained by God from all eternity; but the first founders of these sects have laid down rules out of mistaken piety; which rules must in their application come to an end. Yet these orders may, like every evil, be profitable to the Church by their punishment.

3. obediendum AB. 5. subtrahunt C. 9. et mixtim C; *ib.* inde ipsos *pro* eos B. 12. sic *before* mendicantes *deest* B. 15. quod B. 20. sed *in marg.* C. 21—23. mensura — mensura *deest* AB. 25. *nīm* (sic) A. 27. cum *deest* A; *ib.* et *after* ecclesiam *deest* BC. 33. sic *deest* B. 34. religiosi archa A.

It is temerity  
in man to  
make any  
perpetual  
statutes; more  
particularly so  
in these cases.

secundum esse suum secundum, prodessens ecclesie,  
ita wult errores istarum religionum puniri, et destruentes  
ipsas propterea premiari. Et licet in humana ordina-  
cione de perpetuitatis heredibus et aliis mundanis  
statuicionibus sit magna temeritas, maior tamen et 5  
attingens blasphemiam est in privatorum ordinum statui-  
cionibus, licet yppocrite videantur pretendere sanctitatem.

3. premiare *omnes* MSS. 5—7. sit — statuicionibus *deest* C.

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## CAPITULUM QUINTUMDECIMUM.

A. Et hic obicitur contra dictas instancias.

The case for the Friars stated: they follow Christ closely, are thus most useful to the Church, and therefore deserve to be free from taxes and honoured by Christians, especially as they exalt the Roman Curia.

Videtur enim quod fratres secuntur Cristum summe, et per consequens tamquam maxime necessarii ad  
5 vivificandum et gignendum plebem in domino, maxime sicut Cristus et apostoli prosunt ecclesie. Sicut igitur illi ab exactione seculari fuerunt liberi, sic fratres successores eorum quo ad sensum et laboricium debent esse. Sic enim honorati sunt sacerdotes in utraque  
10 lege, eciam aput paganos; magis igitur aput eos qui diligunt dominum Jesum Cristum. Ipsi igitur tanquam magis obediencie filii plus exaltant romanam curiam. Expediẽs igitur foret quod totus mundus viancium foret similis secte sue.

15 Hic dicitur primo, quod frater est nomen honoris significans spiritualement gignicionem Cristi atque ecclesie, et sic innuit maiorem propinquitatem honoris quam inter fratres carnales; quod effectus debet ostendere, ut animam suam ponat pro proximis. Unde sicut in  
20 tempore apostoli divisi sunt fratres ad sensus equivocos, multiplicatis falsis | fratribus, ut dicit apostolus, sic est modo. Ad esse igitur veri fratris, quantum ad propositum nostrum, requiritur primo quod vivat expropriarie, ut vixerunt apostoli. Sic enim vere nominati sunt  
25 fratres Jeronimus et alii religiosi, ut patet in scriptis eorum. Et in hoc mendicantes excedunt religiosos possessionatos, cum in hoc secuntur Cristum similius; cum Luce IX dicit ipse: *Omnis ex vobis qui non renunciat omnibus que possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus;*  
30 quem gradum renunciacionis optime docuit Cristus in facto cum suis apostolis.

*Answer.*  
'Friar' signifying spiritual brotherhood, is a name of honour, provided it is true.

The first requisite of this true brotherhood is to live in poverty; and herein Friars are preferable to monks.

1. Ca<sup>m</sup> 15 in red ink. 2. Et in red ink A; Sed pro et B. 6. S<sup>4</sup> A; ib. enim B. 12. magis deest C. 17. honoris deest B. 24. vixerant A. 28. 14 BC.

But, as robbers  
may also be  
poor, this is not  
enough.

They must  
besides keep  
themselves  
unspotted from  
the world; if  
not; they are  
not of the  
brotherhood of  
Christ.

As a sign of  
hatred of  
worldly things,  
they will not  
even touch  
money.

This is well;  
but what if  
they love that  
money?  
they are then  
hypocrites.

According to  
their  
institution,  
they should  
resemble  
the Apostles;  
Christ however  
intended His  
Bishops to do  
this.

But they have  
fallen away,  
and prefer their  
sect (though not  
their persons)  
to the general  
good of the  
Church.

Hoc autem non sufficit ad *esse* veri fratris, cum  
brigandi, pirate, et summi discoli vivunt expropriarie  
cum ipso diabolo. Ideo oportet, iuxta beatum Jacobum, Jac. I,  
quod frater religionis munde *custodiat se immaculatum* 27  
*ab hoc seculo*. Sic enim exponit beatus Jeronimus 5  
illud Matth. 19 *Vos qui reliquistis omnia et secuti estis* Matth.  
*me* "Primum", inquit, "fecit Socrates philosophus". Ideo XIX,  
perfectum adiungitur quasi forma, *et secuti estis me*. 29  
Ista igitur forma requiritur ad *fieri* veri fratres, et per  
consequens oportet quod non apostotet, *terens pede* (ut 10  
expositum est 2<sup>o</sup> ca<sup>o</sup> De apostasia): cuius enim pes sic  
oblique inficitur, quantumcunque egenus fuerit, ab  
ordine Cristi excidit. Unde nos, calcando terram, quan-  
tumcunque mundi fuerimus a mortali, egemus locione  
pedum cottidie, ut dicitur Jo. 13. Et in signum dete-  
stacionis temporalium fratres minores nec ferunt pecunias Jo.  
neque tangunt. Scarioth enim in portentum portavit XIII,  
loculos. Quod si ipsi fratres in hoc sentenciant elonga- 10  
cionem affectus a temporalibus, certum est quod illa  
est observancia laude digna. Sed si signo tali obligatorio 20 B.  
assit inordinata affeccio circa pecunias per quam paupertas  
primeva minuitur, quis dubitat quin hoc sit dampnabile,  
et gravans signum ypocrite? et tunc sunt a Cristi  
vestigiis maxime elongati. Debent autem fratres ex  
institutione 2<sup>a</sup> tanquam apostoli sequi Cristum propin- 25  
quius. Sed ex institutione primeva Cristi hoc competere  
debet episcopis, et pape specialiter. Sed quia illud  
blaspheme contrariatum est ex humana stulticia, qua  
diabolice statutum est quod episcopi seculariter sint  
potentes, suscitavit deus paulative religiones privatas 30  
secundum totum in eis laudabile, ut suscitant semen  
Cristo. Sed diabolus nimirum repente decepit has sectas  
singulariter et specialiter in hoc quod, *querentes que sua* 2 Cor.  
*sunt*, postponunt bonum comune prestancius domini XIII, 3  
Jesu Cristi. Nec refert sive inordinate afficiantur persone 35  
simplici sive collecte, nisi quod 2<sup>m</sup> est nequius.

1. ad *esse* *deest* C; *ib.* cum C. 5. beatus *deest* AC; *ib.* Jacobus A.  
7. Socrates C. 12. obliget A. 13, 14. quantecunque A. 15. con-  
tinue C. 18. vere sumant C. 22. hoc *deest* A. 23. anticristi C.  
24. *elogati* A. 29. *ft'* A. 34. ecclesie B. 35. sive *deest* B. 36. *siplicissie* A.

5. Jer. Comment in Matth. XIX (edit. Basle, 1537, t. IX, p. 58).  
11. De Apostasia, c. III, p. 31.



- Conceditur igitur quod fratres forent ex suppositione plus necessarii, si suppleant defectus in episcopis ordinatis a Cristo. Sed si sunt in eadem dampnacione profundius, quis est in ecclesia magis superfluous a fidelibus destruendus? Sufficit enim ecclesie, ymmo superfluit, partis secte sue primeve insania, licet non nequior, sed ad maius onus ecclesie introducta, ut 1. Reg. 12 dicitur de David, qui Philisteis finxerat se insanum; quanto magis, in facto se iudicans insane membrum diaboli est a criticolis reprobandus? Unde quidam prenosticant quod sicut in humano corpore membrum ultimo veniens ex peregrino glutino recedit citissime, sic oportet esse de caducis partibus adiectis ecclesie. Primo enim, ut cor, formata sunt membra ecclesie coniuncta Cristo 2<sup>m</sup> religionem simplicem cristianam; posterius adiecta sunt membra monstrua paulative, que adherent 2<sup>m</sup> traditiones hominum adinventas. Et illas sectas oportet secundum hoc putridum ordinate dissolvi.
- Sed consolacio est fratribus et cunctis fidelibus, quod sicut omne membrum hominis spermaticum resuscitabitur, sic in quacunque secta homo fuerit resurget ad gloriam, si finaliter servaverit religionem simplicem cristianam. Quamvis enim contigit transire de secta in sectam, tamen necesse est omnem predestinatum vivere finaliter secundum religionem simplicem cristianam. Traditiones autem adiectas oportet dimittere, et proporcionaliter ut predestinatus maiorem caritatem servaverit, sive fuerit sutor sive episcopus, erit maior in regno celorum. Prescitus autem usurpans perfectionem statum, ex eius maiori abusu gravius dampnabitur.
- C. Nec dubium quin contigit in quocunque statu maiorem humilitatem servare quam facit ista privata religio; cuius indicium est quod nullus paciendo opprobria more luciferi magis recalcitrat.

Friars are indeed necessary to the Church, if they are what they ought to be; if merely superfluous, and much more if worse than the Bishops, they should be destroyed.

As the member that is last added to the human body is the first to go, so it will be with the Friars.

But as every member that really belongs to that body will rise again, so all good, Friars must be comforted by the hope of eternal glory, as they have followed Christ, and set aside vain traditions.

In any state men can be more humble than in theirs; they are excessively averse to humiliation.

5. ecclesie Cristi C. 6. se sue A; *ib.* primeva A; *ib.* sit BC.  
 7. ut patet C; *ib.* 21 BC. 10. prenosticat C. 11. ultimum C. 12. glutinio C.  
 16. menstrua B. 26. eciam B. 27. pdestinat9 = perdestinatus A. 31. in deest C.

10. The umbilical cord, perhaps; or the teeth and hair. In the third part of *Logica*, now publishing, Wyclif shows much knowledge of anatomy and physiology, as taught in his time. His description of the human eye is striking.

Three defects in  
their order;  
1. they live  
together  
without reason;  
2. their  
community  
possesses more  
property than  
a secular  
person. 3. They  
are over-  
burdened with  
traditions and  
observances  
that accumulate  
incessantly.  
It were better  
if they were  
dissolved.

Patet ergo quod fratres sophisticando a religione  
Cristi exorbitant. Primo, in hoc quod persona secte  
sue est superflue et infundabiliter conglobata; 2<sup>o</sup> in  
hoc quod illa persona vivit seculariter in proprio  
sceleracius persona simplice; ut patet de edificiis et 5  
aliis temporalibus adiacentibus ultra exemplar comune  
Cristi cum suis apostolis. Et 3<sup>o</sup> in isto potissime  
quod accumulunt continue tradiciones, ut anticristus,  
per quarum preponderanciam | a lege et operibus Cristi 72<sup>a</sup>  
subtrahitur. Ideo indubie melius foret quod omnes 10  
iste secte cessarent et viverent generaliter et simpliciter  
secundum legem quam Cristus instituit; quia per hoc  
cresceret cristiana religio, tota secta faciente meritorie  
quod Cristus precipit, ubi iam opponitur, minuitur et  
laxatur. Nec hoc inconveniens evadi poterit, stantibus 15  
istis sectis.

Let them  
follow Christ,  
and no longer  
complain that  
their freedom  
is encroached  
upon.

They cannot  
serve two  
masters;  
it is they that  
have lost their  
liberty by  
leaving the  
service of  
Christ.

It is quite right  
that temporal  
lords should  
oppress them,  
with the proviso  
of better  
treatment,  
should they  
return to their  
first religious  
state.

But they want  
two contrary  
things: freedom  
and temporal  
advantages.

Teneant igitur secte viam Cristi, sicut fecerunt  
cristiani in primitiva ecclesia, et tunc est illis collor  
expetere pristinam libertatem. Sed more cati petunt  
repugnanciam, volentes simul servire deo et seculo, 20  
quod est contra diffinicionem Cristi, Matth. 6<sup>o</sup>. *Nemo* Matth.  
*potest duobus dominis servire.* Cum igitur quilibet talis VI, 24  
secta deteriorando progreditur, dicatur ei de ablacione  
libertatis pristine conquerenti, quod ipsamet stulte  
et infideliter illibertavit se ipsam, ingrate deserendo 25  
sectam Cristi et obligando se diabolo atque mundo.  
Ideo fidelis temporalis dominus conculcaret huiusmodi  
ingratos filios; et dicere posset ex caritate quod adhuc,  
si humiliter redire velint ad religionem primevam,  
communicabit cum illis liberius quam seculares comuni- 30  
carunt cum digniori ecclesia primitiva. Sed, ut cati  
diaboli, exigunt contradictoria, ut vulgariter dicitur:

*Catus vult piscem, sed non vult tangere flumen;*

sic isti volunt quod dentur eis temporalia ultra patres  
suos primevos, non obstante quod sunt indigni, et 35  
collacio dampnificet ambas partes. Et pro parte sua  
non allegant vitam Cristi sive consilium, sed insanem  
stulticiam dotancium dominorum.

They are so  
changed from  
what the order

Ad tantum quidem secte predicte sunt ducatu diaboli  
lapse ad seculum, quod patriarche eorum possent 40

1, 2. Patet — Primo *deest* A. 8. accumulatur A. 11. viveretur BC.  
14. oporietur BC. 23. oblacione C. 26. mundo *deest* A. 29. red-  
dire C; *ib.* velint A; volunt C. 31. eccia A. 32. wt A; wlt C.  
38. duorum dominorum B.

- Matth. dicere illud Matth. 25<sup>o</sup>. *Amen dico vobis, nescio vos.* was at first, that their  
 XXV, Sed ad tantum sophisticantur in alienas adulteras, Founders would not know them.  
 12 quod patriarche iam superstites possent dicere cum The number of those that keep  
 1 Cor. apostolo 1 Corinth. 1<sup>o</sup>: *Gracias ago deo, quod neminem* to their rule in  
 I, 14 *vestrum baptisari preter Crispum et Gayum.* Pauci enim its first  
 (ut Crispus, qui interpretatur *sciens*, et Gayus, qui strictness is  
 interpretatur *commotus*), custodiunt legem datam in excessively  
 principio sectarum: ita quod Cristus illis potest dicere small.  
 D. 5 illud Joh. 7<sup>o</sup>. *Nomme Cristus dedit vobis legem et nemo* Christ rightly  
 Jo. VII, *ex vobis custodit legem?* Ad tantum enim sophisticatur reproaches them  
 17 ex secularium fratrum stulticia et propria, quod seculares for not keeping  
 Gen. possunt dicere Cristo illud Genes. 37<sup>o</sup> *Vide si tmica* His law.  
 XXXVII, *filii tui sit an non,* cum ad tantum quidem variantur *The coat may*  
 32 habitus interioris hominis et dissimilatur ritus vivendi *be the coat of*  
 15 a vita Cristi cum suis militibus, quod Cristus vere *Christ's son;*  
 cognoscit quod habens nomen filii, relicta figura corporalis habitus, sit *but the interior*  
*a bestia devoratus.* Quid ergo si *man is gone;*  
 Cristus veniat in humanitate ad domicilia possessiona- *an evil beast*  
 20 torum aut fratrum, et inveniat utriusque domus proprias *hath devoured*  
 blafemant in eum, quod vivunt sibi simillime? Illa *him.*  
 autem pars est dampnabilior, que potius procurat vel *What if Christ*  
 25 consentit in talem blasphemiam. Recoleremus, inquam, *were to revisit*  
 quod mendaciter scandalizare fratrem nostrum foret *the earth?*  
 peccatum dampnabile; quanto magis blasphemare sophistice *would he*  
 in dominum Jesum Cristum! In istam igitur blasphemiam *acknowledge*  
 oportet nos et fratres incidere, quamdiu sumus sic *their likeness*  
 30 confederati cum mundo, vel consencientes tali modo *to Him?*  
 monstruoso. *What*  
 Vivamus igitur sive in comuni vel proprie Cristo *blasphemy then*  
 similiter, et tunc vendicemus, vel verius, cum angustia *to pretend to*  
 parce sumamus titulo elemosine huiusmodi subsidium *such a likeness!*  
 temporale. Cristus enim et apostoli non fuerunt onerosi  
 35 contratis vel gentibus, inpetrando propria habitacula  
 ad dampnum reipublice; sed vixerunt ut peregrini in  
 edibus alienis. Nec dampnificarunt patrias in consum-  
 macione victualium excessiva; sed contenti de paucis
2. secte in C; *ib.* arenas A. 4. 1<sup>o</sup> A. 6. *sciens deest* B.  
 11. quia B. 15. quoddam A. 16. cognoscat BC; *ib.* filia A. 18. et C.  
 19. utrimque C. 20. Utensibilia A. 24. Tollimus A. 25. scādali<sup>r</sup> A.  
 32. veditio A. 35. q̄ctis = contractis A. 37. non enim B.  
 37, 38. consume A; consumpcione C.

let us imitate  
the Apostle  
who worked,  
with his hands.  
If poverty is  
abandoned,  
all men follow  
Antichrist.

But whoso  
loves Christ  
will strive to  
destroy  
Antichrist  
especially in his  
heresy  
concerning the  
Sacrament.  
He says it is  
an accident:

Christ's  
doctrine is that,  
bread by  
nature, it is  
sacramentally  
His Body.  
Yet few believe  
this, and those  
that do are  
persecuted.

And thus, men  
believing the  
doctrine of  
Antichrist,  
Christ is set  
down as an  
arch-heretic, as  
in the days of  
Caiphas.

et parcis non erant aliquibus onerosi; sed vixerunt,  
quando oportuit, de labore proprio. Unde act. 20 Act.  
dicit apostolus: *Argentum autem et aurum aut vestem* XX,  
*nullius concupivi, sicut ipsi scitis; quoniam ad ea que* 33, 34  
*mihî opus erant, et his qui mecum sunt, ministraverunt* 5  
*manus iste*. Numquid credimus fratres et alios validos  
sequi Paulum in istis? Imo, paupertate Cristi proscripta,  
omnes secuntur vestigia anticristi.

Quod si cristianus diligit dominum Jesum Cristum,  
non solum spernit anticristum et suos complices, sed 10  
nititur ewangelice ipsum destruere et suos fautores,  
quia aliter est indubie hereticus anticristus; cum Cristus  
dicit Luc. 11<sup>o</sup> *Qui non est mecum, contra me est*. Ut Luc.  
anticristus seminat in signis kalendas sue heresis, XI, 23  
dum mandat suis credere quod sacramentum altaris 15  
sit accidens | sine subiecto et non de possibili corpus 72<sup>b</sup>  
Cristi. Cristus autem mandat fidelibus suis credere  
quod dictum sacramentum consecratum a suo presbitero  
sit naturaliter panis, et sacramentaliter corpus Cristi. Et  
tamen pauci sunt, nisi layci, quin declinent a sermone 20  
Jesum et adhereant infideliter anticristo; in tantum  
quod persecuntur vel scandalisant fideles de heresi,  
qui in isto credunt verbis Cristi. Et tamen Joh. 14<sup>o</sup> E.  
dicit Cristus: *Si quis diligit me sermonem meum servabit*; Jo.  
*qui non diligit me, sermones meos non servat*. Cristus XIV,  
autem dicit expresse de pane quem sacerdos consecrat: 23, 24  
*hoc est corpus meum*, ut patet *De apostasia* diffuse. Et  
tamen pauci, eciam de satrapis, credunt isti auditui,  
sed declinant ad scolam contrariam, credentes anticristo,  
quod illud sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto, nec 30  
potest esse corpus Cristi. Et sic extollendo anticristum  
super omne quod dicitur deus, dicunt implicite quod  
Cristus cum dictis suis fuit falsissimus et summe here-  
ticus; sicut sacerdotes, scindendo vestimenta sua in  
signum sanctitatis, inposuerunt Cristo blasphemiam, ut 35  
patet Matth. 26, sic indubie faciunt hodie sacerdotes  
Baal, qui dicunt se esse sic accidencium sacratores;  
persecuntur enim Cristum in suis fidelibus, et partem  
anticristi mendaciter magnificant, dicentes quod Cristus

3. aurû et vestem (sic) C. 4. sed pro sicut C; ib. satis B. 7. in  
in marg. A. 20. qui A. 25. qui — servat deest A. 26. enim B;  
ib. expresse deest C. 31. excellendo A. 37. sic deest C.

non sic intenderat, cum fregit accidens, et non panem. Et sic nituntur hereticare omnes sanctos quos allegavi pro ista sententia; sed non possunt.

They would like to declare the Saints who are of my opinion heretics.

Tres igitur hereses contra trinitatem seminant discipuli anticristi. Dicunt enim primo contra potenciam patris, quod deus non potest facere illum panem, cum non potest esse vel fieri corpus suum. Et sic Berengario sunt in errore profundius, patre suo. Ipse enim, quando fuit in heresi, dixit quod panis post consecrationem est nude sacramentum, et non corpus Christi. Isti autem dicunt quod non est panis, sicut tamen dicit scriptura concorditer, sed accidens sine subiecto et solum sacramentum, ut patet de consecratione d.

There are three heresies in this matter: one denying the omnipotence of the Father, saying that He could not make that bread to be Christ's Body;

11<sup>a</sup>. *Ego Berengarius*. 2<sup>o</sup> hereticant contra sapienciam verbi et dei, dum dicunt quod deus destruit totum panem, per cuius similitudinem cognoscerent fideles misterium sacramenti; et frustra ac impossibiliter induit accidens sine subiecto, quod non potest 2<sup>m</sup> Augustinum esse aliquod sacramentum. Et sic nituntur tollere dei

the second against the wisdom of the Word, implying that the bread is destroyed, and a useless accident remains;

20 sapienciam ac potenciam. Et 3<sup>o</sup> blasphemant contra spiritum sanctum, dicentes quod illud sacramentum non est a fidelibus adorandum, cum sit res tam detestabilis; sed corpus Christi quod est in eo absconditum, licet illud accidens quod sacerdotes Baal consecrant

and the third against the Holy Ghost, saying that the sign, venerable indeed, is not to be adored, but only Christ's Body which is hidden there.

25 sit propter corporis Christi assistenciam venerandum; ac si illuderent Christi fidelibus, dicentes: "non colatis secundum pietatem spiritus hoc sacramentum, cum ex nulla habitudine signat vel sit hoc sacramentaliter

It is as if they said to the faithful: this Sacrament is not to be adored, not standing for Christ's Body; you must

F. corpus Christi; sed dimissa fide que fit ex auditu

30 verborum Christi, sompnietis unum alium modum essendi corporis Christi infundabilem, propter quod debetis tantum honorare, quantum creaturam quam volumus, cum ubique sit tota increata trinitas, que est corpore Christi infinitum perfeccior, et maiorem habitudinem

imagine it there with a mode of being such as the Divine Essence has, present in all creatures; and therefore every creature is more worthy of worship than Christ in the Sacrament.

35 habet ad quamlibet creaturam quam fictum accidens habet ad corpus Christi. Nec agregatum ex corpore Christi et natura divina est melius quam ipsa est eternaliter per se. Ideo remanet in potestate nostra instruere ut, ydolatrando quantum honoratis hoc sacramentum, venere-

4. 3<sup>s</sup> A. 7. esse *deest* A. 7. 8. Berengariani AC. 14. Berengaris C. 15. verbum AB. 17. *mist*um C. 19. deis A. 20. in *pro* contra B. 24. sacerdos A; *ib.* g<sup>m</sup>fect<sup>m</sup> A. 32. que *pro* quantum in marg. A. 37. sit *pro* est *after* ipsa C.

14. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>s</sup> Pars., D. II, c. 42.



And it is in  
our power to  
determine what  
honour must be  
paid to it.  
There are many  
other equally  
false  
conclusions;  
Christ's words  
are not  
believed,

and blasphemy  
spreads every-  
where. How  
can God's grace  
assist them in  
the consecration  
of these  
accidents?

Many 'religious'  
are thus  
heretics; their  
use in the  
Church is as  
accidental as  
the forms which  
they imagine to  
exist in the  
Sacrament.  
They wax  
furious when  
their defects  
are pointed out,  
they call the  
faithful heretics  
for believing  
that the  
Eucharist is a  
holy bread;  
schismatics for  
dealing with  
the claims of  
the Roman  
Curia, so  
contrary to  
Christ; and  
blasphemers  
for preferring  
Christ's order to  
those instituted  
by men.  
But the faithful  
man who does  
God's work  
can bear all  
this and more.

mini sine auctoritate Cristi quamlibet creaturam, fingendo  
quod virtute divinitatis assistentis cuicumque quod fin-  
gitur consecrari, sicut fit sua consecratio accidentis".  
Multa, inquam, sunt infundabiliter eque false ficta.  
Sic igitur, licet solus Cristus audiendus est (ut dicit 5  
Cyprianus 8 dis. ca<sup>o</sup>;) et si solus, tamen plus attenditur  
ad dicta Innocencii 3<sup>ii</sup> vel pape alterius, forte heretici,  
quam dictis Cristi. Et illud est prenosticum quod nomen  
domini late cottidie blasfematur. Cum, inquam, *omne* Jac. I,  
*donum perfectum desursum descendit a patre luminum,* 17  
quomodo non deficit dictis hereticis consecrationibus  
accidencium gracia a veritate descendens? Ideo deus  
permittit yppocritas incidere in tot hereses, cecando  
populum et se ipsos; ut fidelis non dubitat quin dictus  
error de quidditate sacramenti sit nimis hereticus; quia 15  
in sacramento dignissimo falsificat veritatem.

Ideo indubie sunt cuncti heretici, qui hoc pertinaciter  
defendunt. Et in isto casu sunt multi religiosi ex per-  
sonali affectione, ex antiquo odio, et ex negligencia  
scripturarum. Tales, inquam, apostate, ut sunt heretici 20  
circa accidens quo induunt corpus Cristi, sic per  
accidens prosunt ecclesie. Unde propter taccionem  
defectus ordinum apostantes insaniunt, vocantes fideles  
hereticos, scismaticos, et blasfemos hereticos, quia dicunt  
eukaristiam esse panem sanctificatum, ut dicit scriptura 25  
cum sanctis doctoribus: sed non delirant cum istis  
apostatis, vocantes ipsum abiectum accidens quod ignorant.  
Scismaticos vocant eos propter hoc quod tangunt defectum  
romane ecclesie | in qua *multi veniunt in nomine Cristi* 73<sup>a</sup>  
*dicentes, quia ego sum Cristus.* Ymmo, viventes Cristo quan-  
tumcunque contrarie, se ipsos implicant, ut anticristus, Matth.  
quod Cristo domino sunt maiores; et sic multipharie XXIV,  
multos seducunt. Blasfemiam autem inponunt fidelibus, 5  
qui super suum privatum ordinem extollunt ordinem cristi-  
anum. Sed fidelis faciens opus domini patitur hec et plura, 35  
cum Cristus passus est a scribis et phariseis obprobria  
ampliora. Ipsi enim perversi erant pessimi, cum Cristus,  
qui non potuit acceptare personam, ut patet Matth. 23, Matth.  
XXIII,  
13—39

1. turam in marg. suppl. C; ib. veritatis C. 5. sicut pro sic AB;  
si C. 9. quotidie C. 11. consecratoribus C. 16. verissimo C; ib.  
dignitatem vel C. 26. sanctis deest C. 29. ecclesie pro curie BC;  
ib. quam C. 33. se dicunt C. 37. erant deest A. 38. pi pro  
potuit; ib. acceptari AB.

invehit acutissime contra illos. Quare igitur non sic foret fidelis, exemplo Cristi contra religiosos privatos eorum filios?

Unde istos phariseos vocat Cristus falsos prophetas et ypocritas sismaticos Mt. 7<sup>o</sup>; quorum noticiam Jesus omnipotens, omnisciens, et sponsam suam summe diligens, ostendit ex natura triplici propter periculum Matth. precavendos: *Attendite*, inquit, *a falsis prophetis*, etc. VII, Ubi notantur primo discipuli patris mendacii in vita 15, 16 et verbis sibi ipsis contrarii, quia falsi prophete. Veniunt 10 autem ad acciones in vestimentis ovium, quia non colunt, cum Baptista, plangendo heremum, sed *penetrant domos* secundum apostolum. Vestimenta autem sua, in quibus possunt phariseice stare religionem suam et preeminenciam sanctitatis, deferunt ut vexillum mendacii 15 ad populum seducendum, ac si essent supereminenter vestimenta fidelium, ut sic decipiant oves Cristi; sed more yppocrite sunt *intrinsecus lupi rapaces: lupi*, quia ululatum incognitum emittunt in celum de abscondita potestate et oves strangulant, sed non pascunt; et 20 *rapaces*, quia principaliter intendunt rapere substantiam de personis quas visitant, non ut flores virtutum inferant. Hec autem gerunt in animo. Et 3<sup>o</sup>: *a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos*. Est autem triplex fructus hominis secundum triplicem partem ecclesie, ut pars infima 25 vulgi producit terre nascencia; pars media dominorum secularium pacificat potestative populum; et clerus plantat et rigat in ecclesie semina virtutum. Unde licet iste tres partes ecclesie iuvant se mutuo, et omnes debeant fructus meritorios in caritate producere, tamen 30 inordinata eorum comixtio mutuo se confundit.

Notemus quid fructus inferat ecclesie secta fratrum. Nam nec terram incolunt nec plebem potestative defendunt. Ideo potissimus fructus foret quod semen fidei in populo spargerent et partes ecclesie secundum 35 fidem scripture instruerent. Sed acta probant quomodo a tempore quo fratres subintroierunt ecclesiam, isti fructus viancium pulularunt. Exhinc enim secundum prophetiam Cristi crevit fames, quia terre sterilitas bella et commocio, interregna, et, excidente populo ex

They are the sons of those Pharisees whom Christ called false prophets, and gave us a three-fold warning against them.

1. *They come*, they do not live solitary like Baptist, but penetrate into houses.

2. *Clothed as sheep, they are ravening wolves*: their habit is a garb of sanctity; but what they want is to devour the substance of the faithful.

3. They are to be known by their fruits.

The people produces the fruits of the earth; the nobility, peace by their authority; the clergy, fruits of virtue.

The Sects produce neither of the two first; and ever since they were introduced, their fruits have been fruits of evil.

1. qua A. 2. et eorum A. 4. et — Mt. 7<sup>o</sup> *deest* A; *ib.* habet A.  
6. nota C. 7. precavendis B. 10. activos A. 15. mendaci *omnes* MSS.  
19. aves A; *ib.* strangulant A. 26. *ptatie* A; *ptate* C; *ib.* populi C.  
32. peccantem C. 39. a *pro* ex B.

cristianismo, *refrigescet caritas multorum* Nec dubium Matth. XXIV, 12  
quin clerus sit causa huius facinoris. Et supposita propheta Cristi et apostoli cum experta fratrum malicia, videtur quod ipsi sunt huius fructus mali causa precipua.

All their care is to increase their sect, and take away the goods of the poor: how can they give heed to the work of conversion?

Ideo *a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos*. Si enim fructus 5 sensibilis perpendatur, maior sollicitudo eorum est ad augendum sectam suam, ad rapiendum bona pauperum pro suis edificiis et vescibilibus preparandis. Quomodo H. igitur foret mens sic distracta disposita ad convertendum populum, vel conversum apostolice confirmandum? 10 Apostoli enim, quibus interdicte sunt iste sollicitudines, ex magnitudine gracie vix in hoc ministerium suffecerunt.

The landed monks have not so much splendour as they: so they must get their wealth by miracle, by just alms, or by fraud.

Ideo possessionati cum tota diligencia sua et prediis amplis datis eis primitus non sufficiunt attingere ad alimenta et tegumenta totidem tam sumptuosa in 15 vestimentis et domibus, cum aliis expensis superfluis.

Miracles are out of the question; no alms can be justly given in this case; so they get them fraudulently.

Ideo non superest, nisi ut vel miraculose vel munda elemosina vel rapina yppocritica sint quesita. Miraculum autem circa questum peccunie non legimus Cristum in se vel suis apostolis exemplasse. Et quoad 2<sup>m</sup>, patet quod 20 elemosina ex comitiva excessiva, ex superfluis expensis et ex vicioso ocio elemosinatorum inficitur. Nec dubium quin elemosinantes nunquam vere pauperes egenos dimitterent, et debita proximo suo et matri ecclesie subtraherent, nisi per yppocrisim horum validorum 25 mendicantium seducti fuerint, cum omnino elemosina talis inficitur ex parte fratrum, qui nec sic, nec tante raperent; et tunc ex grossa ignorantia elemosinancium. Et sic superest 3<sup>m</sup> membrum, quod rapina dupliciter perversa perquirunt hec temporalia, tanquam wulpes. 30

All their fruits are those of the Pharisees — mere externals, and they all tend to ruin the Church and seduce the people.

Fructus igitur phariseorum istorum foris ostenditur in apparencia signorum que foris sunt. Ideo dico cum Matth. 5. *Nisi habundaverit iusticia vestra plus quam scribarum et phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum celorum*. Fructus itaque istorum, tam ad intra quam 35 ad extra, est circa maioritatem dissensio. scole Cristi dissipacio, simplicis populi wulpina seduccio. Ululant enim confuse et idiotice | infundabiliter quod habent 73<sup>b</sup>

3. cum peracta A; cum ex parte B; cum ex pta C. 8. preparandis *deest* A. 10. onerosum B. 11. introduce A. 12. sufficerunt A. 13. Ymmo B. 15. sumptuosam A. 17. miraculosa B; *ib.* nuda B; mda C. 18. fuit A. 19. non legimus *deest* A. 21. excommunicativa A. 24. mat'ci eccie = matri ecclesie C. 26, 27. elemosinalis A. 27. se pro sic A. 28. et communiter B. 34. et phariseorum *deest* A.

potestatem in celo dandi inauditum spirituale suffragium. Attendite igitur ab istis wulpibus. Et quantum ad 3<sup>m</sup> patet, secundum prophetiam apostoli, quod incidunt phariseice in blasphemiam quam imponunt, utputa, 5 quod sua privata religio sit perfeccior quam comunis religio cristiana; et sic patronus eorum superat dominum Jesum Cristum, sicut vestimenta sua phariseica, in quibus consistit sua religio, magnificant ultra tunicam Cristi, ymmo ultra hostiam consecratam; et sic de mille blasfemiis 10 quas inculcant. Si autem introducti sunt ad corrigendum errores ecclesie, faciant hunc finem, quod fecerunt sue primicie, et dimittant hoc tardatum post emendacionem ecclesie. Sic enim nauta post navigacionem dimittit navem, et homo generaliter deponit instrumenta artificia 15 cialia contentus naturalibus, cum venerit ad quietem. Si igitur fratres volunt non quod ordo suus destruat, sed quod stante ordine latens enormitas corrigatur, quanto magis sic debet esse de ordine cristiano.

Fundatores igitur ordinum vel peccarunt graviter 20 instituendo stulte novos ordines, vel intendebant ritus adinventos ad tempus solum prodesse per accidens, et servato Cristi ordine illeso ut basi, ritus adiectos esse 1. parvipensos, ut exigit ratio. Et sic, dimittendo omnes istos privatos ordines, servatis conversis in purum Cristi 25 ordinem, totum quod est perfeccionis in ordine servaretur. Nam consonancius esset quod ordo privatus cedat Cristi ordini conversus in ipsum tanquam perfeccius, quam e contra. Nec est blasphemum asserere patronos sepe in edificacione sui [ordinis] erravisse vel fuisse dampnatos, 30 cum non crescit numerus articulorum cristiane fidei, ut canonisaciones hominum adquiruntur. Verumtamen, ut sepe dictum est, pars ecclesie debet reputari salva semper preeminencia legis Cristi, nisi quis habuerit ad contrarium revelacionem vel rationem. Qua quia careo, quiesco in 35 reputatione probabili talium citra fidem.

Sed dubitatur quomodo contingit iudicare opera que sunt fructus moraliter bona esse, cum contingit yppocritas facere bona de genere, intencionem rectissimam et sanctissimam pretendendo. Et pari evidencia qua ali- 40 quantulum vel aliquociens, contingit et semper prescitum

They believe their own blasphemies, and put their founders above Christ our Lord, and their habit above Christ's Body.

If, introduced to amend the Church, they have amended it, they do not need these means any longer; let them throw them aside.

Either the Founders of orders sinned grievously in adding these observances to Christ's law, or meant them to endure only for a time.

It is possible that they may be damned; every canonization is not a new article of faith. On the other hand, having no revelation to the contrary, I believe that a part of the Church is always saved.

How are we to judge that an action is morally good, since it can be hypocritically imitated? and if so, what

2. wlpibus C; *ib.* Et patet A. 6. dominum *deest* B. 6, 7. superat Jesum Cristum, dominum nostrum C. 12. primitive A. 15. veniret A. 16. nolunt B. 20. in faciundo A. 28. e *deest* B. 29. ordinis *deest* omnes MSS. 33. penitencia A. 34. q esto A. 39. quam B. 40. prestitum C.

becomes of  
Christ's rule?  
Note 1. that  
there are two  
sorts of  
judgments:  
*probable* and  
*certain*.  
2. that a good  
deed is not  
necessarily a  
deed morally  
good.  
3. that every  
good deed can  
be judged to  
proceed  
certainly from  
a good natural  
cause, and  
probably from  
a cause  
morally good, if  
no sign of evil  
is connected  
with it.  
One act is  
insufficient to  
found a  
judgment.  
We must note  
the frequency  
and importance  
of each act.

We must not  
judge of one  
person as of  
the whole Sect.  
nor put consent  
and deed on an  
equal footing.  
But on these  
principles we  
see how  
corrupt the  
whole clergy  
has become;  
especially the  
Friars who  
simulate  
holiness.  
They are mere  
images,  
whitened  
sepulchres; the  
first Christians  
converted the  
heathen, but  
these would be  
abhorred by  
them: to

usque ad finem sic facere. Cassa igitur foret similitudo  
Cristi, Matth. 7<sup>o</sup> de fructu arboris. Hic dicitur quod  
similitudo est consona, tollens fucum phariseicum, quo  
ex signis inpertinentibus iudicatur bonitas pharisei. Pro  
quo notandum primo, quod aliquod est iudicium topicum 5  
sive probabile, et in illo sunt gradus. Aliud autem iudicium  
est infallibile, sive sensibile sive insensibile. Secundo no-  
tandum quod alia est ratio operis boni de genere, et  
alia ratio operis boni moraliter. Et 3<sup>o</sup> dicitur quod  
infallibiliter iudicatur omne opus bonum de genere pro- 10  
cedere a bono nature; nec procedit a malo culpe, licet  
deus necessitat personam maxime ad illud bonum de  
genere suo. Sed iudicium est topicum quod opus est  
bonum virtutis, si nec ante nec post ebullit signum malum  
de genere. Ideo, sicut una irundo non facit ver, sic nec 15  
quodlibet opus unum de genere indicat virtutem. Sed  
expecta finem; nota frequentiam, et preponderanciam  
attende (ut quod fratres crebro colligunt pecuniam de  
auditorio, est signum dampnabile symonie); nec video  
quin malus habitus prorumpit quandoque in maculam 20  
operacionis sensibilem secundum legem veneni, et non  
apparente macula non dampnemus.

Sed de notoria macula fratrum multiplici clamat  
mundus. Aliud autem est iudicare de tota secta, et aliud  
de ista simplici persona, et aliud de opere vel consensu. 25  
Unde indubie cognoscitur quod ad totam sectam cleri  
ex sua conversacione varie fructificante a plantacione  
primeva, ex cristianismi diminucione et ex paganismi  
augmentacione, quod clerus claudicat, et specialiter  
fratres yppocrite, qui tante desides simulant superemi- 30  
nenciam sanctitatis. Nam cuius spiritus vivificacio causaret  
prosperitatem ecclesie, illius spiritus mortificacio inducit  
deterioracionem ecclesie. Sed pharisei sunt hodie nude  
ymagines polite, mortuorum sepulcra, solum respicientes  
mundiciam que foris est, ut dominus prophetavit. Quo- 35  
modo, queso, una secta cristianismi stante in suo robore,  
ut steterunt apostoli, non delectarentur pagani, ut  
tunc, suscipere legem Cristi? Sed videntes maiorem  
paganismum esse inter nominetenus catholicos horrent

6. et — gradus *deest* A. 8. de *deest* A. 8—10. genere — genere  
*deest* C. 10. omne *deest* A. 12. nunciet C: *ib.* maximam *omnes* MSS.  
13. fuci C. 14. fi' C. 18. vel equivalens *after* pecuniam C. 37. fe-  
cerunt B; *ib.* delectarent A. 38. suscitare A. 39. qui est A.



nimirum nostros, et specialiter clericos, quam suos.

74<sup>a</sup> Oportet enim, quod trahens sit virtuosius quam attractum.

I. Luc. Villicus igitur, de quo Luce 16., exoneraret tam secu-

XVI, lares oneratos tam fructu frumenti et vini, quam etiam

1—9 clerum oleo devocionis propter clericatum et temporalia

oneratum: tunc enim, quando post mortem deficit tempus

congregandi meritorum fructus in horrea, dicet villicus

*fodere pro nunc non valeo*, et deficiente ratione dignitatis

meriti *mendicare* suffragium a viventibus *erubesco*. Et sic

10 de equa distribucione, et specialiter de prudenti subtrac-

cione mamone iniquitatis, prudenciores seculares domini

in eterna thabernacula sunt recepti.

Uterius, quantum ad exaltacionem romane curie,

patet quod subdole substernitur per tales apostotas. Sub-

15 sternitur, inquam, per adinventiones hereticas legi Cristi

contrarias, ad quas sive fratres consulunt, sive fabricant

vel defendunt, agunt destruccionem illius ecclesie, cum

in puritate legis Cristi oportet ecclesiam quamcunque

stare. Ideo nulli magis iniuriuntur illi ecclesie quam

20 adulantes ypocritice, qui abscondunt ab ea errores in

lege domini et tradiciones anticristi foveat sibi et paliant.

Illi, inquam, sunt inimici domestici, medici fraudulenti,

et suffocantes proditorii, quod per vocem et aerem que

debent esse instrumenta comunicacionis caritative ho-

25 minum, strangulant superiores, non tactu manus, sed oleo

adulacionis. Et ideo Cristus, cum illos *quos amat arguit*

III, 19 *et castigat*, destinavit sibi prophetas in lege veteri et

ewangelistas in nova, qui duplicitate subducta nuncient

populo suo scelera eorum. In istam igitur apostasiam

30 possibile est fratres incidere qui sint proditores adula-

I. torii curie Romane. 2<sup>o</sup> contingit ipsos promovere ad

practicam legis inique, utputa impetrando indulgencias,

dispensaciones et alia privilegia blasfemiam sapiencia et

*avariciam, que est servitus ydolorum*. Practicam autem

35 istam lucrativam novit mundus fratres ex suggestionibus

mendacibus exercere; nec dubium quin illo supposito

fratres illi forent plus capitibus increpandi; quia pro-

ditorie excitantes, mendaciter procurantes et fallaciter

40 condiciones; sicut cinifes nocuerunt egipciis plus quam

rane. 3<sup>o</sup> vero contingit fratres post professionem fieri papas,

attract, there must be an excess of power in that which attracts.

Comparison of the temporal lord with the steward of the Gospel: both the laity burdened with wheat and wine, and the clergy, laden with the oil of devotion, ought to be disburdened by him.

The Friars exalt the Roman Curia with craft and by flattery. They are all the more to blame, since they are thereby the ruin of that Church.

They should correct its defects instead of flattering it.

They urge upon it the promulgation of unjust laws, indulgences, dispensations, &c., as is well known.

Many of them become Popes or Cardinals themselves,

6. deficit BC. 7. horea A. 8. fodere A. 9. mendj C.  
18. quantumcunque omnes MSS. 23. quia A. 32. leges AB. 38. etiam  
ero et B.

sharers in the worldly glory that surrounds it, and ready to excuse it in all things.

But they can only exalt the Roman See by obeying its laws.

Some of these deal with the behaviour of the regular clergy, some with ways of getting money, and some with the duties of a virtuous life.

They are certainly opposed to the first; as to the second, they are divided; and they keep silence as regards the third class.

Richard Fitz-Ralph points this out. He says: 1. The rule of St. Francis orders his

cardinales et avaricia turpissima illius curie irretitos, ex quorum exemplo cum suis complicitibus capitur audacia et excusacio in peccatis. Cum talibus itaque insigniis exaltant curiam, sicut diabolus, excitando ad mundi prospera, procurat eis mundi gloriam; non sic Cristus vel sui apostoli cum 5 matri filiorum Zebedei promisit in filiis passionis calicem.

Ulterius, cum idem sit exaltare dictam curiam et eius leges proprias servare, videndum est quomodo fratres se habent ad observanciam harum legum. Pro quo notandum quod earum diversitas est trimembris: ut alique tangunt 10 conversacionem fratrum et possessionatorum, alique autem tangunt cleri questum; sed alique religiose tangunt ritum honestum. Exemplum prime est illud 6<sup>ti</sup> decretalis. "Exiit qui seminat" et illud in clementinis. "Exivi de paradiso." Exemplum 2<sup>i</sup> est illud 5<sup>ti</sup> decretal. "Omnis utriusque 15 sexus." Et illud 6<sup>o</sup> de rescriptis. "Si duobus." Exemplum 3<sup>ii</sup> est illud de immunitate ecclesie, ca<sup>o</sup> "Decet" in 6<sup>o</sup>. Quantum ad primam maneriem, fratres manifeste repugnant; quantum ad 2<sup>am</sup> differenter audiunt; et quantum ad 3<sup>am</sup> neutraliter obmutescunt. Quo ad primum scribitur 20 6<sup>o</sup> decretalium "Exiit, qui seminat", quomodo religio fratrum et specialiter minorum consistit in observancia altissime paupertatis, et ab illa non licet cadere, sicut nulli licet a perfeccione incepta diminuendo recedere. Et istud intelligo de cunctis ordinibus. Omnes enim 25 debent ad perfeccionem fratrum minorum secundum suam possibilitatem aspirare, licet in ritibus varietur; oppositum tamen docet ocularis experientia.

Et declarat sanctus Ricardus episcopus Ardmacanus, in quodam sermone qui sic incipit: "Nemo vos seducat 30 inanibus verbis". Francisci inquit: "regula precipit fratribus ad hoc ydoneis laborare, et ipsos, vacante laboricio, statuit mendicare. Ex quo videtur quod mendicacio nulli

1. cinere A. 5. mundi gloriam *deest* A. 13. est *deest* A.  
14. clementis A; *ib.* exivit *omnes MSS.* 15. 5<sup>ti</sup> illud *deest* B; *ib.* decreta<sup>m</sup> A.  
25. intelligendo A. 31. ardinocag A. 32. vocacio A.

13. Sexti Decr., l. V, tit. 12, c. 3. 14. Decr. Clem., l. V, tit. 11, c. 1. 16. Decr. Greg., l. II, tit. 28, c. 7. 18. Sexti Decr., l. III, tit. 23, c. 2. 31. *Francisci*. Eight points are given here in which the Franciscans are said to depart from the rule of their Founder, according to Fitz-Ralph (See *De Apostasia*, p. 36, note) but I am not quite sure where the quotation ends. It may extend to the end of the chapter, with remarks from Wyclif interpolated here and there; we need not even suppose any such remarks to exist. Fitz-Ralph was a very determined opponent of the Mendicant Friars.

pertinet, nisi quando inculpabilis necessitas ad hoc cogit. Quomodo igitur excusantur mendicantes et ociantes validi, qui ultra necessitatem importune se ingerunt ad magis

M. egenos sophistice spoliandum?"

74<sup>b</sup> 5 2<sup>o</sup> regula | Francisci precipit quod verba regule non  
glosentur; et cum fratres laborant ut verborum sensus  
omnino tollantur, specialiter de litteris a sede apostolica  
non petendis: non dubium quin ista regula vel sit irra-  
cionabilis quoad hunc ordinem, vel eque alios ordines  
10 racionabiliter obligaret. Et tamen falsarii scripture sacre  
cum fratribus dampnant ut hereticam deteccionem sensus  
doctorum qui videntur contradicere. Ut Jeronimus vere  
dicit quod fidelis non manducat secundum se vere corpus  
Cristi in sacramento altaris. Et Hylarius cum Hugone  
15 dicit quod corpus Cristi est substancialiter, corporaliter  
et carnaliter ibidem, et per consequens taliter mandu-  
catur. Glossa concordans doctores stat in isto quod corpus  
Cristi potest 2<sup>r</sup> intelligi corporaliter esse alicubi: vel  
modo corporis, vel in quantum corpus. Et isto 2<sup>o</sup> modo  
20 proprie loquitur Jeronimus. Unde argumentum topicum  
est quod si quicquam damnatum sit ab istis maniciis sibi  
ipsis contrariis, tunc *a probabili* est evidencius catholicum.

3<sup>o</sup>, regula Francisci precipit quod fratres non predicent  
in episcopatu alicuius episcopi, cum ab eo illis fuerit  
25 contradictum. Et indubie eadem est ratio regule, sup-  
posita eius racionabilitate, de quolibet alio fratre. Et  
tamen e contra dicitur quod tam ipsi quam alii per  
falsas machinationes nituntur ut predicent invitis epi-  
scopis et curatis. Et tamen Franciscus dicit in suo tes-  
30 tamento: "Dominus dat michi tantam fidem, ut sacerdotibus  
qui vivunt secundum formam romane ecclesie, propter  
eorum ordinem, si faciunt michi persecucionem, volo  
recurrere ad eos. Et si haberem tantam sapienciam,  
quantam Salomon habuit, et invenirem pauperculos sa-  
35 cerdotes huius seculi qui in parochiis morantur, nolo  
predicare contra voluntatem eorum, sed ipsos omnes volo  
honorare ut dominos meos; et nolo in ipsis considerare

followers to  
beg only when  
they have no  
work to do, or  
can do none:  
there is no  
excuse for such  
begging as  
theirs.

2. St. Francis  
forbids that his  
rule should be  
glossed; which  
is either  
unreasonable,  
or should be  
observed in  
every order.

Yet they do  
everything to  
elude a literal  
interpretation  
of the rule;  
while they  
condemn as  
heretical every  
explanation  
brought  
forward to  
reconcile the  
Fathers.

For instance  
when Jerome,  
Hilarius and  
Hugo seem to  
disagree as to  
the Sacrament.  
Whatever they  
condemn is  
likely to be the  
truth.

3. St. Francis  
forbids them to  
preach in any  
diocese without  
the Bishop's  
permission.  
Yet they are  
said to intrigue  
in order to  
preach against  
the Bishop's  
or the curate's  
will.

This is the  
very reverse of  
humble  
St. Francis'  
spirit, as  
shown in his  
testament.

2. excusatur mendicitas A; excusantur mendicantes C. 6. glosēt<sup>2</sup> A.  
7. libris A; lris C. 8. nec dubium AC. 12. contradictorie contra-  
dicere A. 13. dicit deest A; ib. se in marg. C; ib. vere deest BC.  
14. Hugonis A. 16. totaliter A. 17. glō A; ib. hoc C. 18, 19. vel  
modo corporis vel modo corporis in quantum corpus BC. 19. vel  
deest A; ib. inquam A. 21. damnatum deest A; dampnatum C; ib.  
inanimatis B; maiciß C. 25. eadem deest A. 30. det A. 32. ullo A.  
34. pauperculos deest C.

According to the canons, the order of ecclesiastical dignity stands thus: Bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, door-keepers, abbots and monks. The regular clergy are below the secular in honour; they have no power in the Church; they may not sit down in the presence of a Priest, who has the right to deliver them to Satan. That the same person should be a monk and a priest is often to the detriment of the priesthood; yet many, setting aside the duties of monastic life, have done good duty as priests.

peccatum. quia in ipsis filium dei discerno, et domini mei sunt". Idem autem iudicium est de fratribus quibuscunque. Et patet quod ordo cuiuscunque presbiteri est ordine monachi vel fratris superior. De ordine vero monastico patet (q. 3 dist. 'A subdiacono'); 'pontifici 5 presbiter, presbitero diaconus, diacono subdiaconus, subdiacono acolitus, acolito exorcista, exorciste lector, lectori hostiarius, hostiario abbas, abbati monachus in omni loco representat obsequium, sive in publico sive in gremio ecclesie'. Et patet ex hoc, quod (16 q. 1<sup>a</sup> ca<sup>o</sup> 'Generaliter') 10 monachi sunt laici. Et idem patet 16 q. 1<sup>a</sup> ca<sup>o</sup>. 'Alia causa' ubi sic dicitur: Alia causa monachi, alia clerici. Clerici oves pascunt, ego pascor; illi de altari vivunt; michi securis quasi ad radicem arboris infructuose ponitur, si munus ad altare non defero. Michi ante presbiterum 15 sedere non licet. Illi, si peccavero, licet me tradere sathane in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit in die domini. Et N. idem patet de inferioritate monachorum ad clericos in capitulo 'Legi' ex dictis Augustini et capitulo 'Ecclesiam habet'. Quod si contingit eandem personam esse mo- 20 nachum atque presbiterum, sepe monstrosa res est et statum presbiteratus inficiens. Unde eadem q. ca<sup>o</sup>. 'Nemo potest ecclesiasticis obsequiis deservire, et in monastica regula ordinate persistere: ut in ipso destructio monasterii teneat qui cottidie in ecclesiastico ministerio cogitur per- 25 manere'. Verumtamen infra, eadem q. 5<sup>a</sup> ubi supra, patet quod tam monachus quam clericus potest ut sic habere diversa officia. Ideo multi sunt monachi qui laxaverunt officium monachale et multum profecerunt in sacerdotali officio.

30

5. 9<sup>3</sup> B. 6. decanus decano A. 6, 7. "p<sup>l</sup>bit'o diacono sub diacon9, subdiacono acolitus C; *ib.* subdiacono *deest* A. 7. acolitus *deest* B. 9. ut obsequium A. 12. dicitur *deest* AB. 13. alterum clericus *deest* C. 14. arboris posita est, infructuose arboris ponitur A. 15. aut *pro* ante A; *at* = aut C. 16. cedere AC. 24. Destructio *deest* A; Destructio BC. 26. 5<sup>a</sup> *deest* B; *ib.* ubi *deest* AB. 27. superiori omnes MSS. 27. sancti BC. 28. qui *deest* BC.

5. Decr. Grat. 1<sup>o</sup> P., D. XCIII, c. 5. 10. Decr. Grat. 2<sup>a</sup> P., C<sup>a</sup> XVI, qu. 1, c. 40. 11. Decr. Grat. 2<sup>a</sup> P., C<sup>a</sup> XVI, qu. 1, c. 6. 16. Decr. Grat. 2<sup>a</sup> P., C<sup>a</sup> XVI, qu. 1, c. 6. 25. Decr. Grat. 2<sup>a</sup> P., C<sup>a</sup> XVI, qu. 1, c. 2. The Canon runs thus: *Nemo potest ecclesiasticis obsequiis deservire, et in monachica regula ordinate persistere, ut ipse monasterii distractionem teneat, qui cottidie in ministerio ecclesiastico cogitur permanere.*

- 4<sup>o</sup> regula beati Francisci precipit ne fratres recipiant per se vel per alios denarios vel peccuniam ullo modo: et vix transit frater, ut dicitur, per villam aut patriam, quin ducat secum unum *Scarioth* pro denariis colligendis.
- 5 Idem autem morale in isto ritu debet a cunctis fratribus observari, cum sit manifesta symonia repugnans ewangelio Matth. X, quod propter predicacionem colligant pecuniam vel aliud temporale. Licet autem occasione predicacionis vite necessaria possent ipsis adici; tamen
- 10 quod principaliter aut preponderanter predicent ewangelium propter ista, manifeste obviat legi Cristi.
- 5<sup>o</sup> regula Francisci precipit quod nullus fratrum audeat populo predicare, nisi a ministro generali fuerit examinatus et eciam approbatus, et ab eo predicacionis
- 15 officium sibi concessum. Et fratres, ut non examinentur a ministro, privilegium, ut dicitur, procurarunt. Et, quod peius est, non qui ad edificacionem ecclesie utilior, sed
- 7<sup>a</sup> qui ad colligendum terrena calidior, aptabitur isti officio; in tantum quod dicitur quemcunque fratrem, non qui
- 20 plus edificaverit, sed qui pro contratis plus offere voluerit de peccunia secte sue, quantumcunque | bono et sciollo prefertur. In tantum quod emunt et vendunt diabolo vitas simplicium, ac si ovem vel bovem pro pecunia mercarentur. Sic quod de illis verificatur prophetia
- 2 Pet. apostoli Pe. 2<sup>o</sup> *In avaricia fictis verbis de vobis negociabuntur*. Unde quidam vocant tales sophistas et mercatores
- O. diaboli. Scola quidem sua graduat inferiores yppocritas, ut sophistas, callidiores prelatos, ut baccalaureos et doctores in sua heresi; ut magistros suorum omnium magisterium architectonicum vendicet anticristus.
- 30 6<sup>o</sup> regula sancti Francisci precipit quod fratres non ingrediantur monasteria monacharum, non claustra, non domos, nec officinas interiores: cum maior sit ratio ut talis non maneat solus cum sola. eciam gracia confitendi,
- 35 quam est generalis ratio prohibitionis de cohabitatione clerici et mulieris; que licet prohibetur in lege papali, tamen fratres multipliciter practisant oppositum, cum ex privilegiis inpetratis multis dolosis comitivis comunicant.
- 2 Tim. III, 6 Sic quod de illis verificatur propheta apostoli 2<sup>a</sup> Thymo.,
- 3<sup>o</sup> quod *penetrant domos et captivas ducunt mulierculas; cum non solum tractant cum mulieribus in conclavi, quia*

4. St. Francis forbids them to receive money: yet his followers have a man with them to collect money wherever they go! This is evidently an abuse.

5. According to the rule, they cannot preach without first being examined by the Minister general and duly appointed: now, it seems, they have obtained a dispensation from the Minister. Nay, worse, they send out to preach, not the best Friar, but him that offers to bring back the most money. They form a school of heresy of which Antichrist is the head.

6. St. Francis forbids them to enter convents, cloisters or houses: it being more improper for a Friar than for a secular priest to be alone with a woman; which is not allowed, even for the purpose of confession. Yet the Friars do not obey

13. populo *deest* C. 19. quomodocunque A. 22. preferetur BC.  
28. et *pro* ut B. 33. officias A; *ib.* quod *pro* ut A. 35. comuni *pro* quam A.



this rule, but enter houses by means of permissions obtained, and *take women captive*; which ought to be understood in the sense that they tempt weak-minded persons, and get authority over them to lead them astray.

7. St Francis commands that holy poverty should be observed in everything; the Friars do just the reverse. For this there is no excuse; instead of preaching poverty by their example, they move men to delight in their worldly splendour. Thus they rob the poor in detail of large sums; which differs from plundering an individual only in so far as it is worse. If they love the Gospel doctrine of sharing with the poor, let them give to those that need: St. Martin wanted his cloak more than they their possessions.

in locis abditis non vocati se ingerunt, sed, ut fertur, mulierculas ducunt per patrias in forma fratrum. Et quod plus credo esse de sensu apostoli, captivant sensus debiliū. Constat quidem ex sensu quem Augustinus imponit scripture Gen. de temptatione viri et femine per 5 serpentem, quod conformis est forma temptationis cuiuscunque persone peccantis, cum excitans extrinsecus sit quasi diabolus; sensualitas vero, ut femina; et ratio, ut vir. Fratres autem gerentes vicem diaboli temptant infirmos in fide, ut feminas, et freno infidelitatis ducunt 10 captivas per devium.

7<sup>o</sup> regula Francisci precipit quod in actibus fratrum semper paupertas sancta reluceat; et fratres laborant ut in eorum ecclesiis, claustris, domibus, ornamentis et libris, magnitudo et decor et diviciarum effectus resplendeat. 15 Paliacio autem huius facti alibi destruitur. Ideo non restat causa eius, nisi forte quia fratres tenentur ad observanciam religionis Christi predicare in verbis et opere populo paupertatem; sed visitantes loca fratrum tanquam spectacula moventur multipliciter delectari in mundi gloria et 20 irreligiose ad similia aspirare. Et in tantum vulgares ad edificandum tales libros diaboli spoliuntur; et, sicut etici sunt ex cautela diaboli insensibiliter inaniti. Nil enim refert colligere tales minucias de plebe paupere et totum simul de una persona simplici spoliare, nisi quod fraus 25 yppocrisis est undique maior, persona plebis iniuriata est egencior, et fraus subtraccionis iuvaminis ad servandam religionem ecclesie est venenosior. Totum igitur 30 corporale dampnum istius rapine sacrilege redundat sensibilius in pauperes populares. Sed si fratres tantum appreciantur imparticionem ewangelicam elemosine, debent supersedere a talibus sumptuosis et irreligiosis apparatus, distribuendo bona pauperum que fraudulenter spoliaverunt pauperibus, cecis, claudis et debilibus, satisfaciendo pro iniuste ablatis et cavendo de iniuriis perpetrandis. Non 35 enim tantum egent fratres sumptibus istis superfluis, sicut indiguit Martinus, miles gloriosus religiosus, clamide qua in aura gelida sub forma pauperis induit salvatorem.

1. esse *deest* C. 3. consensu B. 12. Septima C. 13. laborent C.  
31. iterum vulgares C. 21. ethnici A; ethici C. 23. insensibiliter  
*deest* A; *ib.* vel; *in marg.* nichil C. 27. invaminibus A. 30. se-  
culares ac *ac after* pauperes C. 37. Martinus *deest* B; *ib.* gloriosus  
*deest* BC; *ib.* quam A.

16. *Alibi*. If this is not a quotation, Wyclif alludes to some words in the preceding chapter; also to *De Apostasia*, p. 32.

8<sup>o</sup> regula beati Francisci declarata in Clementinis, ca<sup>o</sup> 8. The Rule incorporated in Canon Law forbids Franciscans to wear a habit of stuff considered costly where they live, to interfere in secular affairs, to build churches of excessive size, or to possess any object of price. Let the world judge how they keep these rules. They obey Papal laws only when they are exalted thereby: those which bind them down to their duties are made of no account. In England stuffs of white or russet hue are prized even by the king: yet they wear them, and pay dear enough: their religion does not show itself in scantiness of garment. The cheapness makes chiefly for poverty, and this, like Pharisees, they neglect. As for poverty in their churches &c. they take good care to avoid it. It is probable that their churches and churchyards lie

‘Exiit de paradiso’, a parte continet preceptorie quod fratres minores non utantur nisi vilibus pannis, scilicet, et que iuxta consuetudinem patrie viles debeant reputari; 5 non misceant se executionibus testamentorum et dispensacionibus bonorum; quod non faciant aut fieri sustineant ecclesias vel alia quecunque edificia que, considerato fratrum inhabitantium numero, excessiva in multitudine et magnitudine debeant reputari, sed temperatis et 10 humilibus edificiis sint contenti; nec habere debent apparamenta vel preciosa vasa non conveniencia statui paupertatis. Et eadem indubie est causa vel ratio de quibuscunque fratribus. Sed iudicet mundus si faciunt contrarie isti legi. Et patet quomodo leges papales fratres 15 magnificant et extollunt, ut ewangelium et ultra, dum fastum vel questum illis sapiunt; sed leges alias que ad religionem suam astringunt vel sensum scripture sentenciant, parvipendunt. Judicet, rogo, ecclesia quomodo observant hanc legem, quam papa precipit: ‘Exiit de 20 paradiso.’ Nam quantum ad primum preceptum videtur quod fratres non utuntur pannis qui iuxta consuetudinem patrie viles debeant reputari; cum in Anglia panni albi 75<sup>b</sup> nigri et russeti sunt apud regem et dominos plurimum preciiati. Et quantum ad valorem, dicitur quod fratres 25 emunt huiusmodi pannos satis caros. Et quantum ad formam amplitudinis indumenti, patet quod non reluct nimis magna religiositas in vestium paritate. Sed utinam plus appreciarentur colorem quam valorem qui religiosus foret amplius ponderandus! Sed quis tunc gereret vicem 30 pharisorum, qui colant culicem et degluciant camelum Q. ut dicitur Matth. 23. Quantum ad secundum preceptum Matth. pape, quod non intromittant se de distribucionibus bonorum mortui testatoris, dicitur quod faciunt et procurant 34 illicitis viis oppositum. Quantum ad 3<sup>m</sup> preceptum 35 pape, quod non excedant in edificiis vel ornamentis limites altissime paupertatis, mundus clamat quod studiose faciunt oppositum. Et sic de lege pape libro 6<sup>o</sup> de sepulturis, ca<sup>o</sup>, “Animarum periculis”; ubi suo stricto modo pena

1. Octava C. 2. Exiit C. 5. testarum A. 8. excessivam A; excessum BC. 15. vel *pro* et *before* ultra C. 16. illis *deest* C. 18. et parvipendunt A. 23. russeti A. 25. pannos *deest* B. 26. similitudinis B; *ib.* non *omnes* MSS. 38. certo BC.

26. *Amplitudinis*. See Engl. Works of W. p. 306. 33. Sexti Decr. l. III, tit. 12, c. 1. 38. Sexti. Decr. III. tit. 52. c. 1.

under the  
interdict uttered  
against Friars  
who induce  
men to have  
their tombs  
placed there.

It is therefore  
certain that no  
one should  
choose to be  
buried amongst  
them.

Every Church  
law that favours  
their interest  
and ambition is  
respected by  
them, while  
the others are  
set aside.

interdicti tam ecclesie quam cimiterii, infligitur quibus-  
cunque religiosi qui inducunt aliquos ad fovendum,  
iurandum, seu fide interposita vel alias promittendum,  
ut apud eorum ecclesias eligunt sepulturam vel iam elec- 5  
tam ulterius non immutent. Et tamen probabiliter creditur  
ab expertis quod fratres multipliciter inducunt aliorum  
parochianos ut apud eorum loco eligant sepulturas; vel  
oportet negare decretalem pape, vel quod loca eorum  
subiaceant ecclesiastico interdicto. Et per consequens ex  
lege papali de sententia excommunicationis in 6<sup>o</sup>, incur- 10  
rerent irregularitatem et excommunicationem in ibi ce-  
lebrando. Nec vertitur fideli in dubium quin nemo, nisi  
seductus mendaciis, eligeret sepeliri in talibus locis talium  
personarum. Sic igitur illas leges hominum, de quanto  
lucrum vel fastum sapiunt, supra legem Cristi magnificant 15  
in effectum; ut patet de illa lege 5<sup>o</sup> decretalium "Omnis  
utriusque sexus", de quanto inducit eis confitendos, qui  
ipsis lucrificiant. Et vel procurant decretales aut earum  
interpretaciones vel glossas fieri; ut videtur de illa lege  
in Clementinis de sepulturis dudum; sic de legibus sa- 20  
pientibus fidem de corpore Cristi et aliis fidei articulis,  
de quanto cedunt ad laudem sui nominis, licet non  
fundentur in rationibus vel scriptura. Alia autem decreta  
sanctorum, ex quibus instrueretur ad magnam eius edi-  
ficacionem ecclesia, parvipendunt. 25

10. dicto *pro lege* C; *ib.* excommunicat ut incurperent C; *ib.* *before*  
in a gap A. 21. *decorem* A. 25. *ecclesiam* B; *eciam* C.

## CAPITULUM SEXTUMDECIMUM.

A. Quantum ad simulacionem fratrum et quorumcunque possessionatorem privati ordinis religioni simplici cristiane, videtur tam prelatos quam ipsos religiosos debere laborare ad istam similitudinem acquirendam. Possibilitas vero eius patet de pape potestate, tacta 1<sup>o</sup> ca<sup>o</sup>. Ideo non dubium [quod] quicumque negaverit papam hoc posse facere, debet consequenter negare leges et ordinationes ecclesie ut blasfemas. Si enim papa habet potestatem statuendi et confirmandi istos ordines, habet potestatem ex emergenti causa rationabili iterum dissolvendi. Sed primum concederet tam papa quam fratres. Ideo secundum oportet eos concedere consequenter. Sic enim cassavit papa de facto multos ordines; nec est ratio quare non istos posset dissolvere.

Item, omnis ordinacio ecclesie edificatoria, que non est deo propria, subiacet potestati pape; sed talis ordinacio foret ad edificacionem ecclesie, et deus potest communicare illam homini: ergo pape. Non enim est lex adinventata a fratribus forci<sup>or</sup> quam ordinacio in qua Cristus instituit suam ecclesiam; sed illam cassavit papa, ut patet de dotacione ecclesie. Unde glosa ordinaria decretorum 25 q. 1<sup>a</sup>: "Sunt quidam", dicit "quod papa nedum dispensat contra apostolum, sed eciam contra deum"; igitur papa potest evidencius in hoc minus.

Item, papa dispensat cottidie cum doctoribus et pocioribus de ordine fratrum, ut sint secreti capellani sui, et sic exonerentur ab omni tradicionem privata preter habitum corporalem. Cum igitur hoc sit maxime alienum ab ordine, nec potencia pape terminatur ad maximum

Friars, Bishops, and the Pope himself ought to labour to restore Christ's pure religion: and the latter has the power do it, unless Church laws are all blasphemies. What he can make, that he can unmake; and in fact, popes have dissolved many orders: why not these?

Again, all Church ordinances that are not God's peculiar right, depend on the power of the Pope: such would be this ordinance. Since the Pope abolished Christ's primitive institution, he can restore it again.

Again, the Pope grants dispenses to some Friars not to follow their observance: he can therefore do so for all,

1. Cap. 16 in red ink. 2. Initial Q in red ink; ib. quorumcunque C.  
7. quod deest omnes MSS. 11. rō<sup>11</sup> = rationali A; rō<sup>v</sup>. (sic) C.  
13, 14. cessavit AB. 27. secreta B. 29. fit A.

23. Decr. Grat. 2<sup>a</sup> P., C<sup>a</sup> XXV, qu. 1, c. 6.

there being no limit as to their number. He might give dispensations to some, all the others dying suddenly, and the former might take another habit: the order would exist no longer.

There would be no apostasy in this case: a Papal dispensation would set all things right. That their possessions would return to the Pope at their death is a venal objection, unworthy of religious men.

This being possible, it is clear that the new Order, 1. as more like primitive Christianity,

2. as giving more freedom to each member,

and 3. as being the object of a dispensation, and necessarily for the better, would be preferable to the old ones.

To bring about this change is a duty: 1. on the part of the Pope. His chief function is to edify the Church, and this great edification would be so

numerum partis ordinum, non ad totum, videtur quod cum toto dispensare potest conformiter. Nam possibile foret, papa dispensante cum viginti de uno ordine, totum residuum morte vel alio casu deficere. Ymmo, possibile foret ipsos fratres consimilis libertatis induere, et sic 5 ordinem novum excrescere; plus enim extraneant, salvato nomine eiusdem ordinis, quam facerent fratres taliter procreati. Nec valet dicere quod omnes tales forent apostatæ; quia fratres religiose communicant cum talibus exemptis in habitacionibus et in mensis. Cum igitur sepe 10 multipliciter occidunt alios, ut dicitur, pro levi apostasia, sequitur ex facto quod non reputant | tales apostotas, 76<sup>a</sup> Licet igitur illis cum dispensacione pape obedienciam talem dimittere, nec sapit tantam religionem, quod ipsis mortuis papa habeat omnia bona sua, quin deleta illa 15 symoniaca venalitate ordo fratrum factus noviter servet totum residuum libertatis. Non enim habet tantam vim condicio illa symoniaca, quin, illa deleta,\* posset stare residua religio depravata.

Supposita igitur possibilitate talis ordinis ex dispen- 20 B. sacione pape, et cassata obligacione ad detestacionem illam symonaciam et induicionem habitus corporalis, patet quod talis religio foret perfeccior. Primo quia foret similior religioni simplici cristiane. Et illa, ex sepe dictis, est perfeccior quacunque religione privata. 2<sup>o</sup>, quia talis 25 religiosus foret ad perficiendum mandata Cristi et consilia liberior, cum in privatis ordinibus habet multa inpedimenta, que ab execucione istorum culpabiliter difficultant. Et 3<sup>o</sup>, quia, ut oportet fratres confiteri ut fidem, illa dispensacio pape, est licita; sed non foret dispensacio, 30 sed religionis Cristi dissipacio, nisi foret ad melius. Ideo oportet ipsos concedere quod melius esset eis pro salute anime sic privilegiari, quam in priori ordine residere. Istis suppositis, probatur via triplici quod debent redire ad religionem simplicem cristianam. Et primo ex 35 parte pape. Ipse enim debet precipue sollicitari circa edificacionem ecclesie, conformiter legi Cristi, cum hoc sit capitale eius officium, ad quod strictissime obligatur; sed foret ad maiorem edificacionem ecclesie quod omnes

11. proximo de *pro* pro levi apostata A. 14, 15. ipsis mortuus A; episcopis B. 15. qu = quando. 19. depravata AB. 23. quod *deest* AC; *ib.* perfeccior — foret *deest* C. 25. quid C. 26. et consilia *deest* C. 29. quod illa A. 31. quia A.



cristiani militarent secundum unam religionem simplicem cristianam; igitur, cum hoc foret pape tam facile, videtur quod sub pena omissionis dampnabilis hoc debet facere. Quam, rogo, rationem deo redderet ex tanta accidia?

easy for him, that his not achieving it would be inexcusable.

5 2<sup>o</sup> videtur ex parte fratrum quod procurarent illud sollicitè. Nam, secundum Jeronimum, non mediocriter peccat qui postposito magis bono eligit minus bonum. Sed fratres debent scire quod talis exempcio foret eis utilior; igitur ad hoc debent precipue laborare. Confir-  
10 matur ex hoc quod nedum est licitum, sed in casu debitum, relinquere religionem antiquam, et religionem fratrum propter suam perfeccionem intrare. Evidencius igitur debent fratres tradiciones suas imperfectas deserere et quietari in perfeccione simplici cristiana. Si enim papa  
15 generaliter de possibili sic dispensaret, tunc foret utilius, ut fatentur: sed prius, antequam papa dispensat, est ratio apud deum. Ergo, licet papa non dispenset, remanet eque bonum. Et ista negligencia videtur fratres tenere continue, dum pausant in tali privato proposito. Nec  
20 foret declinacio ab illo peccato eis difficilis, cum sciunt quod deus dispensat, eciam papa culpabiliter renitente, ut patet ex dictis. Quomodo igitur excusantur, qui in vacuum gratiam dei ita recipiunt? Deus enim dispensat cum illis, et tamen in stulticia culpabili convolvuntur.

2. On the part of the Friars themselves; they ought to know that such a change is for their good.

They admit that if the Pope gave them all a dispensation it would be a good thing; but the motive of that dispensation now exists, and even in spite of the Pope they ought to act upon it.

25 Nec movet quod subtiles eorum perseverant in isto proposito; quia diaboli subtiliores, indurati in sua malicia, permanent in sua stulticia, ubi faciliter possent converti ad Christum habendo misericordiam, gratiam, et gloriam  
C. citissime, si non obstaret sua veterata malicia. Unde  
30 omnes declinantes a lege Cristi sapiunt ut sic stulticiam diaboli, in cuius inveteracione cadit periculum.

That no influential members leave their orders, is due to their inveterate malice.

3<sup>o</sup> videtur quod populus debet cogere fratres stulticiam istam dimittere, quia secte tales ipsos multipliciter dampnificant; quod debent tollere. Dampnificant, inquam,  
35 consumendo indebite bona reipublice, ut patet in cibariis, in domibus et in aliis ornamentis. Istud autem foret facile regem et regnum tollere subtrahendo, ut tactum est in fine De apostasia, quodcunque temporale suffragium quod redundaret illis in quantum talis ordinis. Saret enim  
40 cum hoc communicare illis elemosinas in Cristo in quantum

3. On the part of the people; because they eat up the property of the common wealth. It would be easy to put an end to them by cutting off supplies to the Order, which might be continued to

4. accidencia A. 10. ex hoc *deest* AB. 12. perfeccionem *deest* C.  
11. perfectiori religione BC. 16. quod *pro* sed A. 16, 17. est —  
dispenset *deest* A. 17. igitur C. 21. remittente A. 23. ita *deest* A.  
34. dent C. 36. in *before* aliis *deest* C. 39. et *pro* quod B.

them as private persons; and if any of them was more fit than a Church dignitary, he ought to take his place.

Besides, they do great harm by sowing lies, and opposing the efforts of those who would bring men back to Christ.

There would be then, it is objected, no more scholastic degrees in universities, nor science of Scripture, nor good preaching. University degrees have indeed their uses, but are not founded on Holy Writ, and occasion many evils: v. g. election intrigues, simoniacal conspiracies, and spoliation of the people.

Friars of a meaner rank know too well how much they are despised by those of a higher degree; there is no Scripture warrant for this.

individua cristiana, ubique meritorius quam sit modo. Unde videtur mihi inprecandum quod quicumque frater habilior ad regendum ecclesiam quam dictus incumbens, sit, ipso expulso, in eius nomine subrogatus. Sed, quod magis moveret ad istam practicam, secte nimis spisse 5 blasphemant in deum, seminantes mendacia; et per consequens nedum subtrahunt a populo spirituale suffragium, sed venenando rempublicam agravant peccatum. Nam proposito puncto ut populus vivat conformiter legi Cristi, fratres in facie apponent obicem, foventes partem anti- 10 cristi, preter privata mala que seminant. Nec dubium quin castigati per prepositos vel prudentem subtractionem temporalium a venenacione ista desisterent, et plebem in qua consistit maior cristiana religio, dimissis exhortationibus fallacibus | cum ludicriis, adaugerent. Et sic 15 76<sup>b</sup> undique dei populus, et per consequens honor dei cum bono reipublice augeretur. Itaque omnis homo staret pro suavi et levi observancia legis dei. cum turpe foret, sumptuosum et difficile, fovere discipulos anticristi.

Sed 2<sup>o</sup> obicitur quod facta confusione ordinum, perirent 20 gradus scolastici et per consequens subtilis expositio scripture et recta predicacio verbi dei. Sed quo ad istud videtur D. quod de religione Cristi non foret 2<sup>m</sup> tradiciones studiorum aliquis doctor scolasticus inter fratres. Immo, licet talis graduacio in universitatibus prosit per accidens, videtur 25 michi quod religiosum foret per totum cristianismum leges talis graduacionis tolli, quia non sunt fundabiles in scriptura; sed occasione data, ex graduacione tali inter fratres veniunt multa mala. Ut, ratione electionis ad cathedram, currunt ad intra multe consideraciones et ope- 30 rationes illiciti; et tam ad intra quam ad extra multe conspiraciones symoniace, et multe tradiciones primevi ordinis destructive. Et cum totus iste processus sit sumptuosus, non superest, nisi quod ista spoliacio sumptuum redundat in populum. 35

Quantum ad primum noverunt fideles fratres, pauperes et abiecti, quantum a suis fratribus superioribus contempnuntur, et quanta servitute irrationabili deprimuntur. Nec dubium quin non sit fundabile in scriptura, in qua est omnis veritas, nisi (ut loquar ironice) in aliquo istorum 40 trium locorum. Primo in dicto beati Jacobi primo ca<sup>o</sup>

3. *hūilior hīlior* A; *humilior* C. 6. *mēdaciā* A. 8. *venando* AC; *ib.* Non A. 12. *castiganti omnes* MSS; *ib.* per in marg. suppl. C. 21. *alia* A. 27. *tales* B.

- de personarum acceptione. *Nolite, inquit, in personarum acceptione habere fidem domini glorie. Cum enim introierit vir in conventum vestrum, anulum habens aureum in* St. James blames all preference given to a man on account of his riches:
- Jac. II., *veste candida; introierit autem pauper in sordido habitu: et intendatis in eum qui indutus est veste preclara, et dixeritis ei: tu sede hic bene; pauperi autem dicatis: tu sta illic, aut sede sub scabello pedum meorum: Nonne iudicatis apud vosmetipsos et facti estis cogitationum iniquarum iudices?* Idem autem et evidencius est iudicium de fratre
- <sup>10</sup> *ratione graduacionis a suis confratribus honorificandus; quia ita alienum est a lege Cristi, quod frater propter talem graduacionem honorem talem suscipiat, sicut foret propter splendenciam ornamenti. Nam nec infert alcioritatem status in quo Cristus statuebat ecclesiam, nec*
- <sup>15</sup> *preeminenciam virtutis: et solum ratione istorum duorum videtur regem celorum velle hominem honorari. Nam sepe contingit fratrem sic graduatum fratre simplici magis deficere tam sciencia quam virtute.*
- Talis autem honoracio fundatur in scriptura secundum
- <sup>20</sup> *gradus latitudinis, ut rex ratione status est excellencius*
- <sup>1.</sup> *Pet. honorandus. Iuxta illud 2 Petr. 2<sup>o</sup> Regem honorificate,*
- <sup>11,</sup> *17 et alii in suis gradibus honoris mundani, ut sunt alciores arbores vel minus alte. Clerus autem debet gradatim in virtutibus, secundum modum alium, venerari: ut ille qui*
- <sup>25</sup> *debet reputari sancior, debet reputative amplius venerari. Sed honor dandus clericis non debet stare in mundi gloria, sed in honore dei secundum excellenciam virtutis vel status quem deus in ipso instituit; et tantum honorat quilibet alium in effectum, quantum iuvat deum*
- <sup>30</sup> *et promovet rationem in illo homine, 2<sup>m</sup> quam taliter honoratur. Ut ille qui iuvat presbiterum in causa dei ut vivat secundum institutionem Cristi conformiter, et causam illam in ipso promovet vel defendit, ipse honorat illum presbiterum. Et faciendo oppositum inhonorat;*
- but preference given on account of a degree is quite as unchristian. It neither proves a higher degree of ecclesiastical perfection nor of virtue: a Friar without a degree may both know more and be a better man than a graduate. Honour is of two distinct kinds: one is, according to Scripture, to be paid to the king and temporal dignitaries according to their position: the other is spiritual veneration, to be given according as the state of any person implies holiness; and this second kind is shown by helping that person to attain the holiness of his state.

1, 2. Nolite — acceptione *deest* B. 2. domini nostri B. 3. anulum A. 5. inductus B. 7. illuc BC; *ib.* nostrorum A. 13, 14. alterioritatem A. 17. graduatim AB. 21. *pro* iuxta illud C; *ib.* honorate A. 31, 32. qui — secundum *deest* B.

20. *Latitudinis. Altitudinis* naturally suggests itself as a correction of the MSS. I am, however, not quite sure, notwithstanding 'alciores' on l. 22, that it ought to be adopted. Wyclif employs the word *latitudo* regularly in *Logica* to indicate a certain intensity of a quality; and its use here seems quite as technical as in that work. *Gradus latitudinis* is quite a common expression with him there.

Thus, aiding a priest to live according to Christ's institution, we honour him, and we dishonour him when we exalt or enrich him. Mundane glory is the ruin of Christ's religion: it is that acception of persons condemned by St. James, exemplified in worldly bishops, in graduated Friars, and in seculars, when honoured according to their outward show. A Bishop of the present day would be far above St. Peter; a vicious and stupid Friar, if graduated, would be more honourable than one not graduated and a minstrel, a fool or a prodigal, more than his king. These are blasphemies; for by ascribing honour to whom honour is not due, we imply that God gives honour likewise.

ut dando sacerdotibus honores mundanos in ditacione stercorum temporalium, homo non honoraret sed in-honoraret eos. Ideo, cum Cristiana religio infirmatur E. per declinacionem ad mundum, patet quod ipsam dirrumpit potissime acceptacio personarum; ut, quia 5 mundus afficitur ad terrena et honores naturaliter affectat, inordinatus amor honoris vel temporalium secundum fastum et questum dirrumpit religionem Cristi. Et illa est personarum accepccio, quam contempnat beatus Jacobus; et sic generaliter, quando sacerdos 10 comendatur eo amplius quo habet maiorem adiacenciam temporalium, ut patet de prelatiis cesareis; vel proporcionaliter ut ritus mundani ipsum magis dignificant quoad mundum, ut contingit de fratre et alio presbitero pilliato; ymo honorando secularem ut habet magis 15 splendida ornamenta. Nam iuxta primam stulticiam unus de episcopis nostris foret infinitum honoracior sancto Petro, cum ipse dicit Act. 3<sup>o</sup> *Argentum et aurum non est michi*. Iuxta 2<sup>am</sup> stulticiam frater ydiota quantumcunque viciosus pilliatus foret quantumcunque hono- 20 racior fratre scienciori et virtuosiori non taliter graduato. Et iuxta 3<sup>am</sup> stulticiam unus ministrallus stultus vel prodigus foret honoracior rege suo.

Omnes autem istas blasfemias 2<sup>m</sup> beatum Jacobum inducit personarum accepccio. Et dico blasfemias, quia 25 iuxta fidem quilibet debet honorare hominem proporcionaliter ut deus ipsum honorat. Acceptor igitur | personarum, qui in ista honorificencia a deo discrepat, 77<sup>a</sup> inponit deo implicite stultam veneracionem consimilem, quod est blasfemia. Ideo signanter, propter iudicium 30 proprium a deo discrepans, dicit beatus Jacobus: *Nonne iudicatis apud vosmetipsos et facti estis cogitacionum iniquarum indices?* Omnes enim tales habent proprium iudicium; quod, quia discrepat a prima iusticia, est iniquum.

Consider a graduated Friar: he gets his degree by a Papal bull, or letters of

Pensemus igitur fructum fratris pilliati. Nam eo ipso 35 quo per bullas pape, quo per literas dominorum vel mediaciones dominarum, vel 3<sup>o</sup> si symoniace emerit

2, 3. *hō on'arz et A; hōaret z inhōar3.* 3. *declinacionem C.*  
 7. *affectant A.* 10. *quia A.* 11. *ad maiorem B.* 13. *humani C.*  
 15. *palliato A.* 18. *3<sup>o</sup> deest; blank space B.* 20. *pilatus A.*  
 16. *scienciore C; ib. virtuosiore C.* 21. *homo A.* 25. *blasfema A.*  
 31. *notentur hic fructus fratris pilliati in marg. B.* 36. *ad pro per before bullas.* 36, 37. *vel — vel deest A; dominorum omnes MSS.*

37. The MSS. have *dominorum*. See, to justify the correction, Eng. Works of W. p. 246.

gracias a perversis in universitatibus, sic quod quantumcunque inhabilis doctoretur, vendicat infinitum excellencio-rem honorem quam frater suus, licet habilior, ex eorum decreto nunquam ad cathedram graduandus; 5 habebit enim cameram sibi perpetuatam, cappellanum et famulum, splendidiusque et laucius ministerium. Sed a labore predicationis, a sureccione ad matutinas in medio noctis, et a quocunque quod sonat in obedienciam et meritum in fratre simplici, est exemptus. Quod si 10 raro aliquod opus bonum fecerit, hoc sonabit ad sui gloriam; et tum magnificabitur a suis complicitibus; quod propter adulacionem mendacem esset utique melius quod F. taceret. Nec mirum de multiplicacione mendacii, quia dicunt quod in obediencia et ritibus sui ordinis stat 15 maius meritum quam in nostro ordine: et tamen dicunt in praxi quod summa perfeccio sui ordinis foret graduatum ad exempcionem a tali perfeccione sollicite laborare! Ideo homines non credunt eis in isto, cum vita, cui animus afficitur, contradicit. Religiosum igitur foret quod 20 pilliacionem illam falsam in singulis dimitterent; sic enim fecerunt in sui exordio, quando religio in eis plus floruit.

Et sic tolleretur ab eis blasfema elemosinarum participio. Nam regula caritatis exigit quod dividatur singulis, pro ut cuique opus erat, cum aliter foret invida personarum accepcio; hoc autem sonat blasfemia, cum, ut sic, 25 Esth. intenditur impugnare divinum iudicium. Et tamen Hester VI, 9 dicitur: *Sic honorabitur quam rex voluerit honorare*; quod est maxime proprium regi regum. Que igitur est ratio quare fratres eiusdem ordinis in sacerdocio, sanctitate 30 et sciencia quo ad necessaria salubri dei ministerio, preponuntur? Non dubium quin pater mendacii docuit istam differenciam secundum adinvenciones politicas. Et in talibus blasfemis personarum accepcionibus necesse est tales conventiculares cum ceteris nequiciis irretiri. 35 Si igitur omnes dicte secte vel nimis numerosi 2<sup>m</sup> hoc 3<sup>x</sup> devium, quo pilliacio fratri acquiritur, pilliati forent, quam monstruosa foret talis religio, quia gravarent in expensis rempublicam! Nunquam inter fratres foret distribucio, et omnino intra eos foret contencio *quis eorum videretur esse maior*. Iste igitur fructus est ordinum privatorum.

recommendation from some lord, or by means of a bribe; and he is treated infinitely better than a non-graduate; he has a room and servants of his own, and everything on a better footing; he is exempted from preaching, from the Choir, and from all acts of obedience. Here is a lie: they say that obedience renders their Order more meritorious than ours; yet the supreme perfection of their state is to be exempted from obedience! They ought to give up such practices and live as they did at first. By this means the alms which they receive would be shared equally. Each ought to receive according as he requires: i. e. according to God's will. Why should one Friar be worse off than another, if he is his equal in everything? Suppose that every member of each of the orders was graduated: what a monstrous community they would make!

2. fructū (sic) A. 3. humilior A. 6. quia pro que A. 11. cum A; tantum C. 20. pilliacionem C; ib. signis AC. 24. invidia A. 25. accepcione A. 26. tam A; cum C. 28. est deest AC. 35. deē A.



Again, Christ forbade His disciples to call each other Rabbi: and these men, bound to follow Christ so closely, despise His words, waste for their degrees large sums that belong to the poor, and abandon that very perfection to which they are bound.

Their General, contrary to Christ's commands, domineers over them; spiderlike, he weaves a net through which camels (graduates) pass, and in which gnats are taken.

If a Friar offends, nay, sometimes if he observes God's law, he is imprisoned till he writes down a retraction and becomes the slave of the devil. These cobwebs catch simple and weak-minded men.

Secundum fundamentum ad tollendum talem graduationem in fratribus est illud Matth. 23<sup>o</sup>, ubi Cristus precipit quod non vocentur *rabi* vel *patres*, ut excellencia dei reverencius inprimatur, et ut superba dissensionis occasio excludatur. Quomodo igitur qui tam alte obligatur ad Cristi consilia tam frontose et tam laboriose contempnit vel sophisticat eius verba? Non dubium quin inanis gloria et contemptus domini sint in causa. Nam non solum in incepcone sua incurrit periurium, consumendo de spoliacionibus pauperum ultra tria milia turonensium grossorum; sed, ut sic, pilliatus inhabilitat se ipsum ad observandum perfeccionem ordinis cui stulte obligatus est, et ut sit herba venenosa in agro domine sancte matris ecclesie multipliciter infectiva.

3<sup>m</sup> autem fundamentum contra istam superinductam blasphemiam est dictum Cristi Luce 22<sup>o</sup>; *Reges gentium dominantur eorum, et qui potestatem habent super eos benefici vocantur. Vos autem non sic.* Et tamen dicitur quod nimis dominative et nimis potestative capitaneus fratrum imperat suis fratribus; et tanquam aranea pausans in angulo, orditur telas diaboli quibus illaqueat fratres suos, ut quod frater suus dire incarceretur pro culice, ymmo quandoque pro observancia legis dei, et graduetur pro inglucione cameli. Et incarceratus per mendosum scandalum fratris sui non exibat carcerem antequam manu propria scripserit mendaciter scandalum false sibi inpositum, accusando se ipsum et excusando diabolum; ac ulterius obligando se quod nunquam ulterius in hoc invehet contra ipsum; et sic detestando causam Cristi devenit simpliciter servus diaboli. Tales dicuntur multe tele ex interioribus diaboli subtilitate pedum membrorum suorum contexti cottidie, cum quibus fratres simplices et debiles tanquam bestiole capiuntur.

5. accio A. 5. 6. obligantur omnes MSS. 6. fructuose AC.  
9. periurius A. 11. sic pro sed omnes MSS. 13. domini omnes MSS.  
10. 12 B. 10. arena A. 21. celatur A; ib. illaqueet C. 32. continue C.  
33. bestiole deest C.

10. In *munimenta Academica* (Anstey) we find an Austin Friar paying £ 10 as a composition, instead of feasting the Regent Masters on his inception. P. 564. 30. I cannot thinking help that there is here an allusion to some Friar, whose Wycliffian tendencies were severely put down. This would give more colour to my hypothesis (*De Apostasia*, Introduction) that Wyclif had many partisans among the Friars; the whole of the chapter, read in this light, has particular meaning.

Et ille tradiciones inique sunt ut ewangelium observate. Confundantur itaque venena talia privatorum ordinum, ut deus debet nobis gratiam tenendi bonum graduacionum quas stulte suscepimus | et cavendi malum culpecomixtum.

77<sup>b</sup> 5 Et patet quod non ex hinc perirent scola Cristi, sensus scripture vel fructuosa predicacio verbi dei, cum summe floruerant ante ista. Ymmo videtur quod evidencius quam civile dominium privata religio sapit peccatum; et per consequens non supra religionem Cristi foret suum  
10 ewangelium, vel vita apostolica per talem adinventionem culpabilem deturpandum; ipsam enim privatam religionem necessario consequitur personarum accepcio, ad observanciam consiliorum Cristi difficultacio, et tradicionum infundabilium oneracio. Sed 3<sup>o</sup> principaliter notandum  
15 est quod a tempore quo fratres adulterati fuerant verbum dei, pullularunt hereses. sophismata scripture, germinaverunt yppocrises per multiplicata mendacia. et prevaluerunt diffidencie et dissensiones per sectas novellas, antiqua religione sopita.

20 Ut nunc invaluit quedam secta maniaca, cancellans magnam partem ewangelii tanquam falsissimam, et per consequens hereticam et blasphemam. Ista enim secta  
Ps. CX, 4 *faciendo in Oxonia memoriam mirabilium suorum*, congregata fuit latenter cum fratribus 4<sup>or</sup>; et tanquam tota  
H. 25 universitas penderet in manu eorum, heretici dicuntur heretisasse duas sentencias de Eukaristia; prima, quod post consecracionem in missa remaneat substantia panis materialis in hostia consecrata. Et, ne deficientibus  
30 argumentis enuclietur eorum stulticia, excommunicarunt eos, qui tenent, docent, vel intersunt doctrine contrarii. Sed inter eos deus movit quemdam doctorem secularem catholicum, ut non consenciat, sed contradicat stulticie eorum. Ipse autem dicitur interrogasse eos in primis, si voverint hereticare sanctorum sentencias de universi-  
35 salibus ex parte rei, ex quibus signa capiunt apud logicos nomen suum. At illi hoc pre verecundia negaverunt. At ille: "Ex hoc", inquit. "sequitur quod substantia panis materialis remanet in hostia consecrata. Genus,

There would be no loss if this graduation were put an end to.

1. Preaching and expounding of Scripture existed before it.

2. Since the gospel of these private religions savours more of sin than civil lordship, it is not above that of Christ.

3. Since the institution of Friars, heresies have been multiplied, as in Oxford of late.

Four Friars, together with an assembly of heretics, condemned the doctrine that the substance of bread remained after consecration.

But God moved a Catholic Doctor to ask them whether they intended to condemn the doctrine of universals *ex parte rei*: which they denied.

Then he pointed out that in that doctrine the *substance* of bread and of Christ's body

2. et C. 3. det C; *ib.* graduacionem A. 10. vita *deest* C. 11. decerpendum B. 18. et *pro* per B. 20. moniacha B. 22. autem BC. 23. facieß in o. . . . meoria A; *faciendo* in Oxoniis C. 28. inmaterialis B. 31. inter eos *deest* C.

20 and seq. The condemnation is given in *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 110. 26. I have translated this passage in *De Apostasia*, Introduction.

being identical,  
the substantial  
presence of  
Christ's Body  
implies the  
substance of  
bread.

To Scriptural  
arguments, and  
to the likeli-  
hood that  
whatever such  
madmen  
condemned was  
true, he added:

According to  
logicians, the  
substance is  
wherever a  
body is;  
therefore there  
must be  
material  
substance in  
the Host.

For in the  
consecrated  
Host there is  
thickness,  
which  
according to  
Aristotle is a  
body.

Again, Christ's  
Body is a  
substance, and  
it is 'bread  
indeed';  
therefore it is  
the substance  
of bread.

It is therefore  
a compound of  
matter and  
form.

And Christ's  
Body, not being  
immaterial,

inquam, substance est ubicunque fuerit aliquod eius  
individuum. Sed in dicto sacramento est individuum  
generis substance; quia, ut ipsi asserunt, ibi est cor-  
poraliter corpus Cristi: igitur remanet in ipsa hostia  
ipsum genus. Et cum ipsum sit substantia (quia quiditas 5  
cuiuscunque materialis substance), et sic panis; sequitur  
quod substantia panis materialis remanet in hostia  
consecrata". Et quia nescierunt tollere hanc evidenciam,  
ipsos renuit tanquam stultos. Sophismata autem dicitur  
taliter innexisse: "Per ante", inquit, "non habui argu- 10  
menta, nisi solum modo ex scriptura; modo autem  
accrevit argumentum topicum quod *si dicti maniaci  
hereticaverint dictam sentenciam; igitur verum*". "Ad  
hoc", inquit, "adducuntur evidencie logice isto modo.  
Ubicunque est corpus panis materialis, est substantia 15  
panis materialis; sed in hostia consecrata est corpus  
panis materialis: igitur est ibi substantia panis materi-  
alis. Maior patet per logicos, qui dicunt quod in omni  
genere accidentis est dare substantiam rei, et alia que  
sibi accidentaliter inexistunt. Unde Augustinus, super 20  
psalmo 68, dicit quod omnis creatura est substantia.  
Minor autem probatur sic: In hostia consecrata est  
profunditas panis materialis qui prefuit, et omnis talis  
profunditas est corpus, dicente Aristotele in predica-  
mentis ca<sup>o</sup> de quantitate, quod unum genus quantitatis 25  
est linea, superficies et corpus. 2<sup>o</sup> arguitur sic ad idem:  
In hostia consecrata remanet corpus Cristi, et ipsum est  
substantia panis materialis; igitur conclusio. Maiorem  
suppono ex fide et datis ab adversario, et minor patet  
ex fide scripture; cum corpus Cristi sit panis, ut adver- 30  
sarii propter reverenciam concorditer confitentur. Nec  
dubium, quin per idem est substantia panis et quod sit  
panis materialis. Ex hoc videtur quod est panis compo-  
situs ex materia et forma. Sic enim vocat ewangelium  
illum *panem vite, panem qui de celo descendit, et panem* 35  
*nostrum cottidianum*; cum talia comitantur per accidens  
corpus Cristi. Igitur, cum ipsum corpus sit per se  
materiale, multo evidencius foret panis materialis. Non

1. igitur A; inquit C. 9. remittit A; sophita C. 20. accidentaliter C.  
26. illud B. 34. ex *twice* A. 36. committantur B.

9. *Sophismata* is, I think, here used in a good sense, as a 'clever  
argument'. In *Logica* Wyclif often says: *Hic dicitur quod sophisma  
est verum*. 25. Arist. *Opera: κατηγοριαι*, 6. ed. Berlin, 1831, etc.  
t. 1, p. 4, l. 23.

enim est ipsum corpus panis immaterialis, cum non sit formaliter res immaterialis". Ideo non valet iste fucus sophisticus quo dicitur panem illum esse materiale, sed non esse panem materiale; sicut dicitur fabrum esse bonum, sed non compositum bonum fabrum, quia duo accidentia insunt eidem secundum disparem rationem. Aliqui autem logici dicunt probabiliter quod nemo potest esse faber, nisi sub aliquo gradu fuerit bonus faber. Sed quomodocunque sit de hoc, certum est ex fide quod sicut corpus Christi est panis, sic est substantia panis materialis. Ut sicut Christus est leo, sic est leo rationalis de tribu Juda. Et sicut equivocantes concedunt quod corpus Christi non est panis materialis, sic debent concedere quod non est panis.

Sed 3<sup>o</sup> arguitur de sacramento secundum sui naturam quod sit substantia panis materialis. Nam ipsum per se substat ac | cidentibus, habens in se potenciam recipiendi tam formas substantiales quam accidentales, quibus per se subiciatur. Cum igitur hoc sit proprium substantie materiali, sequitur quod hoc sacramentum sit materialis substantia, ut dicit ecclesia. Et hinc Augustinus, attribuens sibi proprietates panis materialis, dicit quod est cibus corporalis et convertitur in hominem comedentem. Jeronimus etiam dicit quod est corpus, ut patet de cons. dis. 2<sup>a</sup> ca<sup>o</sup> "Duplitter" et ca<sup>o</sup> "De homine". Adversarii etiam dicentes quod est accidens confitentur quod est panis, licet equivoce, quia signum panis; ut septem boves et VII spice dicuntur VII anni, Genes. 41. Cum igitur eque sit signum substantie panis materialis, videtur quod debent concedere consequenter quod est substantia panis materialis. Et illud tractatum est diffuse alibi, quomodo accidens non potest esse sine subiecto; quomodo panis sit corpus Christi, et quomodo doctores recentes debent intelligi, quod sacramentum post consecrationem non remanet pure panis; nec aliud exigit ratio vel auctoritas scripture. In cuius signum omnes consecratores vel sanctificatores accidentis per se nesciunt glosam istam doctorum suorum infringere: sicut nesciunt ad quidditatem

cannot be other than a material bread. To say: That Bread is material, but not material bread, is an evasion: if a carpenter is good he is a good carpenter, for everything is good to some extent. Christ is material bread, in the same way as He is a lion; if not, He is not bread at all.

What can sustain accidents and receive substantial forms is a substance and a body, as Augustine and Jerome call the Sacrament.

Even our adversaries admit that it is bread, as it is the sign of bread; they ought therefore to admit that it is material bread.

But all these questions are dealt with at length elsewhere.

4. est A. 5. est A. 10. Et pro Ut AB. 12. est deest AB.

15. panis fba A. 20, 21. tribuens B. 25. est pro etiam A; hac C; ib. fatentur BC. 26. septem — et deest A. 28. sacramentum sub specie A. 34. ali<sup>a</sup> C. 37. de quidditate A.

24. Decr. Grat. De Cons., D. II., c. 49, and D. V. c. 9.  
27. Alibi. In De Apostasia and many other treatises.

tem sacramenti altaris, quod sentitur sensu extrinseco, evidenter adtingere.

It is strange that they should condemn a doctrine about which they know so little.

The Sacrament is porous; there may be in its pores bread that is not wheat, or a new bread may be produced there after consecration, or crumbs of non-consecrated bread might be mixed with it: in all these cases they would have condemned an evident truth.

The Oxford condemnation was therefore a temptation of Satan.

The cause of all this is that these apostates do not know how to interpret Scripture, according to Augustine's rules.

He says: When any expression is figurative, it must be examined until a good interpretation can be found to it; but it wants no

Et mirabile est quod contempnarent de una re, quam tantum ignorant, quod in ipsa sit substancia panis materialis ut nemo dampnat prudenter hominem quem 5 non noscit, cum ignorat si causa dampnacionis sibi infuerit. Quid igitur scit dampnator talis, cum sacramentum sit porosum, si in poris lateat panis non triticeus? vel si post consecracionem sacramentum generet novum panem? vel si, sacramento iacente inter hostias 10 non consecratas, mice panis intraverint poros eius? In quibus casibus fierit verum quod in sacramento altaris post consecracionem est substancia panis materialis. Ideo melius fuisset his satrapis didicisse quid sit hoc K. sacramentum, antequam contempnassent veritatem ex 15 sibi dubio, quod materialis substancia sit in illo. Ideo Jo. cum introierunt pretorium, et non introierunt in ipsum, XVIII, ut non contaminarentur, manifeste sequitur quod intro- 28 ierunt ut contaminarentur per contempnacionem fatuam veritatis. Nec parvipendat quisquam instancias istas, ut 20 logicas, quia veritas fidei absconditur sub logica subtilissima in scriptura. Et legentes sentencias ac alii sepe sine dampnacione in Oxonia obtexerant falsitatem. Nimis igitur sathanas temptavit matrem nostram, quando cecavit paucos scripture falsarios ut sub fuco sciencie false simularent 25 sed dampnare quod de facto est veritas a fidelibus acceptanda.

Sed oportet quod in fide de sacramento, sicut in aliis, ab apostatis illudatur ecclesia. Cuius illusionis origo est error sensus scripture. Nam ex hinc multi cecati superbia abierunt retro cum infidelibus, Joh. 6°. Nec Jo. VI, dignantur attendere ad regulas et dicta sanctorum in 67 ista materia. Scribit enim Augustinus, 3° de doctrina cristiana ca° 15, pro regula cognoscendi locucionem figurativam vel tropicam in scriptura. "Servabitur", inquit, "in locucionibus figurativis regula huiusmodi, ut 35 tamdiu versetur diligenti consideracione quod legitur, donec ad regnum caritatis interpretacio perducatur. Si hoc autem iam proprie sonat, nulla putetur figurativa locucio. Si preceptiva locucio est aut flagicium vel

7, 8. sacramentum *deest* A. 9, 10. vel — panem *deest* C.  
21, 22. subtilissima A. 23.  $\widehat{\text{I exon}}$  A; in  $\widehat{\text{Oxon}}$  C. 32. Augustinus *in*  
*marg.* A. 33. 5 *pro* 15 C.

34. Aug. De doctrina Christiana. l. III, c. 15 (Migne. Pat.; t. XXXIV, col. 74).



facinus vetans, aut utilitatem vel beneficenciam iubens, non est figurativa. Si autem facinus aut flagicium videtur iubere aut utilitatem et beneficenciam vetare, figurativa est. Et ponit exemplum: *Nisi manducaveritis, inquit, Jo. VI, carnem filii hominis et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis.* 54 Facinus igitur vel flagicium videtur iubere; figura igitur est, precipiens passioni domini esse comunicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria, quod pro nobis caro eius crucifixa et vulnerata sit. Nec 10 dubium quin ista locutio: *hoc est corpus meum, hic est sanguis meus,* demonstratis pane et vino, sit figurativa consimili ratione. Unde precipiens comestionem panis et pocionem vini consecrati, quod prius precipit, statim subiungit ewangelium: *hec quocienscunque feceritis in mei* 15 *memoriam facietis.* Quasi diceret: Non comedetis vel bibetis corporaliter carnem meam vel sanguinem meum, sed spiritualiter passionem meam memoriter recolendo.

Et sic intelligitur Augustinus, epistola 14 ad Bonifacium, L. quando dicit quod sacramentum altaris 2<sup>m</sup> quemdam 20 modum corpus Christi est. Non enim scivit vel voluit iste sanctus onerare ecclesiam cum sompniis modo fictis, quod corpus Christi sit corporaliter et carnaliter in hostia consecrata; sed sicut ewangelium Joh. 6<sup>o</sup> dicit *Caro mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus vere est potus,* sic 25 sacramentum altaris vere, sed figurative, est corpus Christi vel sanguis: quia, ut Christus dicit ibidem: *Caro non prodest quidquam,* cum sensus carnalis et modus carnalis corporis Christi in sacramento foret inutilis atque superfluus; quia tunc indubie homo concederet carnaliter | 78<sup>b</sup> 30 corpus Christi; non solum quia esus sacramenti foret carnalis, sed quia corpus Christi foret carnaliter in eodem: quod Augustinus dicit fore flagicium.

Unde deficientibus argumentis quidam prorumpunt in ista ludicria: "Tales", inquit, "qui dicunt istam 35 sententiam et extinguunt devocionem ecclesie, dicentes cum scriptura quod panis et vinum post consecrationem remaneant, tropice celebrant, sed ydemptice damnabuntur". Quo contradicatur quod isti ydiote arguunt:

3. infigurata AB. 6. ffacino A. 7. igitur deest C. 9. wln'ata A.  
15. facietis AB. 16. et pro vel B. 23. et B. 32. quia AB. 35. et  
deest A. 37, 38. dampnabunt A.

13. Ad Bonifacium episcopum. c. Q. (Migne t. XXXIII, col. 364.)  
14. *Hec quocienscunque.* These are the words of consecration at Mass, and are not in any Gospel, but adapted from I. Cor. XI, 25.

interpretation if it can bear a literal meaning. If it commands to do any thing good, it is literal: if the contrary, figurative. And as Augustine's example is: *unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man...* as a figure, it is clear that *This is my Body,* is a figure too.

Augustine himself is to be thus understood when he says that the Sacrament is in a manner Christ's Body:

truly, but figuratively. "The flesh profiteth nothing": a fleshly mode of being in the Sacrament would be useless.

Some idiots have said: such as hold these doctrines celebrate figuratively, but will be damned in reality. But they consecrate vain

accidents, and  
will be praised  
in vain.

Though the  
words  
expressing  
God's anger or  
the eating of  
His Body may  
be figures, the  
things are real.

Other wild  
theories: that  
nothing exists  
but substance;

that there is  
nothing but  
substance or  
quality, as he  
calls it: whence  
we should have  
to conclude that  
the Sacrament,  
if consecrated  
on Good Friday,  
is Friday.

They are so  
infatuated that  
they believe in  
revelations in  
support of their  
follies.

Yet they cannot  
ground their  
condemnations  
upon Scripture,  
and they are  
worth nothing.

A second point  
condemned  
refers to the  
corporal  
presence of  
Christ.

“accidencia sine subiecto conficiunt, et hinc nusquam nisi forte in vacuo propter istam stulticiam laudabuntur”. Constat inquam, logicis quod deus vere et realiter irascitur, sicut corpus suum vere et effectualiter manducatur, non tropice; licet locutio qua sensus talis exprimitur sit figurativa vel tropica. Ad tantam enim infatuantur cultores signorum quod credunt omnes proprietates que signis conveniunt suis signatis competere.

Ut ad tantum insanit hec secta, quod unus ponit nichil esse, nisi substantiam; sic quod non sit forma substantie materialis vel accidentalis. Alius autem qui magis furet ista demencia, ponit quod nichil est nisi substantia vel qualitas quam ipse nominat. Et sic debet dicere quod sacramentum altaris sentitum sensu extrinseco vel est substantia vel qualitas sua, aut ex talibus agregatum; et per consequens cum non sic substantia, sed tempus est, sacramentum altaris est dies veneris pro hoc anno, quia fuit dies veneris per totum diem parasceves; sicut quelibet substantia vel qualitas, que per illud tempus duravit. Alia autem inveniencia ex erroribus istis sequentibus relinquo scolasticis, sciens quod foret studio Oxoniensi utilius et isti secte honorabilius errores istos destruere, quam in ista materia de eukaristia tantum eis incognita laborare. Sed quidam tantum infatuantur mania, quod credunt deum et angelos confirmando complere quidquid, in quo suis mandatis subditis preceperint, firmiter obedire. Sed cras ex eis procul dubio cessabit illa potestas; nec sciunt inpresenciarum ipsam efficaciter stabilire. Ideo excommunicacio, dampnacio vel determinacio eorum non plus valet quam vox graculi, nisi de quanto fuerit fundabilis in scriptura. Sed blasfemie imponendo Cristo falsitatem in sua dampnacione, irrationabilitatem in sua excommunicacione et inferioritatem diabolo in sua determinacione ostendunt se discipulos anticristi. Imponunt enim Cristo deo nostro omnes istas blasfemias, quia in quantum quis in nomine Cristi facit iniuriam, inponit sibi auctoritatem.

Quantum ad secundam dampnacionem quod corpus Cristi non sit corporali presencia in altari, probabile est quod si corpus Cristi vel aliquod sit alicubi, tunc

3. 4. nascitur B. 5. nam B; *ib.* talis quantis sensus A. 11. aut A.  
12. fu'et = fueret A. 20. durat A. 28. procul *deest* BC. 31. vox  
*deest* A; *ib.* graculi C. 34. qua B. 39. terciam B.

- corporali presencia et corporaliter est ibidem, ut dicit decretal Johannis 22<sup>i</sup> in Clementinis de reliquiis venerabilibus sanctorum ca<sup>o</sup>. *Si dominum*. Nam cum secundum Augustinum presens dicitur quasi presto sensui, et 5 sensus comuniter dicitur de sensu corporis et sensu Rom. intellectus, iuxta illud Rom. 11<sup>o</sup>: *Quis cognovit sensum* XI, 34 *domini, aut quis consiliarius eius fuit?* manifestum est quod res est presens, ubicunque sentita fuerit intellectu, et per consequens ubicunque corpus fuerit, ibi est 10 presencia corporali. Sed ex hoc non sequitur quod ubicunque corpus fuerit, ibi est corporaliter, quia, si corpus est alicubi corporaliter, tunc habet ibi unum novum modum essendi qui inest sibi in quantum illud corpus: sicut si corpus sit alicubi presencia, tunc habet 15 unum ibi modum essendi, qui inest sibi in quantum ibi presens. Unde presencia corporis Cristi est sibi accidentaliter in sacramento panis. Unde dicitur presencia corporalis, quia est presencia corporis, non quia illud corpus est ibi corporaliter, sed spiritualiter; ut creatura 20 dicitur divina, non quia deus, sed quia sanctificata per deum. Et sicut non sequitur *Petrus facit bonum moraliter*; ergo *facit bene moraliter*: ut, posito quod Petrus infidelis prescitus iuvet Platonem predestinatum ad faciendum unum opus virtuosum respectu Pauli: ita 25 non sequitur: *corpus Cristi est in sacramento presencia corporali*; igitur *est ibi corporaliter*. Et illi qui habent pro eodem *corporaliter et modo corporis*, locuntur in proprie et extense. Unde anticristine procedunt, qui super ista inproprietae fundant dampnationem heresis. 30 Primo, inquam, adiscerent hii blasfemi, qui fingunt hereses in alios per comenta mendacii de eukaristia, quid secundum naturam suam sit sacramentum panis, antequam sollicitarentur, quomodo corpus domini sit in illo. Certum, inquam, est quod remanet post benedictionem 35 unum per se sentitum quod non est substancialiter corpus Cristi, et illud est sacramentum; sicut patet ex descriptione sacramenti et determinacione ecclesie 36 decretalium de celebracione missarum; "Cum Marthe",

It is clear that Christ is present in the body, not to the bodily but to the spiritual sense.

But it does not follow that he is corporally present: this would entail a new mode of existence in every place where the Host was.

There is a corporal presence since, the Body is present; but spiritually, not corporally. It does not follow that to do good is to do well.

The mistake arises from mixing up two distinct things.

These blasphemers, who themselves invent the heresies they condemn, ought first to ask What the Sacrament is, before they ask how Christ is present therein. It is evident that the thing we see, as

1. tunc et presencialiter est B; et principaliter C. 2, 3, z ven A; reliquiis et Ven' sanc ca<sup>o</sup> C. 4. dei pro dicitur A. 5. dei A.  
9. fuerit deest C. 13. novum deest BC; aut pro qui A. 14. presencia deest A; presencialiter C. 16. corporis deest C. 23. iubet A.  
25. esse B. 28. hic pro qui A. 31. eukaria A; qui B. 37. declaratione B.

such, is not  
identically  
Christ and is  
the Sacrament;  
*what is it?*  
I say it is bread  
by nature and  
sacramentally  
Christ's Body.  
There being  
such heresies  
abroad on the  
subject, no alms  
should be given  
to a Friar or  
priest holding  
the wrong  
doctrine; to give  
them any thing  
without due  
questioning  
would possibly  
be to aid a  
wicked disciple  
of Antichrist.

et testantur doctores concorditer, quibus adversarii, ut  
suis auditoribus, innituntur. Illud autem sacramentum  
dico ego cum doctore meo Augustino esse naturaliter  
panem, sed sanctificatum et quodammodo (quia sacra-  
mentaliter) corpus Cristi.

5

Cum igitur circa illud latet in populo tanta infidelitas  
seductiva, cristianus non daret elemosinam fratri sive  
presbitero in hac fide | devio; sed primo quereretur de 79<sup>a</sup>  
quiditate istius sacramenti prudenter specificati; et,  
suspecta secta sua, peteret autem comunicacionem in 10  
bonis fortune sub sigillo capitanei sui fidem suam de  
quiditate huius venerabilis sacramenti; quia aliter ex  
sibi dubio foveret infidelem deteriore pagano ypocrita,  
seducentem populum, plenum discipulum anticristi. Talis  
autem heretici obest celebracio, oracio et predicacio, 15  
sicut irridenda est sua excommunicacio sive dampnacio.  
Sic igitur post introduccionem sectarum fructificavit  
scola fidelium. Dimissis igitur introductis subtilitatibus  
anticristi intendat fidelis fructui fidei scripture.

1. adn'fan' C. 10 patenter A.

## CAPITULUM SEPTIMUMDECIMUM.

A. UNdecimus tortor ecclesie est hostiarius. Et intelligo  
 per hostiarium quemcunque nomine clericum extra  
 sacros ordines, ut clericum parochialem. clericum offi-  
 5 ciariorum predictorum et quoscunque novicios privati  
 ordinis vel laicos, qui sub nomine clerici indebite  
 vendicant dignitatem. Quamvis enim hostiarius sit  
 superioris status quam abbas vel monachus in quantum  
 talis; ut patet q. 3, dis. 7. "A Subdiacono"; tamen  
 10 contingit clericos istos multipliciter inferiorari simpliciter  
 monachis in virtute.

The eleventh  
 tormentor of  
 the Church is  
 the *doorkeeper*;  
 a name here  
 used for all  
 Church officials  
 who are not in  
 Holy Orders.  
 Their rank is  
 above Abbots;  
 their conduct  
 often puts them  
 below mere  
 monks.

Blasfemat autem quicumque clericus qui titulo cleri-  
 catus capit privilegium dignitatis Cristi, et tamen in  
 vita nomini contradicit; quia ut sic mentitur super  
 15 Cristo, quod sit de sorte sua, et per consequens quod  
 Cristus auctorizat et vixerat talem vitam. Scopant autem  
 populum clerici parochiales, dimissa Cristi pauperie,  
 dum sumptuose mundi voluptatibus inolescunt. Cum  
 enim sumptus talium non surgunt ex nichilo, non restat  
 20 finaliter nisi quod spoliatur a populo. Si enim capiunt  
 inordinate a suo curato sive magistro ex hoc quod  
 seducunt parochianos simplices ad dandum rectori ob-  
 laciones, decimas vel alia que nimis avide concupiscit,  
 manifestum est quod spoliatio temporalium, quibus  
 25 clericus taliter abutitur, redundat in parochianos illos  
 simplices. Et idem est iudicium de seductione populi  
 in bajulacione aque vel panis benedicti, in ministracione  
 panis post recepcionem sacramenti et in seductione  
 citacionis vel alterius fraudis subdole introducte; et sic  
 30 utrobique pululat personarum accepcio, et perverso  
 clericorum officio, populi laycalis seduccio, et ut breviter

It is blasphemy  
 to stultify  
 the dignity of a  
 holy title by  
 bad conduct.  
 Offences of  
 parish clerks.

They live in  
 pleasure and  
 derive the  
 money thereto  
 from the  
 people that they  
 spoil; whether  
 directly or  
 indirectly,  
 following the  
 orders of  
 Curates who  
 pay them, they  
 are equally to  
 blame.

1. *Ca<sup>m</sup> in red ink A.*  
 26. simpliciter B.

2. *Initial U in red ink A.*

21. prelado C.

9. Decr. Grat., 1<sup>a</sup> Pars. D. XCIII, c. 5.



dicatur narrare complete omnes perturbaciones que fiunt per parochiales clericos difficile est; peccant enim, bona dei in petulancia consumendo, in fraudulencia sui officii populum seducendo, et per consequens domino omnium a quo cuncta bona procederent, in populo proditorie 5 serviendo. Oportet enim quod deo serviant, velint, nolint; si proditorie, punientur cum populo permittente, quia torpor volicionis, que posset corrigere, reputabitur pro consensu. Sed malicia talis clerici sequitur ad maliciam prelati, rectoris, atque presbiteri perversi, cum zelans 10 pro causa dei vel aufugeret vel corriperet subiectum inutilem.

They must serve God: but if they do so treacherously they will be punished with the people, whose torpor has connived at their misdeeds.

A priest complained that the door-keeper on Sundays added common water to the holy water he bore, so that the last families in the parish did not get pure holy water.

We may not say that sprinkling with holy water is of no use; nor that any small quantity of a liquid 'sacramental' can sanctify any large one: each part keeps its own place, and the accident 'holiness' does not pass from one to the other: besides, if so, a door-keeper might sanctify all the water in the world by

Unde audiui quendam sacerdotem conqueri de seduc- B. cione hostiarii, dum diebus dominicis deferendo aquam benedictam inmiscet sepe aquam non benedictam, et sic 15 novissima parochie non habent aspersionem aque totaliter benedictę, et per consequens in spiritualibus differenter fraudatus parochia. Non enim phas est dicere quod aque talis aspersione nichil valet. Nec valet dicere quod in liquidis sacramentum quantumcunque parvum 20 sanctificat quantumlibet copulatum, tum quia non extenduntur, sed occupant loca propria, et (secundum nota philosophis) sanctitas aque, cum sit accidens, non migrat de subiecto uno in aliud; tum etiam, quia hostiarius sic proiciendo guttam aque benedictę in mare 25 sanctificaret totum mare; ymmo, cum omnes aque mediterraneę, paludales, vel fontales communicantur cum mari per catharactas absconditas, hostiarius posset faciliter sanctificare omnes aquas mundi, et cum aqua non debeat iterum consecrari, olim cessarent aquarum con- 30 secraciones ministerio sacerdotis. Nec valet dicere quod spiritualiter generatur nova sanctitas, ut contingit de luce, tum quia per idem sic foret de sanctificandi con-

2. est narrare omnes MSS. 8. colligere A. 9. Sic B. 14-16. deferendo aqua benedictam nō bñdcoīz et sic novissimam inmisceret sepe aquam C. 20. aque deest A. 27. contaminatur A. 30. cessasent AC.

22. Wiclif, as is seen in his philosophical treatises, especially in *Logica*, admitted the doctrine of atoms. Each atom of the holy water remained sanctified, but did not sanctify that which was not. I understand that the common belief is that any amount of ordinary water added, if less than the quantity of holy water to which it is added, becomes holy itself; if *more*, there is no longer any holy water. This theory is of course exposed to many difficulties.

stantibus, ut pane, palmis, igne, cera, tymiamate, cereo, petra, fructibus et aliis sanctificatis comuniter; tum etiam, quia liceret exorciste, hostiario vel layco cui-  
 5 cunque benedicere vel sacrare cuncta huiusmodi, quia  
 in subiecto capaci. In quo casu, sicut deferens candelam  
 ad locum tenebrosum ipsum illuminat, sic videtur quod  
 applicans instrumentum multiplicandis sic consecratis  
 instrumentaliter sic consecraret. Et patet ficticia. Sicut  
 10 enim hostiarius facit novam aquam, sic consecrat ipsam  
 aquam, ipsa a sui initio consecrata; quia aliter solus  
 deus consecraret, et non presbiter vel minister.

pouring in one drop of holy water:  
 nor that juxtaposition occasions a new entity of holiness to come forth, as when a candle lights up the darkness; for then every-thing could thus be blessed.

Relictis igitur obiectionibus contra responsiones fictas, videtur quod sicut in primitiva ecclesia habuerunt  
 79<sup>b</sup> 15 Cristi discipuli potestatem faciendi miracula, sic habuerunt potestatem corpora tam rationabilia quam irrationabilia consecrandi. Nam Marc. ultimo scribitur.  
 Marc. XVI, *Signa autem eos qui crediderint hec sequentur: In nomine meo demona eicient* etc. Cum igitur in corporibus tam  
 17, 18 animatis quam inanimatis latent demonia, ut patet de  
 20 legione demonum missa in porcos, Marc. 5<sup>o</sup> et in aere  
 Marc. V, 13 et in aliis corporibus, ubi magis nocent homini, est notorium hos latere; ewangelium autem igitur permittens, nedum sacerdotibus, sed generaliter in Christum  
 25 credentibus, potestatem et effectum eiciendi demonia, dat fidem quod sic possunt in Christum credentes, cum potestas domini inextingwibilis perpetuo sit parata

Wyclif's theory of sacramentals. Christ's disciples had the power to cast out devils and work miracles; and as devils lie hid in animals and other things (which is a well-known fact) the Gospel ascribes the power of casting them out to all who believe in Christ.

C. Credo tamen quod sufficerent de clero, sicut fuit tempore apostoli, diaconus et sacerdos. Nam habundantius  
 30 onus ecclesie est infundabile; nisi quia sic placet satrapis, et, ut fingitur, ad honorem et usum ecclesie prodest multum. Ille igitur qui habet potestatem purgandi corpus a demonio, habet etiam potestatem consecrandi, sive per eos deus det novam virtutem, sive  
 35 amovendo prohibens resuscitet antiquam.

But the two orders of priests and deacons were sufficient; the others have been only a burden to the Church. Whosoever can cast devils out of anything, has therefore the power to bless it. But as the faith of many fails, we may believe that some priests have not this power — not

Sed sicut multi, etiam sacerdotes, in fide deficiunt, sic credibile est quod deficiunt in ministrando sacramenta et sacramentalia; non solum quo ad modum virtuosi ministerii, sed in penam peccati sui et populi  
 40 desunt crebrius quo ad substantiam sacramenti, quia

1. et cera A; *ib.* cero *pro* cereo AB. 12. cosecraret C. 13. obiectibus A. 18. sequenter A. 21. Marc. *deest*; blank space B. 27. potestates A. 29. Non C.

affirming this  
without a  
special  
revelation, but  
tearing and  
suspecting them  
— if we see that  
they do not  
follow Christ's  
law.

We cannot  
suppose without  
blasphemy that  
God would  
give such  
power to such  
a man. If a  
king knew  
beforehand  
that such a one  
would be a  
traitor, would  
he not be  
foolish if he  
trusted his  
power to him?  
A priest who  
sometimes  
does wrong  
abuses his  
power: one who  
continually  
does wrong  
does not, for he  
has no power.  
And the best  
proof that he  
has none is to  
be proud of  
it, to whatever  
station of the  
priesthood he  
may belong.

We must  
believe our  
senses for  
things of the  
senses; and as  
for things  
beyond the  
senses, we  
we should judge  
according to  
works.

Thus,  
sometimes the  
priest blesses  
the water

non sunt illi quibus deus concessit huiusmodi potestatem. Et licet nemo debet presumere de quoquam sine revelacione hoc credere, sic nec debet ut perfidiam illud discredere, sed timere. Ad quod capitur evidencia probabilis fortem suspicionem generans, si clericus vel 5 prelatus non servat legem Cristi suo officio limitatam. Tunc enim indicat quod deus, sciens omnia preterita et futura, non ponit eum in tali officio, quod scit quod in penam peccati ipsum impossibilitat adimplere. Unde videtur blasfemia quod deus det sacerdoti huiusmodi 10 potestatem. Si enim rex presciret clare quod quis sit proditor regni sui, et super illam scienciam daret sibi potestatem plenam ad talia gubernacula talis regni, nonne iudicaretur quod rex talis foret improvidus? Sic igitur affirmans talem pseudo-officiarium habere pote- 15 statem tantam, cum non possit illam habere, nisi adeo implicat blasfeme quod deus, omnium conditor, sit imprudens. Ille igitur, qui ante et post recte supplebit officium et interim ad hōram errat in ministerio, abutitur sua potestate. Ille autem, qui perpetuo non facit 20 recte tale officium, non abutitur potestate, nisi forte pretenso vel communi, quia non habet potestatem talem specificam, licet pompaverit se habere. Unde evidencia fortis est, quod prelatus errat experts potestatis huiusmodi; si pompaverit (sive papa, sive cardinalis, sive 25 episcopus arrogans et pompans) si segnis in humili Cristi officio; frustra quo ad scolam Cristi huiusmodi potestatem. Periculosum itaque foret hominem vindicare novitatem potestatis, sicut spissim fit in materia de eukaristia, vel antiquam potestatem sine correspondencia 30 operis asserere se habere. Deus enim ordinavit quod operibus, que hinc ordinavit sensibilia debemus credere, et potestatem, quam ordinavit insensibilem et nobis absconditam ex operibus de levi debemus supponere. Modo autem eversivi scola anticristi, dimissis operi- 35 bus, contendit circa magnitudinem potestatis. Nec dubium quin innaturalis scole eversio originatur a rege superbie.

Redeundo igitur ad propositum, conceditur quod in D. casu sacerdos rite benedicit pani, aque, oleo et si-

5. supposicionem C. 10. modi *deest* A. 11. sit continue B.  
14. nomine A. 17. proditor B. 22. pretensa B. 24. erret C; *ib.* et  
pars A; ex parte C. 25. si *pro* sive *before* papa AB. 27, 28. huius-  
modi potestate *pro* officio — potestatem B. 29. sit *omnes* MSS.  
30. antiqua A. 31, 32. quod operibus *deest* C. 32. hic A. 35. om̃i A;  
eversi B.

milibus altero dictorum modorum vel utroque, et clericus in casu rite ministrat hec populo; et sepe contingit fieri errorem in utroque. Concedunt enim quod aqua benedicta est infinitum melior non benedicta: ymmo  
 5 infinitum melior vino quantolibet non sacramento; et tamen negligencia qua tractant ipsam dat populo fidem quod false illudunt laycis, credentes contrarium. Excessus, inquam, quo aqua benedicta excedit non benedictam, cum aliquantum facit ad eius melioracionem, et in nulla pro-  
 10 porcione racionalibili, non restat nisi quod sit infinitum melior. Et per idem videtur quod predia mortificata et consecrata ecclesie, dum fiunt Cristi patrimonium, infinitum meliorarentur, et sic regnum. Sanctitas autem superaddita, que non est racionaliter numismati com-  
 15 parabilis, videtur infinitum melior quam dispositio corporalalis. Sed videtur quod bona talia et regna sint inde potius peiorata, quia ordinacioni dei ut sic contraria. Ideo videtur quod anticristus mendaciter blasphematur in potestate diabolica contra Christum, quia ordinacioni  
 20 Cristi repugnat, et false vendicat potenciam, quam non fundat in Christo. In cuius signum res | sic sacrate crebrius et vilius emuntur ab anticristi discipulis quam alia non sacrata. Ideo videtur quod scola sua sit contraria sibi  
 25 ipsi, cum symoniace blasphematur implicite quod deus malus et non dominus facit ista. Talia itaque que lucrum non sapiunt, licet rite sanctificata fuerint, sunt hodie parvipensa. Sed alia, quorum sanctificacio est infundabilis, sunt simulacione falsa ab yppocritis comendata.

Clericus igitur baiulus aque benedictae debet reverenter  
 30 ipsam spargere, et non nimis crebro aquam extraneam comiscere; quandoque tamen deus sanctificat nobis incognite. Et cum talis sanctitas sit nobis inutilis, nisi de quanto ordinatur ad sanctitatem mentis, debet moderate postponi, ut cerimonia, quo ad ipsam. Ne-  
 35 cesse quidem est uti ceremoniis, quamdiu est religio viatorum imperfecta. Sed totum periculum est in preponderancia sua ultra per se finem talis ceremonie magis bonum; ut si sanctitas mentis honoretur eque bene vel melius sine usu talium consecratorum, religiosum foret  
 40 ipsa dimittere. Sic enim dimittentur in patria, sicut

and the door-keeper distributes it rightly; sometimes not. Holy water is infinitely better than any other, even than non-consecrated wine; yet it is treated with much neglect.

Lands consecrated to the Church should also be infinitely better; but in fact they are worse, as opposed to God's ordinance: Antichrist falsely claims to consecrate them, for the sake of lucre.

The door-keeper should sprinkle the holy water with reverence and not add water to it too frequently. We should not set this 'blessedness' of the water too much in the foreground: it is only for our use. Ceremonies are necessary here below; but there is danger

4. est — benedicta *deest* C. 10. fit A. 13. enim B. 11, 15. numismati corporalis AB; numismati C. 16. mihi A. 28. gmedant<sup>mm</sup> A. 29. autem B. 36. est *deest* A; *ib.* in *deest* B. 37. sentencie AB. 38. haberetur AC.

in making too much of them. We must keep aloof from two excesses:

contempt of these rites and an exaggerated esteem for them: i. e. as in private religions &c. a greater esteem for them than for their end.

These blessings, necessary to salvation, are yet better than the Friars' observances.

As for the mixing of consecrated with

unconsecrated oil, it is a still more serious matter, since

such consecration, reserved to Bishops only, is made at great expense, and is the object of Canon law;

yet it often happens that the oil of Baptism or Confirmation is so mixed that it is no longer consecrated. In all this we have to consider our spiritual profit, caring little for the rites in themselves.

privata religio. Utrobique enim est nimietas ponderantie et ritus despectio contempnenda. Et omnino prima pars, ut patet ex religionibus privatis; et adinventiones humanas studentibus, et nimis onerantibus simplices, cum illa appreciantur amplius quam finem eorum. Sed di-<sup>5</sup> missio aliquorum que lucrum non sapiunt, ut fructuum, carniū et pere cum baculo, et eis similibus, docet quod omnia ista, habitis suis finibus, sunt preternecessaria ad salutem. Omnia tamen ista ex antiquitate et ratione sunt evidenciora quam ritus vel ordines <sup>10</sup> mendicantium super ewangelium introducti.

In comixione autem olei non consecrati cum con-<sup>E.</sup> secrato est maior fallacia anticristi. Primo, quia res censetur ex maiori solempnitate sacramenti solum sanctificationi episcopi deputata; ideo eius negligencia <sup>15</sup> est amplius ponderanda. 2<sup>o</sup>, quia episcopus, cui sine ratione sed ob superbam preeminenciam deputatur hec consecratio, debet 2<sup>m</sup> largas expensas sibi deputatas a regnis de fabrice sue ministerio, cum undiquaque iacet maius periculum, solicius provideri. Et 3<sup>o</sup>, quia leges <sup>20</sup> limitant periodum in novacionem olei consecrati, ut patet de consecr. dist. 1<sup>a</sup> "Si quis de alio crismate quam de illo novo quod proprii episcopi largicione acceperit, baptizare aliquem, nisi preoccupante morte, temptaverit, pro temeritatis ausu ipse in se proprie dampnacionis <sup>25</sup> protulisse sentenciam manifestatur. Non sic autem de aqua benedicta". Nec dubium, quin tanta vel maior sit ratio, quia contingit oleum non consecratum oleo consecrato adeo comisceri, quod baptisetur vel confirmetur fidelis omnino oleo non consecrato, in quo stabilito <sup>30</sup> sacramento iacet magnum periculum. In omnibus autem istis, eciam usque ad sacramenta, attendendum est ad fructus, si habeantur facilius, fertilius et ecclesie primitive similis sine talibus signis, quam elaboracione eorum; et est secure ab eis in suis fructibus quies-<sup>35</sup>

14. sciencie C. 19, 20. cum — solicius *deest* C. 23. *de deest* C; *ib.* acceperis A. 27. *est* A. 30. fidelis *deest* B: *ib.* sacrato C. 31. in quo iacet B; iaceret C. 34. cum B; sive C; *ib.* ex celebracione A.

12. The *Rituale Romanum* (edit. 1750) says: Curet Parochus ut ea (sc. olea) suo tempore quam primum habeat, et tunc vetera in Ecclesia comburat . . . Veteribus oleis nisi necessitas cogat ultra annum non utatur; ac si deficere videantur, et chrisma aut oleum benedictum haberi non posset, aliud oleum de olivis non benedictum adjiciatur, sed in minori quantitate. 22. Decr. Grat. De Cons., D. IV., c. 122.



cendum, et contempto satrape precepto, in lege domini confidendum.

Sed quo ad secundam maneriem clericorum extra-  
ordinariorum, notandum quod sunt nimis multiplices,  
5 cum pene tot sunt officia huiusmodi clericorum, quot  
sunt officia virilia et pacifica in domibus vel officiis  
regum et secularium dominorum: ut in officiis regum  
sunt cancellarii, thesaurarii, clerici de secreto et pri-  
vato sigillo, clerici de parvo bag: ergo et infinita que non  
10 expedit iam narrare. Et cum secularibus dominis sunt  
clerici de coquina, cum eis similibus. Ymmo oportet  
vicecomitem et iusticiarium, senescalum vel ballivum,  
habere clericum servantem. Nec dubium quin tota ista  
maneries clericorum magis a ratione clerici degenerat,  
15 quam parrochialis clericus in quantum talis. Et iterum  
certum est quod regna que sic monstruose transferunt  
officia clericorum, ut sic, parturiunt dissensiones, derisiones,  
et multa bella regnis: que vel paulative vel subito oportet  
prorumpere, quia oportet quod ordinacioni divine contra-  
20 rius vincatur. Nec capit excusacionem ista proditoria  
ministrorum domus dei subversio, cum nedum ordinacioni  
divine inponitur blasfeme stulticia, sed in domo dei sive  
ecclesia, matre nostra, emergunt latenter multa facinora; et  
specialiter, dum clerici infra sacros ordines et curati occu-  
25 pantur circa secularia. De aliis autem vocatis clericis extra  
hunc statum, cum licet eis coniugari ut laicis, non contendo.

Unde leges ecclesie ex auctoritate scripture dampnant  
hunc modum, ut 21 qu. 3 ca<sup>o</sup> *Modo*, canon sic loqui-  
tur: "Apostolorum statuta sunt que dicunt: *Nemo mili-*  
30 *tans deo implicat se negociis secularibus*. Proinde aut  
clerici sint sine actoribus domorum, aut actores sine  
80<sup>b</sup> officio clericorum." Et sequitur: "Clerici non nisi altari  
et sacrificiis deservire et precibus atque oracionibus  
vacare debent." Et allegat ut supra, illud 1<sup>a</sup> thymo. 2<sup>o</sup>:  
35 *Nemo militans deo implicat se negociis secularibus, ut ei*  
2 Tim. *placeat, cui se probavit*. Item 3<sup>o</sup> decretalium in fine,  
II, 4 quando magis claudicavit religio cristiana, sic scribitur  
in nomine pape Eugenii: "Sacerdotibus et clericis tuis

A second point  
against the  
inferior clergy  
is their too  
great number;  
they are to be  
found in the  
king's court and  
in all great  
houses,  
occupying every  
function:  
chancellors,  
treasurers,  
clerks of the  
Privy Seal and  
Petty Bag &c.,  
even clerk of  
the kitchen;  
and every great  
officer has a  
clerk to serve  
him.  
This is very  
wrong,

and quite  
inexcusable,

at least as  
concerns such  
'clerks' as  
really belong to  
the clergy.  
It is forbidden  
by several  
canons.

'Let clerks have  
no domestic  
offices, or let  
the officers of  
the household  
not be clerks'.  
'Their  
business is at  
the Altar, and  
with prayer'.

"They must be  
publicly  
forbidden to

1, 2, et -- confidendum *deest* A. 7, 8. ut -- sunt *deest* C. 9. baggo A;  
baggo C. 12. et senescallum B. 13. clicum C. 14. a *deest* C.  
18. que *twice* C. 24, 25. occupant A. 30. curis A; *ib.* autem A. 32. Nota  
quod clerici non debent dominis temporalibus secularibus ministrare *at*  
*top of page* B. 34. 2 B. 37. quin A.

28. Decr. Grat. 2<sup>a</sup> Pars., Ca XXI, qu. 34, c. 2 and 4. 38. Decr.  
Greg., l. III, tit. 50, cap. 2.

deal with  
money matters;  
if they do, and  
are taken in  
fraud, the  
Church must  
not help them".

It is clear from  
these laws that  
no good  
Christian  
should give a  
clerk any  
secular  
employment.

To act  
otherwise is  
blindly to  
dishonour the  
Church, our  
mother.

Sophisms by  
which this  
custom is  
defended.  
1. "It favours  
the prosperity  
of the  
kingdom".

But it is  
contrary to  
Scripture.

2. "The  
lawsforbidding  
it are  
obsolete."  
But Christ's  
law is eternal,  
and cannot  
become  
obsolete.  
The antiquity  
of an abuse  
proves nothing  
in its favour.  
3. "Kings have  
the right to  
promote whom  
they will of

denuncies publice, ne ministri laycorum fiant, nec in  
rebus eorum procuratores existant. Quod si postmodum  
facere presumant, et occasione ipsius administracionis  
propter peccuniarum causam deprehendantur in fraude,  
indignum est eis ab ecclesia subveniri, per quos constat 5  
in ecclesia scandalum generari." Ex istis benedictis  
legibus elaboratis ex fide scripture, patet quod qui-  
cunque secularis dominus qui diligit matrem ecclesiam  
debet ministros eius servare honorifice in illo mini-  
sterio quod dominus eis limitavit. Si enim sacerdotes 10  
occupat in seculari officio ob spem promocionis sy-  
moniacę, ut sic vivant secularius et dicitur quo ad  
mundum, nullus scelestius vel turpius inficit matrem  
suam. Et sic, ex cecitate qua honorando putat ecclesie  
in illis benefacere, sumptuose dampnificat se et illos, 15  
cum secundum legem dei, Exo. 20, *Qui non honorat* Exod.  
*matrem* carnalem et magis spiritualem, carebit longevi- XX, 12  
tate et prosperitate *super terram*, quia vite passivo prin-  
cipio contradicit. Diabolus itaque cum bonis temporali-  
bus minimis execat carnales, faciendo eos credere de 20  
umbris quod sint luces contrarie legi Cristi.

2<sup>o</sup> notaret fidelis fallaciam argucie anticristi, qua G.  
ex antiquitate vendicatur tales clerici oppressiones con-  
petere regie maiestati. "Bene", inquit, "et prospere  
stetit cum regno, quando fuit per clerum taliter mini- 25  
stratum." In isto oportet, contra anticristi perfidiam,  
fidem scripture et leges ecclesie ex illa collatas sup-  
ponere. Et patet ex ewangelio, quod esse *in domibus* Matth.  
*regum et vestiri mollibus* propter gubernacionem vel XI, 9  
dominacionem secularem familie est contrarium clero 30  
Cristi, cum hoc venenum fugerunt Cristus et sui apostoli  
cum Baptista. Nec valet dicere quod oportet legem  
istam mutari; quia est lex Cristi eterna, cui non est  
superior successura. Sed maior videtur nunc necessitas,  
propter maioritatem periculi, quod diligentius observe- 35  
tur. Nec excusat antiquitas, cum nequicia diaboli sit  
longe antiquior, et potestas sua de qua superbit sit  
potestate regis superior. Ideo oportet videre, super anti-  
quitatem, licenciam in speculo scripturarum. 3<sup>o</sup> monen-  
tur reges quod licet eis hec facere, quia licet eis legios 40  
et promotos suos ad tam necessarium officium deputare.

4. fraudem C.  
51. fig'am't C.

11. occupant A.  
37. scribit A.

13. modum A.

20. nimis A.

17, 18. lon-  
ganimitate B.

18. passio B.

30. contrarium adest A.

Sed constat quod repugnat cuicunque domino abuti  
 possesso, sicut repugnat cuicunque subdito subtrahere  
 ordinationem vel servicium domini capitalis. Deus autem  
 est dominus capitalis cuiuscunque creature. Ideo in omni  
 5 exactione regis quo ad servicium clericorum debet ex-  
 cipi servicium debitum illi domino capitali. Ymmo,  
 supposito quod talis apostota consentiret vel affectaret  
 sic monstruose secularibus dominis deservire, illi domini  
 detestarentur eos tamquam inutiles et proditores dei et  
 10 hominum; nec plus acceptarent eorum servicium quam  
 demonum, cum acceptando involverent se infidelitatis  
 periculo aput deum, et inficerent se proditorio servicio  
 per talem clericum. Ideo, idem esset regalias regum  
 illud exigere, et, blasphemando se esse superiores domino,  
 15 inficere se et regnum. Et patet quod promocio sy-  
 moniaci parturit talia magis mala; quia in hoc con-  
 ducitur, ut sit proditor deo suo.

Nec sunt evidencie diaboli digne memoria. Dicit enim  
 quod stat clericum facere utrumque servicium: sed illi  
 20 clerici non sunt apciores quam erant apostoli. Ipsi enim  
 non sufferunt, sine peccato omissionis, pure servire do-  
 mino Jesu Cristo. Quomodo igitur serviret sibi inculpa-  
 biliter talis derisus homuncio? Nonne dicit apostolus  
 negativam: *nemo militans deo implicat se negociis se-*  
 25 *cularibus?* Sed ubi est maior implicacio, quam sic  
 assidua et obligatoria et mundana ministracio? Alienacio  
 quidem a Cristi servicio que in omni genere cleri cor-  
 30ruit, est implicacionis secularis testificacio. Secularis  
 autem non, ut sic, militat deo, sed forte venialiter  
 35servit mundo. Laxent itaque clerici sic pompantes suam  
 magnam operationem in piscacione hominum 2<sup>m</sup> recia  
 sancti Petri. Sed ille *relictis omnibus* ante hec *secutus*  
 Luc. *est dominum Jesum Cristum*, ut patet Lu. 5. Si igitur  
 V, 11 *seculare servicium sit regi necessarium, compleatur per*  
 35 *secularem ad illud ydoneum, et differatur divinum ser-*  
*vicium. Si autem curatus servit regibus, serviat pure*  
*clericale servicium sive consilium; et resignet, vel per*  
*alium preordinet, curatoris officium. Et sic, si anti-*  
 40 *cristus fingit nullum alium sufficere ad occupandum*  
*seculare regis officium, degradetur vel fiat laicus, per-*

their subjects  
 to such  
 necessary  
 offices".  
 But kings may  
 not abuse their  
 rights to take  
 away from  
 those of the  
 King of Kings.  
 A man willing  
 to be thus  
 promoted would  
 be a traitor  
 to God and  
 man, whose  
 service should  
 be no more  
 accepted than  
 those of devils.

The arguments  
 in favour of  
 this custom are  
 very weak. It is  
 false that both  
 services can be  
 properly  
 performed: the  
 Apostles  
 themselves were  
 not equal to  
 the task.  
 As a fact,  
 Christ's service  
 is abandoned  
 when the clergy  
 has to serve the  
 world.

Let them not  
 boast of being  
 fishers of men:  
 Peter left all to  
 follow Christ.  
 Seculars should  
 perform secular  
 duties.

If a curate  
 serves the king,  
 let him do  
 simply clerk's  
 service; and  
 let him give up  
 his curacy,  
 and become a  
 layman.

4. capitalis *deest* B. 11. ut C. 13. regalis A. 14. interiores B.  
 15. quomodo C. 19. constat C. 20. essent B. 26. et *before* mundana  
*deest* B. 27. quod *omnes* MSS. 27, 28. cernit A. 33. cum A.  
 35. deseratur A. 36. servit *omnes* MSS.

He must, to  
keep his  
clerical  
privilege, refuse  
secular work.

It is said that  
the king cannot  
afford to pay  
his servants,  
unless by giving  
them  
benefices.  
But it is  
precisely the  
endowment of  
the clergy that  
causes all the  
difficulty.

It is indeed the  
ruin of the  
State or the  
ruin of the  
Church: the  
clergy must  
either not exist,  
or serve the  
king rather  
than God: both  
are  
blasphemous  
conclusions.  
They say that  
temporal lords  
might spend  
less: which is  
true, but still  
more true of  
them.  
At any rate,  
Christ did not  
condemn the  
sumptuous  
living of  
seculars.

A defender of  
the rights of  
the poor might  
say: These  
people are most  
wretched: and  
this is the fault  
either of the  
clergy or of the  
secular powers;  
by their avarice  
and prodigality.

dendo clericale privilegium. Vel si vult ipsum | servare, 81"  
abneget impossibile seculare servicium, sicut oportet  
iuxta legem predictam. Nam curator domorum vel  
ductor secularis negotii aut dimittet, aut confundet  
alterum, vel utrumque. 5

Sed obicitur quod ita extraneata sunt terre dominia,  
ut regaliis repugnet habere clericos necessarios servi-  
tores, nisi de beneficiis quibus dotatur ecclesia, fiat  
beneficii reconpensa. Sed maledictum illud insane dia-  
boli incitamentum, quo inducitur tantum inconveniens 10  
utrobique! Nam idem est ac si inferatur ex dotacione  
ecclesie venenosa quod ipsa non staret nisi vel destructi  
forent principes seculares; vel verificaretur principium  
patris mendacii: quod clericus sit non clericus; vel  
quod regi seculari debet servire, deo postposito. Sed 15  
cum utrumque posteriorum sit notum blasphemum in-  
conveniens implicare, necessitati sunt asserentes hoc  
antecedens, quod dotacio predicta ecclesie antecederet  
necessitat ad destruccionem secularium dominorum,  
quod licet sit eis verum incognitum, tamen tam pos-  
sessionati quam fratres educati in veneno fugiunt veram  
medicinam salutiferam, ut venenum. Palliant enim quod  
seculares domini possent vivere vitam pauperiorem, et  
sic de bonis dei minus expendere: quod licet sit verum,  
tamen in ipsis caperet sua *de inesse* verificacionem 25  
rationi plus congruam; cum Cristus et apostoli cum  
aliis religiosi ipsos de propinquiori sequentibus vixerunt  
valde parce et nullis secularibus onerose; seculares autem  
tacendo (quod equivalet consensui) permisit Cristus vi-  
vere seculariter sumptuose. 30

Ideo procurator pauperum communitatum sic pro I.  
illis argueret: "Dicti vulgares ex defectu bonorum tem-  
poralium miserabiliter et differenter vexantur inopia;  
quod non esset, nisi comunitas predicta proporcionaliter  
peccaret, vel clerus aut seculare brachium ipsa avare 35  
consumeret; cum deus non potest providendo de illis  
bonis deficere. Cum igitur notum sit, quod in istis  
duabus filiis sanguisuge sit maius peccatum, tam avare  
retinendo hec bona, quam prodigaliter consumendo in  
altera istarum parcium vel in utraque, restat correccio 40

4. vel *pro* aut *before* confundet C. 13. fuerint C. 15. fregi A.  
20. cum C. 22. Palliatum A. 35. quare B.

25. *Sua*. Probably *propositio* is understood.

huius iniurie. Sed cum notum sit quod huiusmodi defectus stat magis in clero, tota ecclesia debet correccioni isti intendere. Ex parte autem brachii secularis, patet quod ipsum habet precipuum interesse. Nam omnia  
 5 illa temporalia dominia que clerus occupat, debent alteri brachio pertinere; et suum est bona sua requirere, tum, quia dedit illis deus potestatem coactivam ad talia requirendum, tum etiam quia talium excommunicatorum ministerium inficit ecclesiam, et specialiter ex consensu. Unde, quia scola diaboli est ordo  
 10 nimis preposterus severe invadere alia regna, ad que vix habemus scintillam iuris, et in facie nostra permittere anticristum sacrilege consumere bona nostra: non dubium quin diabolus sic cecat et vecordat ecclesiam."

Item constat ex fide, quod Cristus sic ordinavit clerum suum totum vivere vitam pauperem expropriarie, et illa ordinatio plurimum est eversa, clero occupante dominia que ex dei ordinatione debent adiacere brachio  
 20 seculari. Igitur reges, qui secundum Augustinum sunt dei vicarii, debent rectificare dei iniuriam. Et hinc dicit Augustinus, ut recitatur 15 q. 4<sup>a</sup> ca<sup>o</sup> *Quicumque*, quod beatus Aurelius debuit iure poli restituere cuidam layco redditus, quos dedit ecclesie sue. Nec dubium  
 25 quin eadem est ratio de omnibus possessionatis clericis; et sic excommunicative et sacrilege detinent aliena. Quantum ad assumptum, patet quod pusillus grex apostolorum secundum formam quam Cristus instituit, debuit esse exemplar et origo tocius posterioris ecclesie cristiane; sed Cristus eos instituit instar sui in summa  
 30 pauperie. Ideo superiores de clero debent sic vivere. Unde Cristus non aptavit eis officium quod requireret expensas alias seculares, sed licet omnis cristianus debet ex fide usque ad mortem defendere istam sententiam  
 35 cum sequentibus, tamen tanta est anticristi perfidia quod post lapsum cesareum quo diabolice sunt dotati, ista fides cum suis sequentibus contempnitur vel gloriatur. In tantum quod maior infidelitas regnat inter nos nomine cristianos quam inter sectas paganicas,  
 40 quas maxime detestamur. Ipsi enim fatentur Cristum K. fuisse prophetam eximium, sed non deum. Sed quan-

The clergy being most to blame, the whole Church must remedy this; and chiefly the secular powers, to whom all ecclesiastical possessions belong by right, and who possess the might to coerce the clergy. It is blindness to invade kingdoms to which we have very little right, and to suffer Antichrist thus to devour us at home.

Our faith teaches that the clergy ought to live without possessions;

and kings, vicars of God, should redress this wrong.

The case quoted by Augustine is that of the whole clergy: they ought to make restitution. Christ's

Apostles were the pattern of the clergy;

so the latter should live in poverty, like the former. Every Christian should uphold this belief, even unto death; yet, worse than Mahometans who deny Christ's divinity, but follow many of his laws,

6, 7. relinquere B. 7. tamen A. 8. tamen A. 16. sic *deest* BD.  
 22. 17 BC. 23. Dei B. 26. excommunicate C; *ib.* tenet A; *ib.*  
 arenam A 36. quod A. 39. nos *deest* C.



we assert his  
divinity, but  
refuse to obey  
him,

following  
neither his  
example nor his  
precepts.  
And the Friars,  
whose  
profession of  
poverty should  
have made  
them the  
foremost to  
defend this, are  
backsliders,  
and do all they  
can to uphold  
the other side.

But notwith-  
standing the  
devil, it is clear  
that  
ecclesiastical  
possessions, in  
so far as they  
go beyond what  
is necessary, is  
mere spoliation

of the poor.  
They are but  
ministers to the  
wants of the  
poor, who have  
a right to be  
helped by  
them; and as  
they fail in  
in this duty,  
the secular  
lords should  
do theirs.

For these  
possessions  
belong to them;  
and it is  
strange that  
they should  
grind the poor  
when their  
own treasury is  
in the devil's  
hands.

They seize  
upon crumbs  
and leave the  
whole loaf  
untouched.

tum ad multas leges suas ipsi credunt ipsas nobis per-  
feccius et observant. Nos, inquam, voce dicimus Cristum  
esse deum et hominem, sed vitam suam in facto sper-  
nimus, et maiorem partem legis sue tanquam falsam  
et irrationabilem denegamus; sic quod tollerabilior 5  
foret blasfemia negare deitatem Cristi et servare eius  
mandata et consilia, ut pagani. Nos, inquam, dupli-  
cantes mendacia plus opere blasfemamus; quia nec  
volumus defendere vitam Cristi, nec verba. In tantum  
quod fratres, quorum professio | atque perfeccio foret 10 81<sup>b</sup>  
excellenter defendere Cristi pauperiem callidius, tanquam  
sophiste diabolici retrocedunt. Licet autem constat ex  
fide scripture et sensu quod per declinationem cleri  
ad seculum religio Cristi et fides subvertitur, tamen  
tam fratres quam possessionati diligenter laborant quo 15  
possent in terrenis seculares dirripere, et partem suam  
per terrores diaboli et blasfemam yppocrisim confir-  
mare. Sed pars Cristi invito diabolo magis claret quam  
totum quod clerus occupat preter necessarium ad sui  
ministerium; et hoc ex titulo elemosine secularium est 20  
iniustum, et per consequens iniuste occupant predia  
temporalia preter necessaria popularibus oppressis in-  
opia.

Item, quecunque temporalia que clerus possiderit,  
sunt bona pauperum, ut hic suppono. Sed de omnibus 25  
bonis pauperum debent esse indifferentes ministri et  
fideles dantes prout unicuique opus erat; ergo de omni-  
bus bonis cleri debet esse particio; et per consequens,  
pauperibus de populo magis egentibus, debet illis de  
ipsis bonis comunibus cleri distribui. Cum igitur clerus 30  
in hoc deficit, restat quod domini seculares debent  
distribucionem huiusmodi ordinare. Ipsorum enim sunt  
elemosine, ipsas debent dominacionis titulo gubernare,  
et clerum occupantem ista sic sacrilege de alienis, in-  
consulto anticristo, precipue spoliare. Quis igitur spiri- 35  
tus moveret homines seculares sic rapere pauperes et  
egenos, dum thesaurus suus iacet in manu diaboli?  
Quem thesaurum debent secundum legem domini ordi-  
nare. Idem videtur ac si sathan, religioni Cristi ad-  
versans, buccellas edentis diriperet, et pastum integrum 40

7, 8. duplices A. 15. cum pro tam omnes MSS. 27. cuicunque B;  
cuicque C; ib. igitur C. 28. cleri deest A. 31. temporales B. 34. sit A.  
35, 36. spiritus deest A; sanctus AB. 36. mon'et A. 37. aurarius C.  
39. Ideo B.

quem facilius capere posset, dimitteret; deus indubie  
 L. requireret ab illis rationem credite potestatis. Nec  
 dubium quin ista sit causa quare tot dissensiones et  
 murmura sunt in regnis; tum, quia in illa mamona  
 5 comunitas ex particione iniqua comuniter magis peccat,  
 ideo ratio exigit quod in illa comunius puniatur; tum  
 etiam quia ab exemplacione cleri circa illam magis  
 profunde afficitur. Ideo necesse est quod pugne, lites,  
 contenciones et conversancium discordie sint comunius  
 10 circa illam. Si enim clerus prepossessionatus regni  
 nostri preposuisset hoc anno pedagium regi pro populo,  
 quid necesse fuisset populum contra dominos tam in-  
 debite surexisse? Nec dubium quin nulla tertia ecclesie  
 immunis sit: comunitas, quia indebite et inpacienter  
 15 homines omnis generis punierunt; et domini, quia bona  
 pauperum inprovidie receperunt; et omnino clerus, tum  
 quia pauperes de populo corporali subsidio non iuverunt.  
 tum etiam, quia nec vulgares regum obedienciam do-  
 cuerunt. Si enim episcopi et rectores etiam medietatem  
 20 sui superflui ad illud dedissent laicis, tunc cum paribus  
 totum illud dispendium precavissent. Et revera, ille cui  
 sunt stercora temporalium cariora tanto bono pacis  
 provincie proditorie occupat ipsa bona, et ille frater  
 qui non vult docere populum quomodo de lege Christi  
 25 obediret dominis, ut patet de Cristo et suis apostolis.  
 Cuius ratio videtur, quia non infert lucrum fratribus  
 de vulgaribus, quos taliter hortarentur. Ille, inquam,  
 frater modicum aut nichil hortaretur dominos tem-  
 porales ad misericordiam super vulgus vel ipsum ad  
 30 obedienter petendum misericordiam et serviendum do-  
 minis, sicut fecit apostolus. Et ratione est quod pre-  
 diligunt de ambobus contrariis plus bona sua tempo-  
 ralia quam salvacionem et pacem mutuam, vel alia  
 spiritualia bona dei. Et ideo sunt duplices et vecordes  
 35 cum istis partibus, cum pars diaboli, que viam dei non  
 graditur, sit perplexa.

Remedium igitur theoricum, si placeret deo ipsum  
 per seculares homines roborari, foret ad stabilimentum  
 sempiternae concordie et pacis ecclesie, quod defendant

No wonder  
 that there are  
 dissensions  
 for the  
 community  
 shares both in  
 the sin and in  
 the punishment;  
 and it is affected  
 by the ill  
 example of the  
 clergy.

If this year  
 the rich clergy  
 had paid the tax  
 for the poor,  
 they would have  
 had no need to  
 revolt.

All classes were  
 to blame here;  
 the commons,  
 for having  
 acted wrongly;  
 the nobles for  
 having  
 oppressed  
 them; and the  
 clergy  
 especially, for  
 having with-  
 held their aid,  
 and for not  
 having taught  
 them to obey  
 the king,

nor the nobles  
 to be merciful.

The reason is  
 that the clergy  
 preferred to  
 enjoy their  
 possessions.

The remedy  
 would be to  
 take away all  
 ecclesiastical  
 property

1. facillig A. 2. tradite C. 3. sint B. 9. sic A. 10. clerus pre  
 deest B. 11. gadagium A. 15, 16. quia — tum deest C. 20. pau-  
 peribus AB. 23. occupant omnes MSS. 24. w<sup>l</sup> A. 26. inferret B.  
 27. wlgat<sup>b</sup> A; *ib.* exhortarentur BC. 29. wlgu C; *ib.* ad *after* ipsum  
 deest A. 31. ratio C; *ib.* quod deest A. 35. vita AB. 38. noborare B.

and to divide  
it properly  
amongst the  
laity;  
then we should  
see a complete  
regeneration of  
the clergy.

But now we  
see the results  
of the contrary  
system; the  
clergy neglects  
preaching due  
obedience;  
and in that  
part of England  
where they are  
most powerful,  
they are  
most hated.

Such action on  
the part of the  
secular powers  
is not only a  
right but a  
duty; and  
Antichrist  
cannot resist:  
if they had the  
right to give,  
they have the  
right to take.  
If God's law  
could be put  
down, why  
should it not  
be set up again?

And should  
any individual  
resist this  
change,  
Parliament can  
enforce it.

ordinacionem Cristi in clero et populo, ut quod totus  
clerus vivat pure de elemosinis corporalibus tempo-  
ralium, et illi vivant spiritualiter de elemosinis spiri-  
tualibus cleri Cristi. Sic quod omnia bona temporalia  
mortificata ecclesie inter seculares homines sagaciter 5  
sint partita, et omnis turpis occupacio cleri circa hec  
temporalia ad prodessendum ecclesie 2<sup>m</sup> spirituales ele-  
mosinas sit retorta. Tunc enim splenderet lux Cristi in  
regnis, et, toto clero vivente de decimis et oblacionibus  
et privatis elemosinis, vulgares oppressi forent per 10  
mortuorum de clero iam mortua a sua oppressione et  
miseria relevati; et qualibet parrochialia ecclesia ha-  
bente discretum curatum, continuata forent in tribus  
membris ecclesie pax et amor.

Nunc vero clerus, monstruose occupans ista dominia, 15 M.  
nec docet fidem scripture, quomodo infima pars ec-  
clesie | debet dominis secularibus deservire; nec docet 82<sup>a</sup>  
quomodo secundum coactivam potestatem subditi debent  
dominis in moderamine obedire; sed spoliant subiectos  
crudelius domino temporalis. Unde in signum vastitatis 20  
huius doctrine duplicis illa pars Anglie in qua clerus  
monstruosius dominatur, ab ista religione magis silve-  
stricat. Nam naturali instinctu tam innaturale et dia-  
bolicum monstrum in clero totus populus abhorreret.

Nec dubium quin nedum licet sed est debitum do- 25  
minis temporalibus taliter ordinare; nam omittendo  
fovent symoniacos et sacrilegos hostes suos nequissimos,  
ordinacionem domini infideliter reversantes. Quomodo  
igitur prevalet anticristus huic parti Cristus contrarius?  
Si enim phas est dominis temporalibus stulte dotando 30  
ecclesiam dissolvere legem Cristi, quomodo non meren-  
tur dissolvendo tradiciones infundabiles anticristi? Sed  
lex dei in ordinacione cleri sui non habet tantum  
robur, quin potuit dissipari; quomodo lex contraria ad  
tantum perpetuatur ex verbis falsis anticristi oppositis, 35  
quod nulli liceat in perpetuum huic tradicioni fatue  
contraire? Nam mandatum domini est matrem ecclesiam  
2<sup>m</sup> ordinacionis sue pulcritudinem honorare; mandatum  
anticristi est illam pulcritudinem dissipare. Et 3<sup>o</sup> si

8. lex AC. 12. revelati A. 33. huius A; habuit C. 35. ex vii<sup>o</sup>  
anti<sup>o</sup> huius A. 37. contrarie AB; contrariare C. 38. ordinaciones A.

11. De clero. The text must be corrupt here.

secundum mendacia et fictam yppocrisim privata persona regni decepta ordinacioni dei ad deturpacionem ecclesie repugnauit, quomodo non liceret toti regno, secundum mandatum dei, in parlamento publico ad  
 5 tocius regni subsidium se iuvare? Deus itaque necessitat regnum nostrum publice ordinare, ut, cum tota possessione secularis domini occupata per clerum ab eo extracta, ipsius regni necessitas releuetur: sed sub ista condicione opposita, quod status pauperum regni, sub  
 10 ductis taliagiis et eorum spoliacionibus, congrue conservetur. Ista autem condicio continuari posset facilius quam cleri dotati condicio servatur, ad fideliter seruiendum deo, ecclesie et patrono.

Under this condition, however: that tallages should be abolished, and the poor no longer robbed.

Sed procul a regno nostro huius propositi sancti  
 15 omissio, ex terrore falsorum fratrum et clericorum de censuris sophisticis anticristi! Deus enim ipsum et apparenciam religionis sue debilitat, et in agressu plus ardui tam nostros quam anticristi domesticos refocillat.

Let us not fear the censures of Antichrist; he is now weakened by the power of God.

N. Diabolus autem primo necessitat principes huius seculi  
 20 ex pietate ceca gravare sarcina secularis dominii clerum, qui alia via debet sequi Cristum pauperrimum, sic quod per yppocrisim plus simulant sanctitatem huius facinoris, quam Cristus sancivit pauperiem sui ordinis; et sic principes plus quam subtripulum perdiderant sine

But the devil compels secular princes 1. to burden the clergy with possessions,

25 spe conquestus super diabolum de paternis heredibus sive regnis. 2º, habita ista radice discordie, accendit superbam invidiam dictorum principum, ut plus patribus suis seuiant in fratres exteros, et in causa patris mendacii, dimissa causa leui et utili, necessitetur consumere se et sua. Et 3º, cum superbia filiorum diaboli ascendit semper, nec ad hoc suppetunt dictis principibus bona propria, cum redditus derimuntur et expense gravantur, necessitantur spoliare intollerabiliter tenentes pauperes; sic quod ipsis vel cede vel inopia interemtis,

2. to attack foreign lands in defence of the father of lies;

30 sumere se et sua. Et 3º, cum superbia filiorum diaboli ascendit semper, nec ad hoc suppetunt dictis principibus bona propria, cum redditus derimuntur et expense gravantur, necessitantur spoliare intollerabiliter tenentes pauperes; sic quod ipsis vel cede vel inopia interemtis, necesse sit dictos principes cum regnis suis deficere. Ad hoc enim laborat semper diabolus ut usque ad extinctionem propriam redarguat discipulos scole sue. In omnibus autem istis laborat, cautelam sensui, semper simulans sanctitatem et spem ac confidenciam de ter-

and 3. when by this means their revenue is exhausted, to plunder their poor tenants most intolerably. The latter die of hunger or by the sword, and the princes come to ruin. It is thus that the devil works to destroy his

2. de deest C. 5. necessitet BC. 10. spociacoib C. 14. facti A.  
 15. exteriore omnes MSS. 18. r'focillat A. 22. quod yppocrisim plus C.  
 26. attendit AC. 27. et B 27, 28. prioribus B. 28. fines C.  
 29. causale B. 31. huc A. 32. diminuuntur A. 38. sensibili AC;  
 insensibili B.

own followers,  
cautiously at  
first, but with  
utter ruin in  
the end.

And worst of  
all, secular  
princes are  
moved by their  
own enemies to  
persecute the  
faithful as  
heretics.

The king should  
command all  
prelates and  
learned doctors  
in his kingdom  
to speak truly  
what they  
think in this  
matter.  
But it is to be  
feared that  
princes will be  
blind, since no  
warnings have  
as yet opened  
their eyes.

Seven heads of  
a petition.

1. That England  
should obey no  
See, unless such  
obedience  
agrees with  
Christ's law.

2. That no  
money should  
be sent to  
Rome or to  
Avignon, unless  
it is proved to  
be due by Holy  
Writ.

3. That no man  
should enjoy  
any benefice,  
unless resident  
and employed

renis. Sed in fine precipitat suos [in] inconueniens quod  
evitant. Causa autem totius huius malicie est perversa  
deordinacio clericorum, cum plus aptantur per mun-  
dum atque diabolum ut sint discipuli anticristi, quam  
ut 2<sup>m</sup> legem apostolicam militent domino Jesu Cristo. 5

Et super hec omnia diabolus ad tantum cecavit do-  
minos seculares quod credunt inimicis suis domesticis  
infundabiliter contrariantibus huic sentencie et iuvant  
tacite, ut anticristus cum suis fideles defendentes et  
moventes istam sentenciam tanquam hereticos perse- 10  
quantur.

O si rex vellet cunctis prelatiis sui regni et doctori-  
bus habilibus sub gravi pena iniungere quod dicant in  
isto 2<sup>m</sup> legem domini veritatem, subducta lege cesarea  
et tradicionibus frivolis anticristi! Sed timetur quod in 15  
penam inveterate malicie demon per sua organa sic  
obtundit affectus et cecat intellectus principum; quo  
usque tam fides Cristi quam regni prosperitas sint  
prostrata. Nam nec verba nec scripta fidelium nec a  
deo missum frequens periculum movent vel evigilant 20  
anticristum, nisi deo placeat ex speciali gracia suscitare  
et excitare principes ad defendendum propriam regaliam.

*Septem imprecationes ad tutelam regni Anglie per eius  
proceres exequende.*

Quod rex aut regnum nulli sedi vel prelato obediant, | 25  
nisi de quanto ex fide scripture sonat in obedienciam 82<sup>a</sup>  
domino Jesu Cristo. Patet, quia aliter preponeretur Cristo  
in obediencia anticristus. Omnis enim obediencia, que  
non fit Cristo, fit anticristo, quia Luce 11<sup>o</sup>. *Qui non* Luc.  
*est mecum adversum me est.* XI, 23

Quod nec curie Romane, nec Avinoniensi nec alicui  
extere emittatur regni pecunia, nisi doceatur hoc esse  
debitum ex scriptura. Patet: quia aliter foret rapina  
lupi rapacis, quem Cristus Matth. 7<sup>o</sup> dicit esse a fructi-  
bus cognoscendum. Matth.  
VII, 16

Quod nec cardinalis nec alius habeat fructum ecclesie  
vel prebende de Anglia, nisi vel rite resideat, vel  
occupetur legitime in causa a regni procuratoribus

1. suos *deest* A; *ib.* in *deest omnes* MSS. 2. totius *deest* A; *ib.* huius-  
modi malicie C. 7. in istis A. 8. ut C. 9. defendentes *deest* A.

13. humilibus A; *hilibus* C. 23. a<sup>63</sup> *īpēacōē* A; Septem imprecationes ad  
cautelam regni C; *ib.* pro A. 25. autem A; *ib.* obiāt A; obediat C.

31. timore *pro* curie A; *ib.* nec *before* avinoniensi *deest* C; *ib.* animo vice A.  
38. procoribus A; proceribus C.



racionaliter approbata. Patet: quia aliter non intraret in a legitimate and approved manner.  
per Cristum, sed aliunde ascenderet ut anticristi discipulus per traditiones seculi, et tanquam latro predaretur regnum in subiectis pauperibus sine equivalencia  
5 reconpense; quod rex et regnum tenentur destruere et suos a ferocioribus inimicis defendere.

Quod regni comunitas non oneretur talagiis insuetis, antequam totum patrimonium, quo clerus dotatur, deficiat. Patet, quia omnia ista sunt bona pauperum  
10 caritative exponenda ad eorum egenciam, vivente clero in perfeccione primarie paupertatis.

Quod, quocunque episcopo vel curato dotato de Anglia in contemptum dei notorie incidente, nedum liceat regi, sed teneatur sua temporalia confiscare. Patet, quia aliter  
15 regnum infideliter postponeret Cristum regi, eius contemptum ponderans plus quam Cristi.

Quod rex nullum episcopum vel curatum mancipet suo ministerio seculari. Patet: quia aliter tam rex quam clerus foret proditor Jesu Cristi.

20 Quod rex nullum propter moram in excommunicatione incarceret, antequam 2<sup>m</sup> legem dei mora illa sit docta esse illicita. Patet: quia sepe excommunicantur multi inprovide, ubi 2<sup>m</sup> legem dei et ecclesie debeant excommunicationem perpetuo tollere; et autorisare in-  
25 carceracionem hominis propter hoc quod facit ut debet, foret opus demonii meridiani.

Contraria autem istorum, licet sint insensibilia non curata, tamen nimis confundunt rempublicam, quia res insensibiles parvipense sunt maxime in vigore.

1. Ut patet A. 7. non deest A. 8, 9. deficiatur A.

in a legitimate and approved manner.

4. That the Commons should not be burdened with tallages, until all the possessions of the clergy be exhausted.

5. That the king's duty is to confiscate the temporalities of any notoriously wicked Bishop.

6. That the king should employ no ecclesiastic in secular business.

7. That no one should be imprisoned because excommunicated, until it be proved that the sentence is according to God's law.

## CAPITULUM OCTAVUMDECIMUM.

The last  
tormentor is  
the questor.

This class,  
living viciously,  
robbing the  
people,  
and preaching  
falshoods  
about  
indulgences,  
troubles the  
commonwealth.  
Canon law in  
many places  
provides against  
the abuse of  
their functions,

and against  
their evil  
behaviour.

Yet these laws,  
not being  
applied, are of  
no use: it were  
therefore better  
to do away  
with the  
questorship.  
It is impossible  
for the Pope or  
any Bishop to

Sequitur de ultimo tortore tractandum. Questores A. autem multipliciter perturbant rempublicam, scilicet criminaliter conversando, cum sint mechi comuniter et viciosi multifarie communiter. 2º fraudulenter spoliant 5 populum propter causam multiplicem nequius quam raptores. Et 3º, quod est pessimum, fraudant plebem infideliter, superinduentes perfidias de indulgentiis et iuvaminibus mortuorum.

Et licet papa cum ecclesia percepit eorum fallacias, 10 tamen propter pecuniam ex cautela diaboli symoniace defenduntur. Scribitur enim 5º decretalium de penitentiis et remissionibus, caº *Cum ex eo*: "Questores non debent admitti nisi apostolicas, vel diocesani episcopi, literas veras exhibeant; et tunc preter illud quod in 15 ipsis literis continebitur, nichil populo proponere permittantur". Et ibi notatur forma indulgentiarum. Et ibidem infra precipitur quod questores debent esse modesti et discreti, nec in tabernis aut in aliis locis inhonestis hospitentur; nec inutiles aut sumptuosas 20 faciant expensas. Et in Clementinis de penitentiis et remissionibus, in caº *Abusionibus*, inculcatur hoc idem. Et superadditur quod episcopi diocesani diligenter examinant literas apostolicas, ne quid fraudis in eis committatur.

Quid, inquam, valet, tot contra questores statuere, 25 et eorum execucionem dimittere? Ideo videtur quod sunt simpliciter abrogandi, cum propter eorum promulgaciones non edificatur ecclesia, et per consequens nusquam debent admitti, cum nulli apostolicas vel diocesani episcopi literas veras exhibeant; et ut logici 30

1. Ca<sup>m</sup> 18 in red ink A. 2. Initial S in red ink A. 5. cong A; con-  
sequenter C. 10, 17. pernecessitantur A; pretermittantur C. 25. contra  
tot C. 30. et deest C.

13. Decr. Greg. lib. V, tit. 38, c. 14. 22. Decr. Clem. V, 9, 2.

obiciunt, non est in potestate eorum precise illud quo in ipsis literis continetur, populo proponere; nec forma morum eis iniuncta est in episcopi potestate. Ideo excedit potestatem pape et cuiuscunque conversantis episcopi prescindere ab eis, tam intencione quam opere, symoniacam pravitatem et illusionem populi in verbis superfluis et infidelibus. Et sic ad regem et dominos temporales pertinent tales questores et alios predictos raptore excludere.

put a stop to these abuses; this therefore becomes the duty of the secular powers.

10 Probatur sic. Rex, cum sit servus et tenens Cristi, aliquid debet ut sic sibi facere; sed nichil, si non gubernare eius populum 2<sup>m</sup> legem suam; ergo illud officium 2<sup>m</sup> modum suum debet exequi propter Cristum. Et ad hoc sonant multe leges humane, et specialiter dictum apostoli ad Rom. 13, qui dicit quod propterea *habent potestatem a deo*. Ut Luce 19, ille cuius omnia opera sunt ecclesie exemplaria operandi intravit Jerusalem ut rex, et destruxit symoniaca comercia sacerdotum.

*Proofs.* The king, being Christ's lieutenant, ought as such to govern the people according to his law.

20 Item, proportionaliter ut homo debet plus diligere, debet eius contemptus plus odiri. Sed ex primo mandato | decalogi Christus debet amari super omnia: ergo eius contemptus debet proportionaliter odiri. Sed cum in omni peccato Christus primo contempnitur, sequitur 25 quod omne peccatum debet odiri a quolibet, et specialiter a regibus propter Cristum. Sed quomodo odit peccatum, in cuius potestate est ipsum destruere et non facit? Consensus quidem est; cum iuxta sanctorum sententias, qui emendare potest et negligit, absque dubio 30 delicti participem se constituit. Nec valent anticristi excusaciones in hac parte, cum non debet esse lex, privilegium vel dignitas contra Cristum, cum si Lucifer incarnatus faceret contra Cristum, non obstante quod sit maioris dignitatis in natura quam satrape, omnes 35 fideles debent sibi resistere: ymmo si per impossibile angelus de celo inpuget legem Cristi verbo vel opere, tota ecclesia debet sibi obstare. Potentatus itaque fideles, qui ex tanta mercede sunt Cristi tenentes et tam stricte sub gravi pena sibi obligati, debent se obicere contra 40 adversarios Cristi, quia aliter indubie infringunt primum

He should love Christ above all, and therefore not bear to see him treated with contempt. If he does, having the power to hinder it, he becomes guilty by consent.

Privileges and dignities are nothing here; if Lucifer, if an angel from Heaven, were to oppose Christ's law, he should be resisted.

But in these latter days men love themselves more than Christ.

1. illud deest B; id C. 3. 4. ex re de potestate A. 5. prescindere BC.  
10. proditur A; proceditur B. 12. gubernaret B. 13. nomen B.  
16. habet A; ib. Et pro Ut C. 17. extraria A. 24. omnia A; ib.  
prius C. 29. que B. 33. in cart9 A. 40. ipsum pro primum B.

mandatum decalogi, cum illum cuius contemptum plus odiunt, magis diligunt. Sed secundum vaticinium apostoli: *In novissimis diebus sunt homines se ipsos amantes*, cum 2 Tim. ad vindicandum propriam iniuriam currunt precipites, III, 2 sed ad vindicandum iniuriam dei, quem debent supra se 5 ipsos diligere, sunt nimis desides, et sic dei proditores.

This would besides prove very useful from a temporal point of view

More than £ 100.000 annually go out of the kingdom by means of these 12 tormentors, especially the Roman Curia, wicked Bishops, bad priests, monks and friars.

If the king, in addition to his revenue, possessed all that money, he State would be prosperous

Thus not only spiritual but also temporal motives should persuade the Government to act prudently, but firmly.

No fear of censures should daunt them in taking Christ's part.

Item, loquendo ad hominem, videtur quod propria regum utilitas necessitaret ad dei iniuriam vindicandum. Nam 2<sup>m</sup> notantes statum regni nostri, plus quam centum milia librarum rapiuntur per dictos tortores 12<sup>cim</sup> 10 anuatim. Quod cum rex posset faciliter destruere, videtur quod ex stulta desidia gratis vult plus quam medietatem regni sui amittere. Et sic omnes perturbationes que exinde proveniunt, procurat implicite regno contingere: quod est alienum a regis officio. Unde de 15 illis XII tortoribus notant quinque qui sunt precipui filii regis superbie, scilicet: romana curia, episcopi perversi, curati qui non intrant per hostium apostatantes, religiosi possessionati, et 4<sup>or</sup> secte fratrum. Si, inquam, totus thesaurus regni quem ipsi furtive rapiunt, foret servatus Cristo ad usus utiles regi et regno, tanta summa ut predicatur vel maior, preter thesaurum residuum regni nostri sibi cederet ad augmentum prosperitatis, ubi iam ipsum inficit et perturbat. Et sic C. iuxta passionem marasmi necessitatur rex a suis mem- 25 bris, viris regnicolis, temporalia sibi imprudenter extrahere. Et sic fidelitas debita Cristo, mandati sui observacio, et prosperitatis regni accumulacio moverent regem et eius consilium ad prudenter, constanter, et fortiter exequendum vindictam iniurie dei sui. Illam 30 autem iniuriam debet rex cum suo consilio ex isto convincere. Et ex fide vite Cristi et sue legis capiant quomodo clerus suus debet vivere; et quantum ex probacione sui operis ab illo exorbitat, impedimenta huius devii tanquam sua subtrahere; nec excomuni- 35 caciones vel alie censure fecte diaboli debent ab isto opere fideles principes exterrere. Quid, queso, an peccatum, vel creatura, vel aliquod nominandum inpedirent fideles principes, ne contra diabolum teneant partem

2. amant *pro* diligunt B. 3. ipsos *deest* B. 9. sui A. 12. ut A.  
16. que A. 17. filii *deest* A; *ib.* epi C. 19. a religione A. 24. ibi A.  
5. ultra A. 26. veris C. 28. obfca A. 29. et *after* constanter  
*deest* AB. 31. iniurant A; *ib.* debent A. 32. quod ex fide vite BC;  
*ib.* vitam B. 34. et impedimenta C. 37. ante B. 38. aliquid C.

Cristi? Scripta quidem satraparum, ut bulle vel litere  
mandati credi non excedunt ewangelium nec man-  
datum anticristi excedit auctoritatem vel mandatum  
domini Jesu Christi. Ewangelium autem credimus ex in-  
5 tegro esse verum, cum fuit dictatum ex sapientia in-  
creata. Sed scripta alia credimus ex instinctu diaboli,  
cum sint de scribentibus incognitis et plurimum viciata.  
Quid, queso, scit talis prelatus cesareus tantum a prac-  
tica elongatus, quod foret utilius et debitum tali ecclesie,  
10 ministrum quem ipse mandat suscipere? Ewangelium  
autem dicit quod operibus debemus credere. Sed sicut  
nescit de indulgentiis vel aliis suffragiis, que sompniat  
et stulte spondet quot vel quante sorciantur effectum;  
sic nescit si mandatum suum de suscipiendo talem  
15 ministrum sit ad utilitatem subditi adinplendum. Ideo,  
sicut oportet, secundum eorum ficticiam, quod habeant  
veras literas prelatorum, sic oportet secundum fidem  
quod habeant veras literas pontificis animarum. Ille  
autem litere sunt opera debita, que inspirat; nec oportet  
20 ante opera illa a populo edificato mercedem repetere,  
quia ministri Christi non sunt tam avidi sicut famuli  
anticristi. Et sic deordinacio presumpta ab anticristo,  
ordinacioni Christi contraria, inducit perturbaciones et  
dissensiones in Christi ecclesiam. Et, ut breviter dicatur,  
25 segnities principum secularium et versucie satraparum  
depauperant fidem, spem et caritatem in vocato cri-  
stianismo plus quam in iudaysmo vel saracismo pro-  
scribitur.

Nec valet obieccio qua ydiote arguunt iuxta istud  
83<sup>b</sup> 30 deficere clerum Christi; quia si in lege veteri | suffecit  
12<sup>cim</sup> tribubus clero tam onerato collacio decimarum,  
quanto magis in lege Christi sufficeret regno cuilibet  
multitudo cleri viventis in medio virtuoso, inter se-  
cularem dominacionem et mendicitatem, vivere in Christi  
35 pauperie ex oblacionibus et decimis, que sunt ob Christi  
D. amorem caritativius ministrare? Nec obest 2<sup>a</sup> obieccio.  
qua dicitur multos sanctos statum istum tam verbo  
quam opere aprobasse et nitentes ipsum disrumpere.  
excommunicasse, quia intelligitur de disrupsione illicita.

No Bull is above  
the Gospel, nor  
is Antichrist  
above Christ.

How can a  
non-resident  
prelate know  
that such and  
such a  
minister whom  
he sends will  
do good to that  
Church?  
No more than  
he can know  
what effect his  
indulgences  
have.  
The letters that  
a questor ought  
to bear  
should be from  
Christ himself:  
then he would  
be less greedy  
for money.

The sloth of  
Christian  
princes and the  
cunning of bad  
prelates bring  
Christianity  
below  
Mahometanism.

It is absurd to  
object that the  
clergy would  
starve; if tithes  
were  
sufficient in the  
old Law, how  
much better off  
the clergy  
would be now,  
neither lords  
nor beggars!  
Equally absurd  
is it to say that  
the present  
order has been  
approved by  
many Saints.

1. ewangelium credi omnes MSS. 7. distribuentibus A; ib. plurium A;  
esse plurium B; pli<sup>m</sup> C. 8. cesarius C. 10. suscitare A. 13. quod C;  
ib. forciuntur A; sorciantur C. 15. sic C. 17, 18. prelatorium — pontificis  
deest A. 18. heat C. 20. recipere A. 26. notato A. 29. iuxta deest A.  
36. ca'itang A; ib. ministrare C. 38. vicentes A. 39. disrupsione C.



Christ is the  
Founder of our  
law; all private  
religions are  
without  
authority, and,  
like the Koran,  
contain good  
mixed with evil.  
Our religion  
has, it is true,  
been vitiated;  
but its  
substance  
remains  
eternally  
immaculate.

Sed quicumque dirupit ordinacionem Cristi priorem in ista materia est a deo simpliciter maledictus. Ideo sit Cristus nobis auctor ordinis atque legis, et alii privati sequentes qui multipliciter peccaverunt sunt sine auctoritate Cristi autores primi tradicionum suarum omnium adiectarum. Et sicut lex et ordo sarracenica, ex multis bonis et illicitis sunt permixta. Exemplar autem ordinis nostri cristiani sit *lex domini immaculata*, licet ipsa religio sit ex pluribus tradicionibus adinventis in accidentibus plurimum viciata. Substantia autem nostri ordinis manet perpetue incontaminata, personis et modis agendi multipliciter maculatis. Melius igitur fuisset basim religionis constare, et privatos defectus personarum corrigi, quam propter personalia delicta tales ordines introduci.

15

Three  
positions of  
mine which are  
attacked.  
I. Concerning  
the perfection  
of the religious  
state.

Redeundo igitur per modum epilogi recitabuntur tres sentencie, quas adversarii videntur impugnare: Prima est de perfeccione status et ordinis; in qua materia superbi in sectis novellis magis insaniunt. Sed ne videar ex parvitate ingenii mei sententiam novam effundere, notemus quid dicit Lincolniensis in quadam notula quo ad istam materiam.

Grosseteste  
quoted.  
Christ our  
model did not  
abstain from  
eating meat.

"Cum", inquit, "salvator modestus, exemplar conversacionis fidelium, manducans et bibens de sibi appositis docuit discipulos suos carnes comedere, que est prudentia hominum esum huiusmodi prohibere?"

We are now  
more burdened  
with ceremonial  
observances  
than in the  
time of the  
old Law.

"Comedit", inquit, "inter laicos; cuius oppositum faciunt yppocrite, domi comedentes, sed extra non; cum apostolum Galathas 2, libertas vere religionis stat in deobligacione ad ritus cerimoniales corporales introductos ex lege veteri, qui hodie supra legem veterem copiosius introducti dant cristianis occasionem ut omittatur fervor volitive potencie vel tepescat." "Graviter", inquit, "ferret apostolus nobiscum conversans, iam videns quod magis appreciamur tradiciones hominum, quam puram et necessariam legem Cristi. Sed quo ad gestus Cristi, patet quod utrobique sapiunt affabilitatem, mansue-

Gal. II,

4

Christ's acts  
were marked  
by kindness,  
meekness and  
modesty.

1. dirruperit C. 2. sit A; sic C. 3. auctor AC 4. que B.  
6. subiectarum B. 7. et illicitis *deest* C. 10. accidentalibus C.  
12. autem B. 14. qua AC. 14, 15. introducti B. 16. Reddendo A.  
17. impugnare C. 23. modestus exemplar *deest* C. 25. suos *deest* BC;  
*ib.* Lincolniensis de esu carniū in marg. B. 26. homi esum homi  
(sic) C. 29. 2 *deest* AB. 30. introductas C. 31. que omnes MSS.  
31, 32. introducte omnes MSS. 32. accusacionem A: *ib.* furor A.

tudinem et modestiam. Affabilitas patet ex dulci colloquio cum samaritana Joh. 4. cum cananea, cum Magdalena Lu. 7<sup>o</sup>. de Martha et paciente fluxum, de accusata de adulterio Joh. 8, de mulieribus ipsum se-  
 E. 5 quentibus, de quibus sumptus suscepit Luc. 9<sup>o</sup>. Item Luc. de peccatoribus, de predestinatis, Nicodemo phariseo, VII, 3 Joh. 3<sup>o</sup>. Zacheo publicano, Luc. 19, et multis aliis; et de parvulis quos voluit libere accedere, et complectens et inponens manus ab illis voluit laudari. Sed comuni-  
 10 cando cum phariseis et prescitis durissime sed modeste eos redarguit, ut patet Matth. 23; in exemplum quod nos, cum illis conversando, non applaudamus peccatis eorum, facti eorum participes, sed dure eos increpando ac vicia exprobrando, servata caritate et dilectione  
 15 nature, debeamus nunc lucide et nunc tenebrose cum triplici manerie peccatorum de quibus speramus emendas gravaminum commisceri: scilicet cum potentibus aut publicanis ac dominis et ministris mundo, cum mollioribus muliebriter indutis, qui ad peccata carnis  
 20 generaliter inclinantur, et cum mundialiter superbientibus, iocose lascivientibus, executis ceca superbia, ut parvuli." "Omne", inquit, "quod est in mundo est aliquod horum trium. His, inquam, instar Christi debemus esse affabiles, hortantes fugere vicia et prosequi  
 25 opera virtuosa." Ex istis dictis huius sancti patet quod debemus communicare cum ista 3<sup>ci</sup> manerie hominum, modis suis, secundum quod credimus ad honorem dei et profectum ecclesie plus prodesse. "Non", inquit, "debemus noscendo nostram fortitudinem, comunicacionem  
 30 peccatorum aufugere, cum Christus manducavit cum peccatoribus, ut peccata deleret, ac cum eis pernoctavit, Matth. 9; cum familiaribus ut eorum devocionem nutraret, Jo. 12; et cum phariseis, ut eorum superbiam confutaret, ut patet Luc. 7<sup>o</sup>, ubi phariseum in comparacione magni-  
 35 tudine corripuit in 3<sup>bis</sup>, in quibus ipsa prevaluit, scilicet in non locione pedum, in non affectione ostensa per osculum, et in non hilaritate signata per oleum."

He rebuked sinners severely indeed, but with moderation, as an example to us in our dealings with the three kinds of sinners: those in power, those given to sins of the flesh, and those prone to worldly pride.

We must not therefore avoid communication with them, but endeavour to do them good; Christ ate with sinners to blot out their sins, with his disciples, to increase their devotion, and with Pharisees, to confound their pride.

1. duplici AC. 2. chananea C; *ib.* vel *pro* cum *after* cananea A.  
 3. luc' VI C. 4. Joh. 8 *deest* B. 5. sus *deest* C. 6. de *before*  
 peccatoribus *deest* B; *prius* de *supra* *lineam* *suppl.* C; *ib.* de *deest* B.  
 9. Cum *pro* Sed B. 10. dimissive A. 11. arguit C. 15. licite AC.  
 17. guami A; *ib.* videlicet B. 18. ac C; *ib.* ut *pro* ac BC. 20. ori-  
 ginaliter AB. 23. inquit AB. 28. inquam *omnes* MSS. 31. patet  
*deest* BC. 34. 35. mag<sup>ae</sup> A; magdalene C. 35. scilicet *deest* A.  
 37. non in AB; *ib.* in *deest* C.

It is thus no new thing to have communication with apostates in order to reprove them.

They are at fault on three points: their religion, the Eucharist and Penance, of none of which they know the essence.

A private religion is to the law of Christ as the law of a particular State is to the principles of political law. Both savour of sin.

The rules of such religions are a foolish remedy for men spiritually ailing.

It is possible to be saved in these religions, but with difficulty.

All their rules and traditions can be shown to imply blasphemy; therefore the elect amongst them give them up before the hour of death.

Hec Lincolnienſis. Ex iſtis dictis huius ſancti patet quod non eſt novitas inaudita, ſed ſententia eterna antiqua dierum quod comunicando cum phariſeis apoſtatis debemus accute eorum verſucias reprobare. Et cum non habent unde doceant noſtram ſententiam eſſe 5 falſam, debemus conſtanter in incepta | ſententia per- 84<sup>a</sup> manere. 3<sup>a</sup> enim ſunt in quibus claudicant, quiditatem et paſſionem ſentencie ignorantes: ſcilicet, religionis ſue, ſacramenti altaris, et ſacramenti penitencie quiditates; quibus ignoratis necesse eſt ipſos ſequencia 10 ignorare. Si enim vellent iſtorum quiditates ſupponere ſive diſcutere, tunc poſſent in ſequencia evidenter procedere. Sed non audent.

F.

Ego enim voco privatam religionem vel ordinem ſectam novellam ex regulis vel tradicionibus hominum 15 non pure ewangelio ſtabilitam: ſic quod religio proportionaliter ſe habet ad regulam Criſtianam, ſicut omne civile dominium ſe habet ad legem politicam. Et ita ſicut omne civile dominium ſapit peccatum, ſic omnis novella religio ſapit ad minimum veniale. 20 Nec ſciunt cultores iſtius defendere quin ſit medicina fatua pro debilibus adinventā; fatua quidem, cum ſupra ewangelium dant multas medicinales regulas, que peccatum ſapiunt vel errorem; ymmo ſicut natura prevalet regule medicine, ſic ewangelium prevalet ſupra 25 omnes tradiciones hominum adinventas. Ideo omnes iſte ſecte novelle inevitabiliter fundantur in multiplici errore, licet (difficilius) poſſent ex immenſitate gracie Criſti in talibus ſectis regnum celorum adquirere.

Difficilius dico, quia licet facilitantur in aliquo, tamen 30 ſunt magis ſimpliciter difficultati. Unde regula Criſti ad peccata evitandum eſt pocior quam aliqua regula adinventā; patet, proponendo in lucem regulam Criſti cum illis tradicionibus adinventis. Et ſic, expreſſa eorum regula cum tradicionibus conglobatis, manifeſte patet 35 quod pauci vel nulli evaderent quin ſaperent expreſſe blaſphemam. Et hinc nolunt dare eſſenciales differencias vel totum regule ſue ambitum, per quas privati ordines militando ſic erronee ab aliis diſtingwantur. Et hinc predeſtinati eorum, vel in morte vel ante, renunciant 40 iſtis regulis, religioni criſtiane ſimplici innitendo.

7. claudicant *deest* B. 16. sed *pro* sic AB. 17. Cristianam *deest* AC. 18. omne *deest* AC. 19. ista A. 25. ultra A; super C. 32. evacuandum BC. 35. pateret C. 36. sapant A.

Forma autem in probacionibus regule novelle patet ex dictis de 3<sup>ci</sup> lege papali. Primo, quomodo illi quibus provisum est debent preponi ex ca<sup>o</sup> *Si duobus*, de rescriptis, in 6<sup>o</sup>. Secundo, quomodo singuli cristiani debent semel in anno proprio sacerdoti, et soli, peccata sua singula confiteri, ut patet in lege: *Omnis utriusque sexus*. Et 3<sup>o</sup>, quomodo excommunicacio offendencium in cardinales et alios debet fieri, ut patet in lege de penis, ca<sup>o</sup> *felicis memorie* 6<sup>o</sup>. Non enim patroni privatorum istorum ordinum presumerent se dare reccius medicamina contra culpam quam regulat curia romana in talibus.

Ideo, attendendo ad tempus obligacionis, ad varietatem secte obligate et ad penam que in offendentes infligitur, patet quod stulte medicina Cristi postponitur. Et cum non mediocriter peccat qui maiori bono postposito minus eligit, manifeste videtur quod omnes dicte secte inevitabiliter peccant, eligendo traditiones huiusmodi adinventas. Securius quidem foret inniti medicine quam Cristus instituit contra peccatum mundi, peccatum carnis atque diaboli, quam taliter incarcerari in clauistro, vel taliter 2<sup>m</sup> privatas observancias regulari, vel taliter 2<sup>m</sup> formas tegumentorum generaliter coaptari. Unde patet ad oculum quod regule secundum quas secte tales reficiuntur, cum eadem sit ratio in omnibus illis sectis, stulte et inprovide, ubi est rationis conformitas, tam varie seminantur. In cuius signum: in regula Cristi non potest notari defectus, sicut nec in observancia regule cristiane. In illis autem privatis ordinibus et regulis detectis in luce, crebrius patet error. Et istum errorem tangit Lincolniensis ubi supra; ut patet luce clarius sedule indaganti. Quomodo, queso, procederent a deo tales regule, cum sit supra potestatem hominum illa statuere sic perpetuo? Cur pro toto tempore Cristi, et tot centenariis annorum sine observancia fuerant ociose? Aut que ratio, quare unus religiosus obligatur ad libram panis in die, ad amenam vini, et non comedere carnes quadrupedum, et non quilibet eque aptus? Unde

It is foolish nay, criminal to prefer man's remedies to those of Christ.

Better follow the rules which He gave against the world the flesh and the devil, than to be shut up in a convent.

In Christ's law and in Christianity there are no defects, whereas there are many in private religions. And if so, how could they proceed from Divine inspiration? Why, should one man be compelled to strict abstinence, and not another?

4. quod C. 8. preferi C. 9. in *pro* memorie A. 13. et *deest* A.  
15. peccant A. 17. mentaliter B. 19. peccatum *before* carnis *deest* C.  
20. vel *deest* B. 27. sed C. 36. amenam *omnes* MSS.

3. Decr. Clem. II., tit. 5, c. 1. 6. See p. 112, note. 9. Sext. Decr. V, tit. 9, c. 5, *Felicis recordationis*. 11. In *talibus*. I am at a loss to see what this paragraph has to do with what precedes or what follows. Only the first canon, *Si duobus*, &c. can have any bearing upon the Friars. 36. *Amenam*. i. e. heminam. See Du Cange.

infeccionem istarum tradicionum insinuat varietas dispensandi. Et eadem obieccio est de quolibet in lege privata explicite supra ewangelium.

If it be said that these orders are only a collection of observances to aid in following Christ's law, it is true that some observances are necessary, but not *for ever*: and it is that perpetuity which constitutes a sect. The Founders of the Sects may have imposed this as a law, out of blind piety; they may have intended their rules to be observed only as helps to true religion, but then there would have been no sects; all Christians are obliged to follow them in so far.

Et si dicatur quod illi privati ordines non sunt nisi ritus ewangelium practisandi, quales ritus habuerunt apostoli, et illos contingit meritorie practisare: respon- deo concedendo quod necesse est, quam diu hic vivimus, practisare ritus in genere; cum, ut dicit Augustinus, "Sacrilegum foret negare simpliciter omnes ritus". Sed H. notanda est differencia servandi illos ritus pro loco et tempore, et unam sectam perpetuo obligari ad indiffinite ipsos servandum. Nec sine tali sensu constitueret novam regulam plus quam quicumque ritus apostoli sive sancti. Et sic posset intelligi quod patroni privatorum ordinum habuerunt singulares ritus, quorum observacio videbatur eis expediens; et ceca pietate voluerunt unam sectam ipsos sequentem illos ritus perpetuo ut ewangelium observari; quam stulticiam non expedit excusare. Quod si condicionaliter intenderent quod illos ritus observent, de quanto promovent ad observanciam | legis Cristi, patet quod non exinde resultaret secta sive religio novella, cum eque obligantur ad illam veritatem condicionatam seculares et singuli cristiani. Ideo observancia privatorum ordinum monet quod patroni eorum non taliter intenderent. Nec expedit nobis discutere, sive culpa sit plus in patronis istorum ordinum, quam in personis de secta sua sequentibus; quia indubie, qui credit patronos illos tantum errasse vel amplius, non blasfemat; quia Paulus prius fuit blasfemus, ut ipsemet testatur; postmodum se correxit. Et sic supponi debet, ut supra, quod dum sic cece erraverant et iam sunt in celo, ut credimus, revocarunt; potest enim esse, quod in credendo ritus istos prodesse toti secte simpliciter erraverunt; et potest esse quod in sequentibus sue secte fuit culpa gravior. Unum tamen scio, quod venenum in istis privatis ordinibus stat in obligacione illibertante nimis profunda, quo ad illa que possent, illa dimissa, bene fieri. Ut, verbi gracia, licite et meritorie contingit hominem auffugere monetam tangere,

Perhaps they retracted their error, and are, as we believe, in Heaven; perhaps they were merely mistaken, and their followers were more to blame than they. One thing is certain: that they went too far in restraining individual liberty.

1. inperfeccionem C; *ib.* insynuat A; *ib.* varietates B. 2. est *deest* B.  
12. observandum B. 14. potest C. 15. observancia C. 16. et ex BC;  
*ib.* tota *pro* ceca C. 17. perpetue C. 25. 26. si in culpa sit plu-  
ralitas A. 26. culpa *deest* B. 29. fuit *deest* AC *corr.* B. 30. post-  
quam B. 36. verum A.



sicut verisimiliter Cristus non tetigit; sed quod religio-  
sus pro nunquam tangat in casu aliquo sub pena  
apostasie, horribilis foret observancia, blasphemiam sa-  
piens, et per consequens infundabilis in scriptura; et  
5 nullo modo licite religionis particula, quia implicat  
condicionem quam deus non potest perficere. Quod si  
ista fecerit, tunc sic peccat et tollit libertatem quam  
deus instituit, sicut Lincolnensis tangit.

Et ita inculcata fuit seducta generalior ecclesia, do-  
10 tando contra ordinacionem Cristi perpetuo particulares  
ecclesias. 2<sup>o</sup> ex eadem cecitate fuit introducta posses-  
sionatorum religio. Et 3<sup>o</sup> introducta est non minus  
culpabiliter mendicantium religio, postquam cassatis  
prioribus, si deus voluerit, reddibitur generaliter ad  
15 religionem simplicem cristianam. Omnes enim iste sa-  
piunt in isto blasphemiam, quod statuunt tradicionem  
suam ut optimam pro perpetuo observandam, ac si  
forent domini temporis perpetui et omnium suarum  
vicissitudinum variarum, quod soli deo est proprium.  
20 Ideo, cum tollunt libertatem quam deus gracieose  
concesserat, qua expedit nunc 2<sup>m</sup> unum ritum, et nunc  
secundum alium viare, ipsi stulte limitant 2<sup>m</sup> regulas  
anticristi, extollendo se super deum nostrum, perpetuo  
sic viare: ut sicut dotans ecclesiam particularem illi-  
25 bertat se et genus suum ad dandum et subtrahendum  
1. elemosinas corporales, ut expedit, sic in religionibus  
privatis illibertantur ad nunc dimittendum et nunc  
assumendum ritus secundum exigenciam rationis. Et  
per hec patet quam frivola est quarumdam sectarum  
30 observancia. Quedam secte abhorrent fratres suos tan-  
quam graves apostatas, qui crucem monete tangere  
parvipendunt; sed inventa moneta mediante panno vel  
chirotheca tangere dicunt licere, sicut perforata vel  
perfracta cum maleo vel cultello; sed inordinatam  
35 affectionem in animo phariseice parvipendunt. Et iusti-  
ficare hanc regulam non subiaceret potestati divine.

Et per hoc tollitur instantia qua obiciunt hec licere.  
Hoc, inquit, observare per aliquantum tempus, est  
licitum, et per idem continue; et pari evidencia qua

V. g. a man  
may very  
rightly refrain  
from touching  
money: but it  
is monstrous to  
forbid a  
Religious ever  
to touch money  
under any  
circumstances.

Church  
endowments,  
the institution  
of monks and  
that of Friars  
proceed from  
the same false  
principle:  
tradition is  
perfect and  
must be  
perpetually  
observed.

We ought to  
change  
according to  
circumstances,  
adopting now  
one way of  
living and now  
another; where-  
as they lay  
down hard and  
fast lines,

which often  
lead to  
ridiculous  
puerility: some  
friars, for  
instance,  
cannot touch a  
coin without  
apostasy, unless  
with a rag or a  
glove, or the  
coin be  
punched or  
broken.

Objection:  
What is  
lawfully done  
for some time  
may be lawfully  
done for ever.

1. sed *pro* sicut C. 2. tangat monetam BC. 9. icelpar A. 14. ge-  
neraliter *deest* AB. 15. iste *deest* C. 17. p ppe<sup>o</sup> A. 22. variare C.  
24. variare A. 29. frivolla C. 30. Que BC. 32. parvipedunt A; *ib.*  
pano A. 33. ciroteca AB; cyroteca C. 34. fracta *pro* perfracta AB.  
34, 35. inordinata affectione A. 37. omnia *pro* instantia A.

uni persone, et toti secte; et per consequens licet quantumcunque firmiter tali licito perpetuo obligari. Patet ex dictis quod nec Cristus potuit ultra libertatem quam deus instituit ad ritus huiusmodi obligare; ut consilium Cristi est quod sui apostoli *nichil ferant in 5* *ria, neque peram, neque baculum, neque duas tunicas habeant*: quod subintelligendum est, de quanto retardat ab officio predicandi. Sed quod ista simpliciter observentur sub pena damnandi peccati; scilicet, si contraveniunt, tunc sic peccant: hoc tolleretur libertatem eter- 10 nam, et per consequens dominus hoc non potest. Et istud est venenum quo quilibet privata religio est infecta. Observent igitur privata consilia, si et quatenus expediunt, quamdiu voluerint, sed caveant a nimietate obligacionis et omissione libertatis quam deus instituit. 15 ne blasfement.

Christ himself could not encroach upon man's freedom.

His particular directions to the Apostles are all to be understood in so far as they are of use.

Let Friars keep their observances as long as they choose, and without constraint.

It is allowed in certain cases to marry or to slay: but it does not follow that a Friar should take a vow to do either.

And to found an order with rules to be provisionally observed would be of no use, since all Christians would be equally bound by them.

Besides, human presumption would always tend to render them absolute.

And to bind any one in this manner cannot be lawful, since it takes away Christian liberty:

Et patet quod non plus sequitur: *hoc potest bene fieri*: igitur, *sic obligari ad hoc est licitum*, quam sequitur: *Quilibet frater de secta data potest meritorie uxori et confratrem suum occidere*: igitur, *ad hoc obligari 20* *2<sup>m</sup> rationem vel religionis vel ordinis est licitum*. Religio enim debet fundari simpliciter in [opere] virtuoso. Et similiter fundare religionem in talibus consiliis, 'si et quatenus sunt racionaliter observanda', foret superfluum, gravans et illibertans ecclesiam, et ex processu in infinitum 25 diminuens ordinem cristianum. Quilibet enim cristianus habens facultatem ad observandum tale consilium sive neutrum, debet ipsum, si et quatenus expedit, observare. Unde privati ordines, de quanto sunt liciti, sunt fundati super consiliis ewangelicis et ritibus neutris, 30 cum moderamine, illa 'de quanto expedit' observandi. Sed quia humana presumpcio nititur perpetuare ista et equiparare religioni Cristi vel mandatis domini: ideo ex instinctu regis superbie, quo vult constanter hec obser- 35 vari et plus et diucius quam bonificarent circumstantie, est venenum. Nec videtur quod obligacio ad hos ritus K. sit licita, cum vel tollit vel diminuit | libertatem quam 85<sup>n</sup> Cristus ad utilitatem ecclesie ordinavit. Per hoc enim tardantur observari Cristi mandata sive consilia, cum

3. nec *deest* AB. 4. obligari C. 7. habeatis B. 9. dandi omnes MSS. 17. verum A. 21. rom l r'hoib A; *ib.* vel *before* religionis *deest* C. 22. difundari A; *ib.* similiter *deest* A; *ib.* opere *deest* omnes MSS. 22, 23. simpliciter et fundare C. 33. domini *deest* A. 39. credantur B; *ib.* observare C.

sint tantum observancie finite, et plus observant illud, quod minus expedit observare. Ideo necesse est observancias plus utiles diminui sive tolli. Et eadem est consideracio de observanciis privatis, quas leges papales  
 5 constituunt. Cum enim obligantur ad observandum libertatem primevam quam a Cristo receperant, et iterum obligantur novelli ad eius oppositum, videtur quod sunt ad contradictoria diabolice obligati, et ita toto facto laboraret quilibet fidelis quod ecclesia ponatur  
 10 in statu primevi quem Cristus instituit, subductis novellis legibus, eciam papalibus, et novis ordinacionibus introductis. Tunc enim non foret tanta obligacio ad ritus. Sed cum ille sunt consuetudines operandi, sequentes per accidens ad virtutes, sequentibus illis in  
 15 parvipensione graduum, non fiat illis obligacio talis perpetua, sicut est in dictis privatis ordinibus, sed fiat per se obligacio ad virtutes et opera virtuosa. Et sic  
 1 Cor. intelligo apostolum 1<sup>a</sup> cor. 6<sup>o</sup>: *Imitatores mei estote.*  
 XI, 1 *sicud et ego Cristi.* Noluìt enim apostolus quod secta  
 20 sequeretur eum in modo vivendi obligacione sectali, nisi per se fuerit virtuosus, sicut creditur quadam proprietate esse de quolibet modo vivendi Cristi. Unde difficultas est, utrum patriarche novorum ordinum ad illos ordines obligantur. Et tenent quidem quod illi  
 25 sunt in illis generibus equivoce, et non univoce cum sectis sequentibus, sicud fuit de Moyse quo ad legale sacerdocium et de Cristo quo ad ordinem cristianum. Nec est vis quo ad patriarchas istorum ordinum, cum non sint per se ex hoc laudandi.  
 30 Sed 2<sup>o</sup> obicitur contra obligacionem temporalium, in qua materia scribe et pharisei magis insaniunt, tum, quia ab ipsis dependet tam voluntas, quam ars lucrativa eorum. Et movet ratio duplex: Prima, quia ordinacionem tot et talium sanctorum tam diutinam non licet infrin-  
 35 gere; 2<sup>o</sup>, quia per idem quodcunque quod secularis occupat iniuste occupat liceret abstrahere; ex quibus  
 l. nimis perturbaretur utrumque brachium ecclesie. Hic dicitur quod tam necessaria est illa sententia, quod impossibile est pacificare regna vel clerum complete sol-

which is also true of Papal laws; the faithful should therefore resist them.

When St. Paul counselled the Christians to imitate him, he did not mean his mode of life, Christ alone should be thus imitated. As for the Founders of the Sects, it is a question whether they properly belong to them: as Founders, they are not to be approved.

II. I am attacked with special fury on the doctrine of temporalities. My position is contrary to what many and great Saints have approved; and it would go to prove that all secular possessions are also unjust and may be taken away.

1. observacione A. 2. observari AB. 7. quod in B. 8. 9<sup>do</sup> (sic) AC. 9. eciam pro ecclesia AC. 11. ordinibus BC. 14. ad deest B. 21 credi A. 25. exclusive omnes MSS. 27. qui B. 30. oblaco3 C. 32. voluptas C. 36. occupat before iniuste deest AB. 38. est deest A.

Yet it is  
necessarily true,  
and the only  
means of  
restoring peace  
to Christendom.  
We should  
prefer to believe  
Christ and his  
Apostles than  
any number of  
saints.

Let my  
opponents do  
the works that  
those Saints did,  
or prove that  
they were right  
in accepting  
endowments.  
As for the other  
argument, civil  
lordship and  
possession by  
almsdeed are  
two different  
things.

If the clergy  
abuses the gifts  
granted to it,  
there being but  
a limited supply  
of wealth, that  
abuse must be  
felt throughout  
the world; and it  
is the king's duty  
to remedy it,  
according to  
the parable of  
the steward, of  
which my  
interpretation is  
right; the  
burden of  
temporalities  
being a true  
debt we owe to  
God.

Thus the clergy  
possessing more  
wealth, ought to  
return more

vere sua debita, nisi illa sententia fuerit per principes  
practisata. Et quantum ad primum obiectum, creden-  
dum est plus Cristo cum suis apostolis, quam infinitis  
sanctis vel dictis quorumcunque, eciam canonisatorum,  
approbancium dotacionem cleri. Verumtamen illi primo 5  
receperant nudo titulo elemosine tanquam custodes bona  
pauperum, et vel depauperati ab arte predicandi, vel  
inclinati ad seculum, anxie laborarunt circa dictorum  
bonorum custodiam. Sed post ex cautela diaboli surrepsit  
presumptum cleri dominium eciam ultra dominos seculares. 10

Et sic, quo ad primum dicitur arguenti, vel quod  
faciat illis sanctis similiter, vel doceat quod non in hoc  
venialiter peccaverunt. Quo ad 2<sup>m</sup>, sepe dictum est di-  
versitatem esse inter occupacionem civilem et elemosi-  
nariam; et sic differt dicta bona iniusti civilis ab ipso 15  
rapere, et bona pauperum que darentur titulo elemosine,  
caritative exigere vel tenere. Et cum deus dat toto  
generi humano de temporalibus in mensura, nec amplius  
propter cleri cupidinem, manifeste patet quod prepon-  
deratis temporalibus et clero adeo abutente, necesse 20  
est quod in seculo fiat dissensio; et cum regis sit  
pacificare pauperes, a spoliacione iniusta defendere, et  
viciantes suam regaliā destruere, patet quod illorum  
est sententiam istam practisando defendere; quod do-  
cetur Luc. 16<sup>o</sup> in parabola salvatoris qua deus laudavit Luc.  
villicum iniquitatis ex hoc quod deonerando clerum de XVI, 8  
redditu 50<sup>a</sup> cadorum olei habuit exinde amicos in pur-  
gatorio. Nec valet dicere quod sensus istius parabole  
est fictus contra sententiam Bede, cum vivax ratio  
docet quod clerus sic dotatus debet esse exinde deo 30  
et ecclesie amplius obligatus; quia secundum beatum  
Gregorium in omelia comuni, dum augentur dona, ra-  
ciones eciam crescunt donorum. Et insane foret quod clerus  
iuste possidet ista dominia, nisi deus donaverit. Exinde  
temporales domini, expectando retribucionem specialem, 35  
haberent diligenciores ministros eo amplius obligatos. M.

Quo supposito, arguo quod clerus ex cautela diaboli  
sit irrationabiliter obligatus; quia tenetur exinde con-  
tinue plus spiritualis redditus solvere domino celorum

4. factis C. 6. custos A. 7. depaupertati B; *ib.* predicati A.  
12. fuciat *deest* B; *ib.* sanctis *deest* C. 16. recipere A. 18. tempo-  
ribus B. 26. devorando A. 29. fucus A. 34. Et B. 35. spalem A;  
spiritualem BC. 38. sic A; *ib.* quod C; *ib.* hinc B; exhinc C. 39. spual A.

25. See above, p. 231.

Et ex hinc factus indisposicior minus solvit; igitur continue currens in debito iniuriatur domino dampnificans matrem ecclesiam. Minor probatur ex hoc quod Christus iuxta fidem plus appreciatur apostolorum pauperiem. 5 quam diaconorum solitudinem; plus profecit Stephanus 85<sup>b</sup> fidem Cristi predicando, | quam mensis ministrando; et generaliter indiscreta fuisset Cristi dispensacio qua ordinavit apostolos, relictis temporalibus, in pauperie spiritualiter ministrare ecclesie, nisi hoc foret utrinque plus 10 utile et, plus cedens deo ad honorem, plus sibi delectabile. Nec moveat quod apostoli ministraverunt populo de multiplicato cibario per Cristi miraculum, ut dicitur Marc. Marc. 6<sup>o</sup> et 8 et Matth. 14, et hoc ex Cristi mandato: VI, 41 ubi peccarent graviter, nisi, dimissa contemplacione, VIII, 6 complerent mandatum domini; quia iuxta istam argu- Matth. ciam, cum apostoli meruerunt diformiter aliter quam XIV, 19 Christus, sequeretur quod eque meritorium atque laudabile opus foret purgare ventrem, vel opus tale facere ad quod natura necessitat, sicut predicare vel quem- 20 cunque actum apostolicum aut contemplacionem perficere; cum deus in casu precipit hec fieri et alia dimitti. Et si dicatur, secundum begardorum sentenciam, quod contemplacio stat cum deposicione ponderis nature, sicut cum sompno et esu, cum aliis actibus 25 bestialibus ad quos natura necessitat, quare non cum ministerio mensarum et quacunque provisione bonorum pauperum? Cristus tamen omnisciens decrevit quod propter diminucionem actus apostolici per tales possessiones et ministraciones, apostoli illas relinquerent. 30 Cum igitur clerus ex potestate ordinis obligatur ad tantum ministerium cum sanctis apostolis propter paritatem muneris, et non reddit deo de facto tantum ministerii laudabilis, videtur quod indebitatur sibi culpabiliter ex subtraccione tam preciosi redditus. Nec valet 35 fingere quod nostra distribucio bonorum fortune equivalet operacioni apostolice, vel quod propter multitudinem cleri iam necesse est illi intendere, quod non oportuit tempore conversacionis apostolice. Cristus enim scivit aptare suam regulam ad totam multitudinem cleri

spiritual fruit to God, and is thereby rendered less able to return it. Christ esteemed the poverty of his Apostles more than the service of the deacons.

At the miracle of the loaves, the Apostles, it is true, served the people, but it was by Christ's command. And it does not follow that this act was as meritorious as preaching, unless every act commanded by God through the voice of nature, be equally meritorious. The Begardi said that contemplation and disburdening the body were acts on the same level; it so why not the service of tables too?

Obliged by their state to Apostolic perfection, the clergy, not rendering to God what is due, becomes heavily indebted. And Christ's rule was good

7. indispensacio A; disspensacio C. 11. utrumque C. 14. et speculatione B. 21. hec deest AB; ib. illa C. 34. precosi C.

36. opōni A. 38, 39. Cristus — regulam in margine inferiore suppl. C.

23. *Stat cum*. This may also mean 'is not impeded by'; and the argument is as strong in one sense as the other.



for the whole  
clergy, as is  
proved by the  
times when it  
flourished; its  
ain was no doubt  
to diminish  
their excessive  
multi ude.  
If Religious men  
keep their rule,  
how much  
rather should  
we keep Christ's  
rule.

It is a sin for  
any of the clergy  
to pass  
sleepless nights  
out of care for  
the future.

God will  
provide for us  
as He does for  
all living;  
and the same  
reason  
condemns the  
cunning put  
forth by the  
Mendicants to  
get money.  
It is apostasy;  
yet we say that  
we care not,  
and leave the  
the morrow to  
care for itself;  
but our  
affections prove  
too well that it  
is a lie.

Who would not  
be downcast,  
if his  
possessions  
were in any  
way interfered  
with?

III. I am said  
heretically to  
contradict the  
decision of the

necessariam, sicut potuit per multos centenarios an-  
norum, quando secta cleri plus profuit. Ideo creditur  
quod ratio regule Cristi fuit nimis onerosam cleri multi-  
tudinem refrenare. Si igitur privati ordines observant N.  
bottas, difformitatem in sculptura et colore vestium, 5  
cum voto ad penalitates corporales, quia est medicina  
contra superbiam, gulam et cetera peccata, quanto  
magis Cristi regula, que efficacius est peccatis contraria,  
servaretur!

Et hinc creditur quod sive diaconi, sive quicunque 10  
clerici pernoctant cum solitudine cure temporalium, ut  
sic peccant, quia contra Cristi consilium (Matth. 6<sup>o</sup>),  
obligant se perdendo libertatem exuicionis a temporalibus  
ad superfluum solitudinem terrenorum. Deus enim  
provideret clero suo de temporalibus, sicut providet 15  
bestiis et cunctis viventibus de cremento nature. Et  
patet quomodo possessio cleri onerat ipsum, quia in-  
debitat et indisponit ad retribuendum. Et eadem ratio  
procedit contra calliditates cuiuscunque ordinis mendi-  
cantis, cum privata obligacio tantum vel plus obligat, 20  
distrahit et retardat, sicut illa que Cristus prohibet  
consulendo. Et patet quod quante ab ewangelio Cristi  
excidimus, vel addendo vel diminuendo, tante aposto-  
tando peccamus; dicimus tamen quod sine nocturna  
solitudine vel cogitacione scimus habere quotlibet 25  
temporalia, sicut bona nature in manu domini, et  
veniente crastino ad moderatum ministerium expergefieri,  
pro crastino sollicitari. Sed alia opera nostra convincunt  
mendacium, cum cogitacio et affeccio ad habendum  
superflue ista bona vel in actu vel in habitu patescunt 30  
ex vita nostra. Quis, inquam, non tristaretur in crastino  
de istorum honorum ablacione, de usus eorum contra-  
diccione, ymo de possessionis proprietarie negacione?  
Sic enim possent omnia dicta in privatis ordinibus sive  
papalibus observari, dicendo quod faciunt illud mini- 35  
sterium deo quod tradicio humana limitat, vel sibi  
equivalens. Sed certum est quod iuxta hoc quelibet  
privata observancia quo ad regularitatem consequencie  
deficeret, et sollicitudo adinvencionis regule superflueret.

Sed 3<sup>o</sup> obiciunt illi qui ex predictis insaniant, quod 40  
contradico tanquam hereticus determinacioni ecclesie de

3. onerosa AC. 5. botas C. 8. est *deest* B. 11. clerici *deest* A.  
19. calliditatem A. 23. vel *before* addendo *deest* C. 33. negative B.  
36. secundum *pro deo* B.

sacramentis. Sed hoc faciunt indirecte, ut infirmen-  
 priora que odiunt. De sacramento autem eukaristie et  
 penitencie dicunt quod contradico determinacioni eccle-  
 sie, ymo blasfemo in Christum, quod ipse oneraret ec-  
 5 clesiam cum celebracione sacramentorum talium sine  
 causa. Hic dico, ut sepe alias, quod docto quod sit  
 contraria fidei quecunque sententia quam assero, volo  
 paratissime revocare. Et cum habeam evidencias ex  
 fide quod ista sit sententia salvatoris, licet michi in-  
 10 terim in fide tali quiescere. Et cum vocata ecclesia sit  
 in secretis materiis fidei tam imprudens, difficile videtur  
 fidelibus quod stent sentencie eorum in ista materia.  
 quidquid decreverunt. Ideo videtur securum in expressis  
 in lege dei quiescere, et novitates ac difficultates ad-  
 15 iectas dimittere. Nam illa antiqua sufficiunt ad salutem;  
 et novitates adiecte sunt multis ambigue atque superflue.  
 Ideo orant deum superbas blasfemias satraparum destruere.

O. Quantum ad sacramentum, altaris dictum est diffuse  
 alibi, quomodo novelli ordines ydiotice et infundabiliter  
 20 contradicunt; ut unus, quod sacramentum altaris sit  
 agregacio accidencium sine subiecta substantia; et alius.  
 85<sup>a</sup> quod ipsum sit naturaliter et substancialiter | corpus  
 Cristi, negando quod aliquod est sacramentum sensibile  
 in altari. Sed signa que videmus et sanctificamus, sunt  
 25 solum sacramentalia; et sic utrobique illuditur ecclesia.  
 Nam doctores tam antiqui quam novi de sectis que sic  
 garriunt, decretales, decreta et usus ecclesie contra-  
 dicunt. Ponunt enim unum album et rotundum, quod  
 ante consecracionem fuit panis, vel in pane. post eius  
 30 consecracionem remanere, et illud dixerunt regulariter  
 esse sacramentum. Et vulgus vere credit ipsum esse  
 quoddammodo corpus Cristi. De illo autem, circa quod  
 est tantus error, est nobis et aliis scolasticis difficultas.  
 Scimus quidem quod corpus Cristi, eciam secundum  
 35 esse naturale quod habet in celo, est sacramentum, et  
 ipsum corpus virtute verborum Cristi est dictus panis,  
 et eciam sacramentum; habet eciam modum spirituales  
 essendi ad omnem punctum dicti panis, et, ut sic, est  
 sacramentum, et sic idem corpus sacramentat se ipsum  
 40 secundum disparem modum essendi, ut sacramentum  
 altaris sacramentat corpus Cristi et sanguinem, ut est

Church concerning the Sacrament; but this accusation is made on account of the two former points.

I am ready to recant at once, if shown my error; but at present I rest convinced that my doctrine is that of Christ; and the Church here below can hardly give an irrevocable decision. It is best to use the terms used in God's law, and avoid novelties.

I have already been said how the Sects contradict each other about the Sacrament; some saying it is a lot of accidents without a substance, and others, that it is Christ's natural Body: which is contrary to their own doctors, the Decretal and Church customs.

And the people really believes that this 'white round somewhat' that was bread or belonging thereto, is now Christ's Body. Here lies the difficulty: We know that Christ's natural body is a Sacrament, and that Christ's Body is bread, having a spiritual mode of being

3. determinacioni *deest* C. 6. Protestacio *in marg.* A. 7. assero A.  
 11. misteriis C. 21. subiecta *deest* C. 28. illud *pro* album C.  
 31. vulgus C. 38. et eciam BC.

everywhere in  
the bread,  
and  
separate  
consecration of  
the elements is  
the figure of our  
Lord's death.  
But what is the  
Sacrament in  
its *own* nature?  
I say it is the  
same bread as  
it was before  
the miracle  
makes it to be  
Christ's Body  
not  
substantially  
but  
supernaturally;  
for Christ's  
Body is not  
changed as the  
bread changes,  
though some  
say that it  
changes  
symbolically.  
As for the  
Sacrament of  
Penance, I  
merely deny its  
absolute, not its  
relative  
necessity; and I  
think that the  
decree of  
Innocent III was  
not a wise  
development of  
Gospel truth.  
If these works  
against Simony,  
apostasy and  
Blasphemy  
(which all who  
love God should  
hate) contain  
any errors, I ask  
God's  
forgiveness, and  
submit to  
whomsoever He  
may choose to  
correct me.

in celo, et disparitas confeccionum carnis et sanguinis sacramentat mortem corporis Cristi. Ac si diceret: effuso sanguine in separato loco a carne, corpus Cristi pro nobis est mortuum et exsangue. Difficultas autem, quam solvere non audent sentencie predicte, stat in 5 quiditate predicti sacramenti in se, quid sit in sua natura. Et sepe dixi quod sit in sui natura panis idem qui prefuit, et in miraculo verborum Cristi, corpus suum; non substancialiter sed supernaturaliter. Nec videtur quod putrescit aut frangitur, licet panis ille, qui 10 est corpus Cristi taliter moveatur, sicut deitas non denominatur accidentibus quibus Cristus formatur, licet ipse sit illa deitas. Et sic, virtute unionis que est circa incarnationem, panis ille multipliciter variatur, et corpus Cristi non taliter; licet quidam dicant quod taliter 15 mutatur in symbolis. Eukaristia autem vocatur corpus Cristi concrecius quam est in suis symbolis.

Quantum ad secundum sacramentum penitencie, dictum est quod expedit et est necessarium, sed non absolute, taliter confiteri. Nec videtur michi quod lex Inno- 20 cencii 3<sup>ii</sup>, artans ad istam confessionem, fuit prudenter explicata, nec aliqua lex papalis vel alia post ewangelium explicata, nisi in ipso finaliter sit fundata. Et tenta ista sententia rediret ecclesia ad perfectionem status pri- 25 mevi, que hodie in multis varietatibus est dispersa.

Istam dixerim secundum donacionem et mocionem dei contra istas 3<sup>s</sup> hereses: Symoniam, Apostasiam atque Blasfemiam, quibus deo iniuriatur per sacerdotes diversos: contra quos qui non invehit neque dolet, non diligit meritorie deum suum. Si autem in istis erravero, 30 peto humiliter a deo veniam, et submitto me correctioni et informacioni cuiuscunque creature, quam sibi placuerit ad hoc ministerium limitare. Amen.

Explicit hoc opusculum circa penthecostes sub anno domini 1432<sup>o</sup> wstrach etc. 35

4. ex sanguine A; et exangue C; *ib.* autem *deest* B. 5. salutare *pro* salutare *omnes* MSS; *ib.* *in*ie *corr.* in *marg.* secte C. 8. et *deest* A.  
12. prudencia C. 22. explicita BC. 24. reddi'ter C. 26. donacionem *deest* A. 33. After Amen Explicit tractatus de blasfemia, in large letters in black ink B; Explicit tractatus de Blasfemia secundum Johannem Wy. Xli9 in red ink C; limitare. Utyess tye buoh = God comfort thee D.

# INDEX.

Aaron's head, beard and garment, likened to the clergy, the nobility and the people, 87, 88.  
 Abel named, 34, 128.  
 Absolutions are the cords of the devil and of Antichrist, 97; are given to robbers through fear, 102.  
 Absolution, words of; no warrant for them in Scripture, 123; not used by the Apostles, 124; suppose certitude of contrition in the penitent, *ib.* and *note*; not valid if uttered by a schismatic, 125; must be understood conditionally, not absolutely, 149.  
 Absurdities resulting from the bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist, 20.  
 Absurdity of the denial that bread exists in the Sacrament of the Altar, 249, 250.  
 Accidents, less perfect than the vilest substance, 27.  
 Achan's confession to Joshua, 128, 131, 157.  
 Administration, bad, of Church property, 186.  
 Advice should in no case be given, when it does not tend to salvation, 205.  
 Aggravating circumstances, duty to confess, 116; doctrine of Augustine concerning, 149, 150.  
 Allowable, it is, to elect the best man as Bishop of Rome, not as Pope, 44.  
 Allusion to the Crusade, 156.<sup>1</sup>  
 Alms should not be considered as a thing due by right, 78; should be withheld from all disciples of Antichrist, 254; must never be given to the confessor who enjoins them, 144.  
 Ambrose St., quoted, 113, 138, 141, 154 and *note*; 155, 160.  
 Analogy, a false, between tithes and payments due to secular lords, 78.  
 Anatomy, Wyclif's knowledge of, 221 *note*.  
 Angel, an, should not be believed, if he contradicted Christ's teachings, 108.  
 Annihilation, the, of bread, 26.  
 Anselm quoted, 13, 15, 209.  
 Antichrist, contrary to Christ in everything, 79; a damnable sophist, 106; has on his side all those who yield to unjust excommunications, 107; pretends to stand in Christ's place, 108; extorts money by curses, *ib.*; is now much weakened, 289.  
 Antichristian principles, three, 145.  
 Apostate Popes, 41; Friars, likened to warm water that cools quickly, and to him out of whom seven devils were east, 87.  
 Aquinas, Thomas, quoted, 13; 21 *note*.  
 Arbitrary fines, unlawful, 176.  
 Arch-deacons are arch-devils, 95; their duties, *ib.*; sumptuary laws concerning, *ib.*; the Church should be purified of them, 126.

Archidiaconus, the, 67 and *note*.  
 Arguments from tradition, worthless, 186.  
 Aristotle quoted, 44; 50 and *note*; 248.  
 Astrological predictions, 62 and *note*.  
 Athenians, idolatry of the, 31.  
 Atoms, Wyclif's doctrine of, 256, *note*.  
 Attachment to worldly things, a source of heresies, 53; how discovered in temporal lords, 155.  
 Augustine quoted, 2, 5, 14, 27, 34, 35, 44, 55, 78, 80, 110, 125, 136, 137, 140, 149, 150, 151, 160, 199, 205, 249, 250, 251, 265.  
 Aurelius, Bishop, praised for his disinterestedness, 55, 56.  
 Babylon must be destroyed, 145.  
 Backsliders should, at their fourth relapse, be abandoned by their confessors, 167.  
 Baptism, tantamount to a solemn vow, 11.  
 Beast, the mark of the, excludes from Heaven, 145.  
 Bede quoted, 137.  
 Belial and Christ, contrary, 144.  
 Bell, book and candle, excommunication by, 98.  
 Benefices, abuses concerning collations of, 36.  
 Bernard of Clairvaux, St., named 15.  
 Bishops who do not keep Christ's commandments are anathematized as heretics, 61; such as have been Friars usually become apostates, 74; wicked Bishops belong to the third class of tormentors of the Church, Ch. VI, 80-94; enlarge the name, but narrow the spirit of the priesthood, 80; should set an example of poverty, chastity and obedience to Christ, 93, and attend to the souls under their care, 97; have no right to ordain a candidate to the priesthood, unless they know his worthiness by revelation, 125.  
 Blasphemy, its definition and division, 1; its root in the Roman Curia, 2; committed in the ceremony of kissing the Pope's feet, 4; its three chief points, 9-18; its branches, Ch. II (19) to the end of the work; incurred in following any man rather than Christ, 45; Blasphemy about the 'patrimony of the Crucified', 57, Christ's secular power, the authority to excommunicate, 57, 58, and to declare any one a heretic, 72.  
 Blessings that do harm, 102.  
 Blindness, the, of prelates and priests, unable to distinguish between sins and virtuous deeds, 116.  
 Blood and desire, the baptism of, 139.  
 Bread remains in the Eucharist, but is lost sight of, 24.

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, ch. II.

- Breviary, the Roman, quoted 25, 53.  
 Brotherhood of Christ, the, requires a spiritual affinity with Him, 58.
- Cain named, 34, 128.
- Canons of ancient Church discipline, not followed, because then no one would confess, 110, 120; should be revived 120; are neglected by worldly priests, *ib.*
- Cardinalate, different classes of the, 49 *note*: was wrongly instituted, 65.
- Cardinal, (the word), explained by letters and syllables, 65.
- Cardinals should lay aside their dignities, 66, that were not instituted by Christ, 66, 67, and do wrong to the secular powers, 67; they blasphemously compare themselves to the Apostles, *ib.*, but are proud and useless members of the Church 68, protected by unjust Decretals, 71.
- Care for the future is specially condemnable in the clergy, 286.
- Carpenter, a, if good, is a good carpenter; thus bread, if material, is material bread, 248, 249.
- Censures cannot harm the man who believes in Jesus Christ, 107.
- Ceremonies, the, connected with penance, are not necessary, and only burden the Church, 114; in general, should be used, but with moderation, 260.
- Ceremony, the, of the scapegoat, accompanied by confession, 131.
- Chains and yoke of Antichrist, the, 156.
- Charity, shown in doing good to an enemy, even against his will, 81; is like the ointment on Aaron's head, 87.
- Chastity, spiritual, 92.
- Christ is the true Head of the Church, 47, 48, 73; our example of unworldliness, 60; would be burned as a heretic by modern prelates, 62.
- Christ's Body is in the Host, as the Godhead and the human soul exist in space, 28.
- Christ's Vicar requires to have great virtue, 41.
- Chrysostom quoted, 5, 33 and *note*, 35, 51, 117, 139.
- Church laws unreasonably multiplied, 50.
- Church prayers quoted, 53.
- Circumstances, aggravating, duty to confess, 116.
- Clement, Pope's bull quoted; perhaps spurious, 16 and *note*.
- Clergy, the, should obey none but Christ, 46; should do penance for their endowments by restitution, 81; was and is worst in the times of Christ and of Antichrist, 180; their righteousness defective and superfluous, 180, 181; being the cause of the late dissensions, they deserve their punishment, 263; should be regenerated by the confiscation of their property, 268; which Parliament has the right to decree, 268, provided however that tallages be abolished, 269.
- Clerks found in every royal office, even in the kitchen; an abuse, 261; if taken in fraudulent dealings, must not be helped by the Church, 262.
- Collation of the MSS., 41, *note*.
- Commonwealth, the, troubled by endowments, 57.
- Communion, weekly, advised by Augustine, 160.
- Condemnation, a, for heresy without allowing the accused to defend himself, is cruel, 73; recent, in Oxford, concerning the Real Presence, 89.
- Conduct of the excommunicated, rules for the, 102-108.
- Confession, hurtful it made to a simoniac, 117; invalid if satisfaction is wanting, 142; different meanings of the word, 143; would no longer be heard if no money were forthcoming, 144.
- Confessors, bad, are idolaters, lepers, simoniacs and heretics, 144; if they enjoy unreasonable penances, ought to be left, 145.
- Consecrated ground, if it does not become better than before, has not really been consecrated, 259.
- Consent to any abuse entails responsibility for the same, 96.
- Constantine named, 55, 63.
- Contradiction in the doctrine of obedience from which it is a privilege to be exempted, 245; in the Eucharistic doctrine, 287.
- Contrition alone is absolutely necessary for the sacrament of Penance 140.
- Cornelius and St. Peter, 32, 138.
- Corporal presence of Christ in the Host, how it ought to be understood, 252, 253.
- Cosroes (costree) 17 and *note*.
- Counsels of Christ, followed by Wyclif's disciples, 108.
- Curate, a bad, how known, 183; curates should not teach nor engage in public affairs, *ib.*; must receive what is necessary for life, 133, 184.
- Curia, the Roman, its pride and effeminacy, 3.
- Daily communion, Augustine's sentiment on, 160.
- Dangerous divisions, 46, 47.
- De Apostasia quoted, 1, 15, 21 *note*, 23 *note* 47 *note*, 48; 84 *note*, 161 *note*, 203, 220.
- Deans in monasteries and rural deans, difference and likeness between; they punish lust by fines, who are themselves most lustful, 172; they encourage, by toleration, women of bad lives, in order to increase their riches, 173; are worse than the devil, *ib.*; must be avoided, and how, 173, 174; have no right to impose a fine on a man who is already absolved, *ib.*
- Debate, a famous, in Oxford, on the Eucharistic question, 247; striking arguments of a certain secular Catholic doctor (Wyclif himself?), 247-249.
- Decretals, the, should be respectfully explained away, when wrong, 23; are in some places very unjust, 71, and in others blasphemously imply the Pope's universal dominion, 72.
- Decretals quoted, 23, 30, 55, 56, 71, 81, 85, 89, 95, 104, 112, 117, 120, 122, 124, 130, 131, 132, 136, 138, 158, 159, 160, 225, 226, 232, 234, 272, 238, 252, 253, 255, 261, 272, 279.
- De Eucharistia quoted, 22.
- Defects of private religions, 270.
- Devil, sons of the, spiritually begotten by Bishops, 83; might as well be confessed to as a bad priest, 144.
- Diaconate, the, inferior to the priesthood, 49; duty of the, to feed the poor, 63.
- Difference in importance between *what* the Eucharist is and *how* it is thus, 90, 253.
- Different effects of confession, 134.
- Difficulties in the way of throwing of the yoke of Rome, 8, 9; difficulties in religious orders, as concerns religious freedom 203; difficulties as to the essence of Baptism, 25; as to the time when it becomes necessary to confess 116.
- Difficulty of our conflict with the devil, 60.
- Discretion most necessary in a confessor, 118, 119



Dispensations warranted by Scripture are lawful, 164.  
 Doctor Solemnis, the, 26.  
 Doctrines of the Begardi, 285.  
 Doorkeepers are the eleventh class of tormentors of the Church, 255; they live in sin, and extort money from the poor, 255, 256, by whom they will be punished, 256; they mix too much common with holy water, *ib.*, which they ought not to do, 259; are too numerous and usurp civil functions, 261-264.  
 Duties of a Bishop, 92, 93; of an Archdeacon, 95; of a parish priest, 177-179.  
 Eadmer named, 13 *note*.  
 Easter communion, whether to be taken rather on Easter Sunday or on Maundy Thursday, 150-162.  
 Ecclesiastical possessions are the property of the poor, 266.  
 Elect, every one of the, is necessarily a member of Christ, 86, though he may be in a state of sin for a time, 86, 87.  
 Election of the Pope, the, does not confirm him in grace, 42; implies predestination, which no man can give, 43.  
 Endowments weaken the secular power, 56, 63; should be taken away, 68, 86, 88, 94, 264; are unjust, 93; cause great troubles in the kingdom, 264.  
 Enumeration, an, of the twelve tormentors of the Church (forming a sort of division of the following chapters) 54.  
 Epilogue defending Wyclif's opinion on the religious state, on temporalities, and on the Eucharist, 276 to end.  
 Essence of the Holy Sacrament; what it is, 25.  
 Essences mentioned, 12.  
 Etymology, a false, 1 *note*.  
 Eucharist, the, idolatry to adore it as God, 20; Christ's Body cannot be seen in it, 21 and *note*; false devotion to it, 21; practice of the Greek Church, 29; contrast of Wyclif's opinion and that of his opponents, 75; Wyclif's doctrine, hard to understand, *ib.* *note*; it is the substance of material bread, 249.  
 Eugenius, Pope, named, 261.  
 Evil produces evil, 83.  
 Excommunications prefigured by the betrayal of Judas, 70; are often prompted by a spirit of revenge, 71; are the cords of the devil, 97; when justly uttered, and when not, 97, 98; those with bell, book and candle are particularly condemnable, *ib.*; ought not to be yielded to, when uttered by one possibly foreknown, 101; should have their rise in a feeling of charity, 103; are spiritual remedies, *ib.*; must never be uttered chiefly on account of things temporal, 104; if so uttered, they are blasphemous, 104, 105, more wicked than the attempts of Balaam to curse Israel, 105, and not to be regarded, 106, 107; should be supported for Christ with spiritual joy, 145; are not always ratified by God, 175.  
 External, too much attention paid to, 139.  
 Extremes, two, to be avoided: no confession at all, and confession on certain strict lines, 140.  
 Fabianus, 160.  
 Faithful, the, persecuted as heretics, 270.  
 Fallacies in support of endowments, 82, 84; of the riches of Friars, 84, 85; of excommunications, 98; of auricular confession, 112; of the Decree *Omnis*, &c., 136, 137, of the Pope's

being Christ's Vicar, 159; of the Pope's power to decree, 163; of making an example of the rebel peasants, 198-200; of Friar-makers and the institute of Friars in general, 204-211, 219; of the employment of the clergy in worldly affairs, 262, 263; of questors, 275, 276.  
 False penitents, from the Pope downwards, 152.  
 Fig-tree cursed by Christ, the, 98.  
 Fines paid to rural deans are neither alms nor atonement; may imply blasphemy, 176.  
 Fire and Desire, the baptism of, regenerates, 139.  
 Fitz-Ralph quoted, 232-233.  
 Foreigners set up over natives in Church dignities, 114.  
 Foreknown, the, are members of the devil, 42; cannot belong to the Church, 86; are excommunicated for ever, 97; cannot become known as such, but by revelation, 101.  
 Freedom, our, must be respected even by God, 162 and *note*; 282.  
 Friars are to blame for allowing the people to believe that the Host is visibly Christ, 21; understand by *transubstantiation* a destruction of the substance of bread, 24; worship the Pope, 31; ought to be abolished, 46, 47; usually apostatize when they become Bishops, 74; try in vain to justify their luxurious living, 84, 85; should receive no temporal aid, and their goods sold, should be compelled to work, 88, 89; have rendered it impossible to find a good confessor, 114; given by God to the Church, they have quickly backslidden, 134, 220, 221; consider that the difference of habit is an essential difference, 161; have rules that savour of blasphemy, 163, 217; often remain for years the confessors of impenitent sinners, 167; they reverse the order of nature, 189; would condemn accused persons without hearing their defence, 197; are to blame for the late rebellion, 201; are the tenth class of tormentors of the Church, 203; strive by all means to increase their numbers, 203, 204; a practice which savours of sortilege, since it is the merest chance whether Friars are saved or not, 204, though they may be saved through a special grace of God, 207, 221, 278; are no more purified from sin on their entry into the order, than any one else with an equal degree of charity, 208; falsely give out that a man who dies with their habit on his back cannot be damned, 210; are by far too numerous, 211; they criminally steal children from their parents, *ib.* and 212, an act which gives the legal guardians of the children a right to use reprisals, 212, 213; take an enormous amount of money from the country, 213, while they give splendid banquets and pay no taxes, 214; exhaust the kingdom by show degrees, like a hectic fever; show their own wickedness, if dissatisfied with the present exposure, 215; each man being responsible for all, their convents are full of iniquity, *ib.* and they deprive the people of the power to pay the king his due, whilst they are absolutely of no use to the State, 215, 216; they are traitors to whatever country they inhabit, 216; they disobey the king, saying that he has no power over them, 217; their rule ought to be abolished, 217, 218. They are indeed poor (Cap. XV, beginning), 219, but do not follow Christ, 220; they will not touch, but they love, money, *ib.*; three radical defects in their institute, 22, 222; their habit remains, but the interior man is devoured by an evil beast, 223;

- they should follow in the steps of Christ and of His Apostles, 223, 224. They exalt the Roman Curia, instead of blaming its shortcomings, 231, but do not obey its laws, 2, 2, as Fitz-Ralph proves, 232-233.
- General, the, of the Friars oppresses them, 246.
- Ghent, Henry Goethals of, 26 *note*.
- God alone frees from sin, 130.
- God's glory should be the only motive of him that excommunicates, 104, 105.
- Heresies proceed from an undue inclination of the soul towards earthly things, 52.
- Heresy, a, that every sentence of the Pope is confirmed in Heaven, 108; a threefold, of the Friars about the Holy Sacrament, 224, 225.
- Heretics, two classes of: the *so called* and the *true*; the latter class comprising all those who do not follow God's law, 72; no one is such, if ready to retract his error, 75; they ought to be severely punished, 76; how, 76, 77.
- Hermaphrodites are alone aimed at by the decree *omnis etc.* 121.
- Hered named, 1.
- Hierarchical distinctions ought to be abolished, 48, 70.
- Hilary quoted, 233.
- Holy women, the, who ministered to the wants of Christ, 83.
- Holy Writ, the only rule of faith, 44.
- Honour should not follow outward show, 244.
- Horace quoted, 23.
- Hugo of St. Victor quoted, 133, 137, 141, 142, 233.
- Hypocrisy in excommunicating, 105.
- Idolatry amongst the people, as concerns the Holy Sacrament, 22; incurred in doing reverence to the Pope, 32.
- Ignorance, general, of what the Eucharist is, 24, 90.
- Ignorance, no excuse for doing wrong, 50.
- Impeccability, the, of the Pope, is inadmissible 72, 73.
- Inconsistency of Bishops, who obey some Papal laws and not others, 153; of Friars as regards evangelical poverty, 86.
- Indulgences cannot be granted by the Pope to a great extent than by any other priest, 10.
- Inequality, the, of penances, 151; of wealth, a punishment for sin, 33.
- Infallibility, 37 and *note*.
- Inferior priests, duties of, 187.
- Injustice of the English law about excommunication, 108; of having to ask leave to do what Christ allows, 123.
- Innocent III. is suspect on account of his conduct, 23; his authority, compared with that of others, 100; had he decreed that to communicate on Good Friday was a mortal sin, would have exceeded his power, 162.
- Interdict, an, is probably laid on the Franciscan churchyards and churches, 238.
- Invariability in any practice is wrong, 281.
- Invererate malice of influential Friars, 241.
- Isariot, a name given to a man who carried the Friars' collection-bag, 235.
- Isidore quoted, 56, 57.
- Jerome quoted, 37, 49, 67, 220, 233, 241.
- Jerusalem, the heavenly, 145.
- Jesuits, 47, *note*.
- Joannes stabat, expression used in *De Apostasia* and a Wicliffian Latin poem. 90, *note*.
- Judas alone of the Apostles had the care of the money bag, 63; was suffered by Christ, 75; was not so bad as the defenders of abuses, 85; confessed to bad priests, 123, 141.
- Juvenal quoted, 162 and *note*.
- Keys, power of the, must imply wisdom, 17; and infallibility, 37; depends on personal holiness, *ib.* signifies the science of confessors, 168.
- King, the, is God's vicar, 110; cannot be forced to imprison a man, without knowing why, *ib.*; deserves to have no bishops, if he perverts them with endowments, 16.
- King of Pride, the, can be conquered only by unworldliness, 50.
- Kinship, a spiritual, between the confessor and his penitent, 170.
- Kiss, two sorts of, 5; of Judas, the, 70.
- Kissing the Pope's feet, blasphemous, 6.
- Lanfranc quoted, 15.
- Law of Christ corrupted, 19, or only verbally followed; requires absolute unworldliness, 59.
- Laymen, a warning to, 39.
- Lazarus named, 138, 130.
- Leech, the, image of the devil, 54; its twelve daughters, *ib.*
- Leprosy, the law of, implies vocal confession, 132.
- Limit, a, to the amount of possessions in the world, 83.
- Ingard's testimony to the morality of Wyclif, 96.
- Loaves, miracle of the, 285.
- Logic of John Baptist, 31 and *note*.
- Logica, Wyclif's, 121 *note*, 166 *note*, 221 *note*, 240 *note*.
- Logical difficulties as to whether a penitent is obliged to fulfil his penance, 170.
- Louis St., King of France; anecdote illustrative of his practice as regards excommunications, 99.
- Love is the weight of the soul, 52; love to enemies, necessary; for what motives, 182.
- Loyola, St. Ignatius. practical conformity with Wyclif in one point of view, 208 *note*.
- Magdalen, not allowed to kiss Christ's feet, why, 4, 5; reproved by Judas, 86.
- Mahomet, 48, 74, 84 and *note*, 209, 275.
- Mahometans alluded to, 25.
- Man created to serve God alone, 52.
- Manichaeus, would not have ascribed the power of annihilating even to his Evil Principle, 27.
- Marcellinus, Pope, named, 157.
- Martin St., and his cloak, 236.
- Martyrdom, a new sort of, 73.
- Master of Sentences, the, 113.
- Means of appreciating the moral worth of an action, 229, 230.
- Merchants may be allowed to possess a certain amount of wealth, 33; advised not to trade to foreign countries; why, 35, 36.
- Merit, the, of different acts is different, 285.
- Miracles, false, invented about the Eucharist, 26; the multiplication of Christ's Body involves countless miracles, 27.
- Monks and Friars compared to Pharisees, 92; to whitened sepulchres, 230.
- Monks are the ninth class of tormentors of the Church, ch. XIII, 188-203. Like a hectic fever, they exhaust the country, 188; when they die, their possessions do not return to the commonwealth, 189; having not enough for their luxury, they must recur to fraud, 228; have failed in their mission, 229; even their Founders may be damned, *ib.*

- Necessaries, the, of life are all that a man should desire according to his state, 35.
- Need, the, of man to be freed from sin implies vocal confession; how, 129, 130.
- Obedience due to the Pope, 14 and *note*.
- Obligation to confess to the parish priest; 122 and *note*.
- Obloquy heaped upon the faithful man who does God's work, but which, and more, he (Wyclif?) can bear, 226.
- Oil, unconsecrated, should be very sparingly mixed with consecrated oil, 260.
- Omnis utriusque sexus, a Church law, 112, and argued against, 113-167; is not a sequel following from the definition of Penance, 13; is unreasonable, ordering us to confess to a priest whom we can nowhere find, 114; obliging a man to confess only once a year, sets a limit to God's mercy, 115; gives to understand that such confession is sufficient *ib.*; takes no account of exceptional cases, *ib.*; brings up endless practical difficulties, 115, 116; leaves in doubt whether the confession should be general or particular, both cases involving many difficulties, 116; is ignored by the clergy as concerns themselves, 117; implies that the penitent will not fall again, which is blasphemy, *ib.*; supposes that any penance may be given at the priest's discretion, 117, 118; it is suspect of heresy, 120; implies that a confession, if overheard, is not valid, 11, imposes auricular confession without Scripture warrant, *ib.*, gives occasion to sins of lust, *ib.*; increases the Roman pontiff's power over the clergy, 122. is contrary to Church discipline, 123; requires an innocent person to confess sins, 127, is tantamount to ordering the payment of so much a year to the priests, *ib.*, might, but should not be explained in quite a different sense, *ib.*, contains good mixed with evil *ib.*; gives occasion to extortion, 123; takes away freedom from the faithful, 132; exalts confession into a necessary means of salvation, 133; was decreed by Innocent III., an ambitious Pope, 134; applies coercion to interior acts of the soul, 136; reduces many to despair, *ib.*; is not obeyed by the Greek Church, 139; contradicts the very meaning of the word 'confession', 143; has lucre for its aim, 143, 144; implies that lip-confession is better than contrition, 145.
- Oppression of Friars by temporal lords, deserved, 222.
- Order of ecclesiastical dignities, 234.
- Orders, the, should be abolished, 46.
- Orders, the, of poor friars, sent as an antidote to Innocent's pride, 134; turned aside quickly, denying God's word, upholding Papal traditions, and falling into heresy concerning the Eucharist, 135.
- Ordination, the, of priests, may be invalid, and the whole hierarchy schismatical, 125.
- Origen quoted, 38 and *note*.
- Oxford named, 121; recent condemnation of Wyclif in, 89, 250.
- Papal power, very great; should be employed to dissolve the orders, 230; is not inadequate to do that, 230, 240; can dispense from vows and thus break up the orders, 240.
- Parallel, a, between excommunications and the Eucharistic theory, 99.
- Patrimony of the Crucified, blasphemies concerning, 57; occupied by Antichrist under false pretences, 69.
- Paul St., resisted St. Peter to his face, 26; was not shunned by the faithful until his absolution, 101; has left us an example by appealing to Caesar, 109.
- Penance, the sacrament of, discussed, chs. VIII, IX, X, XI, 111-172. Its definition, 111; it cannot exist if one essential part is wanting. *ib.*; is, according to Ambrose and Gregory, sorrow for past sins, and a resolve not to commit them any more, 113; is not an outward sign, but an act of the soul, *ib.*
- Penance, public, whether fitting, 157-164; reasons *pro*, 157, 158; no general rule can be laid down, 158, 159.
- Penances enjoined should be contrary to the fault, 150, 151, 177; do not do away with all expiation in Purgatory, 151; question, whether they can be done in a state of mortal sin, raised, 169.
- Persecutions of the clergy and the laity; five different ways, 107.
- Peter Lombard, 113.
- Peter, St., his humility, 31, 32; why chosen to be Head of the Church, 50; his penitential tears, 131.
- Petition, seven heads of a, 270, 271.
- Pharisees mentioned, 12; explanation of what their name means, 91, 92; their righteousness, 181.
- Poor priests, without either Pope or prelate, would suffice to the Church, 37.
- Pope, the; his power to dissolve orders, 47 and *note*; he is an occasion of schism, 48, can be known, if false; how, 55, 152, 153; has no more right to grant indulgences than any other equally good priest, 10; cannot dispense from vows, 41; his want of success shows that God is not pleased with his temporal power, 17, nor with his greed for lucre 18. He is worshipped as Christ's Vicar, 31; is very unlike Peter in his life, 38, can do little on earth, therefore still less in Heaven. 39; should expound Scripture humbly or keep silence, 45; ought to be disobeyed by way of protestation, 161.
- Positions, all the different, of Christ's body are wrongly said to be at every point of the Host, 28.
- Possibility, the, of being saved without confession, 137.
- Poverty not observed amongst Franciscans according to their rule, 236.
- Practice of giving slight fines for sins, so as to get more money thereby, 96 and *note*.
- Preaching amongst Friars, the abuses of, 235.
- Prelates ought to be hung for the harm they do; compared to bad doctors, 120.
- Presence of God, the, a hindrance to solitary confession, 121.
- Presence of Christ, the, in the Holy Sacrament, 27, 252, 253.
- Priests, bad, say they make Christ's body, 26; feed their flocks with poisonous bread, 51; it known as such by revelation, ought to be shunned, 100, and deprived of their benefices, 141; have no power to bless, 258.
- Priests may leave their flock for the greater good of the Church, provided they see them properly cared for, 178, 179, 180.
- Principle, a false, that whatever is most wonderful is to be believed, 29.
- Prophets of Baal, 31.

Proverb of the cat and fish, 222.  
Purgatory, 118, 119, 151.

Questors, seventh class of tormentors of the Church, 272; spread falsehoods about indulgences, notwithstanding canon laws restraining them, *ib.*; should be put down by the king, 273; which would also be profitable from a temporal point of view, 274; no letters of prelates, &c., can authorize their acts, 275.

Rabshakeh named, 1.

Rebellion, the, of the peasants, 190—202; therein the people acted illegally but with wild justice, 190; the clergy ought to have yielded up their possessions rather than suffer so many lives to be lost, 190, 191; it is not too late to do so now, 191; the marauding habits of the soldiery are the cause of the rebellion, *ib.*; the clergy seeks to irritate them and to stir up civil war, 192; the Friars, confessors of the great, and not equal to the task, are also responsible, 193; they think they govern, but they misgovern the Church, 193, 194; all the impeding ruin may be averted if the clergy will practise works of mercy, 195, 196; the late massacres were a punishment deserved indeed, but excessive in degree in kind and in manner, 196—198; the causes of the rebellion — tyranny, exactions and Romish claims — should be put an end to, 198; pardoning the rebels would not impair the royal prerogative, 198, 199; if it takes away the power of punishing past crimes, it is for the good of the kingdom, 199; it would produce a union of hearts, not slavish fear, 199, 200, and *note*. In this the king, the nobles and the clergy were all to blame, especially these last, 200, 201, 207; they ought to give up their possessions and imitate the life of Christ and His apostles, 201, 202.

Rechabites, the, will be the judges of luxurious prelates, 61.

Rector, a, cannot without simony ask for anything save as mere alms, 179, 180; sins in exacting tithes, if he fails in his duty, 184; has no legal right to them, *ib.*; ought to be deprived of them, if he thinks they are his due, 185.

Requisites, the, of oral confession, 146, 148.

Resemblance between the Pope and Lucifer, 59. Retort to a 'jeu de mots' of Wyclif's adversaries, 251.

Revelation, a special, required to elect a Pope, 43. Reverence, outward, should be paid only to secular lords, 243.

Revolutions foretold as a consequence of endowments, 83.

Riches, good only as they are a help to the Christian, 60.

Rivalries amongst monks, forgotten when they join against Wyclif, 91; inconsistency of such a union, *ib.*

Riches, the, of the Church ought to be taken away, 32, 64.

Robert of Geneva named, 103, 109, 162.

Roman Pontiff, the, is the most likely of all men, under present circumstances, to be Antichrist, 44; is thought infallible by some, and just the contrary by others, 159; not necessarily Christ's Vicar, 41—44.

Rome and England, the churches of, have different customs, 159.

Root, the, of blasphemy, apostasy and simon identical, 41.

Rule for confession, ageneral, 134; of rule interpretation, Augustine's, 250; rule of the Franciscans, forbidding them to wear costly, habits, not properly observed, 237.

Rules, the, of orders, should not be perpetually binding, 47; rules for excommunication, 102—106.

Rural deans, the sixth class of tormentors of the Church, Ch. XII, 172—188.

Sacrament, the, is neither bread nor Christ's body in the Accident-theory, 27.

Sacramentals, Wyclif's doctrine of, 257.

Sacraments dispensed by priests that lack the power, are worthless, 126.

Sadducees mentioned, 12.

Salt that loses its savour must be cast out, 88.

Satisfaction is necessary, 142.

School of Christ, the, is persecuted 10.

Scripture should be believed above all, 23.

Seal of confession, the, ought in some cases to be broken, 122; cruelty of the law that forbids it, *ib.*; same subject discussed at greater length, 164—167.

Sects, the founders of, may be in Heaven, but were misled by blind piety, 280; it is an open question whether they belonged to the Sects they founded, 282.

Secular judges are the superiors of the clergy, 110.

Secular lords are responsible for the consequences of perverting the clergy by endowments, 57, 63; appoint to benefices, 82; grind the poor, while their own treasury is in the devil's hands, 216.

Seduction, a threefold, 25.

Sergius, 81.

Sermons quoted, 62, *note*.

Simoniacal plot, a, for deposing Bishops, 74. Sins, past, can be repeated, 113, 170, 171; are worse than their punishment, 130; deserve an infinite penalty, 151.

Solomon's example of magnificence in the Temple, 81, if followed, would justify other excesses, 85.

Solus (in the decree Omnis) cannot apply to a woman, 120.

Sophism of fatality, the, 166.

Sophisma, the word, used in a good sense, 248, and *note*.

Sother, Pope, named, 160.

Speech, a supposed, by a defender of the poor, 264, 265.

Steward, the unjust, 93, 94, 284.

Summary, a, of Wyclif's doctrine of Confession, 167, 288; of the Eucharist, 287, 288.

Supremacy of the king over the Church, 109, proved by the very practice of its opponents, 110.

Sylvester, St., named, 55; sinned in accepting Constantine's endowments, 61.

Templars, 47, *note*.

Temporal lords need riches and power, 33.

Temporal possessions should be taken away from worldly priests, 63, 155.

Testament, the, of St. Francis quoted, 233, 234.

Thief, the good, his confession, 121.

Third Order, members of the: their practice of putting on the habit of the order at the hour of death, 210 and *note*.

Thomas Aquinas quoted, 13; alluded to, 90 and *note*.

Three kingdoms, Antichrist's, earthly princes', and Christ's, 68: description of Antichrist's



- kingdom, 68, 69 which is now divided against itself, 69.
- Three sorts of excommunication, 109.
- Three sorts of confession, 132.
- Time of the institution of confession debated, 128, 129.
- Tithes should be paid by all, 34; were paid both in the Old and in the New Law, *ib.*; are a debt we owe, not a source of merit, according to Augustine, 35; ought not to be paid to bad priests, 77, 78; the paying of, the most usual question in confession, 144.
- Tradition about the B. V. Mary's confessing daily, 127 *note*.
- Tradition, the only authority for confession, 129.
- Traditions, exaltation of, 19.
- Transubstantiation, the theory of, equivalent to destruction of substance, 21.
- Trick of the devil, a, by which the country is ruined, 269, 270.
- Umbilical cord, the, 221 *note*.
- Universals a parte rei, the doctrine of, turned to account in the Eucharistic controversy, 247.
- University degrees amongst Friars, 242-247, should be put an end to, 242; occasion unjust preferences and set one Friar above another, 242, 243; are got by bulls or bribery, 244, and give their possessor many temporal advantages, 244, 245; would destroy any community, if all the members had god them, 245; are against the spirit of Christ's teaching, 246; might be put an end to without the slightest loss, 247.
- Unjust dealings forbidden, 33.
- Urban II., 112.
- Urban V., 135.
- Urban VI., 7, 103, 109, 162.
- Uselessness of repeating in confession sins already absolved, 169.
- Vatican council, the, 37, *note*.
- Venality, the, of absolutions, 102.
- Venial sins are not effaced by absolution, 169.
- Virtuous action, a, may incur imprisonment according to English law, 109.
- Visible Head of the Church, a, is quite unnecessary, 48.
- Vocal confession belongs to the law of nature, 119; was made both to God and to man under the old Law, 131.
- Vows require no dispensation if foolish; if wise, can receive none, 10; vows of obedience to man often stand in the way of our duty to God, 11.
- Wanderers have no 'proper priests' to confess to, 115.
- Warning, a, to friars and monks, 40; given to us against the Sects by Christ, 227.
- Water that has been warmed freezes more quickly than cold water; why, 87.
- Wild theories of Wyclif's opponents, 252.
- Worldly traffic should be shunned by the clergy, 36.
- Wyclif's position as regards obedience to Rome, 8 *note*; his doctrine of temporalities, attacked and defended; difference between secular possessions and the clergy's right to alms, 283, 284; he is ready to retract his opinions about the Eucharist, 287, which are attacked only out of interested motives, *ib.*



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